THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c. &c.,

EDITED BY

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,
AND
RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
CAPTAIN, BENGAL STAFF CORPS.

76203

VOL. XVIII.—1889.

Swati Publications
Delhi
1984
THE INDIAN ANTIQUAURY
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Published by Swati Publications, 34 Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-110052 Ph. 7113395

and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.
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ERRATA IN VOL. XVII.

p. 3, Table II., opposite Chitrā, in the last column, for 18.3.22.10, read 18.4.28.10.

p. 120, Text line 1, for Hiranya, read Hiranya.

p. 146 a, last line; for preceding, read following.

p. 157 b, lines 24, 25, read 10000 (1860 + 200 + 9939) = 10000 - 1939 = 8061.

p. 160 a, line 29, for 66277:5055, read 66277:5002.

And, as the result of this, in lines 31 to 41 read. Hence the increase in 1000 years is 3255:5000; in 100 years, 325.550; and in 597-5 days, 2184.

And b for 5000 years is 4998; for 1000 years, 590; and for 100 years, 590. Therefore, as above:

b. A.D. 1899.............. 5818
5000 years................ 4998
597-5 days.............. 168-4

Kaliyuga 0 ... 2500
Accordingly, b. for A.D. 1899 is 5818; or, the fraction being larger than 4, in round numbers 582.

p. 163, Table 5, and p. 164, Table 6. As we have seen under the correction notified above for p. 160 a, line 29 b. for A.D. 1899 is in round numbers 582; whereas in Table 5 it is given as 587. Following the same process, all the figures in Table 5, col. b, should, strictly speaking, be decreased by 5; when they would be in accordance with the revolutions of the moon's apsis as given in the text of the Sārāya-Siddhānta. Three or four hundred years ago, however, the Hindu astronomers applied to the elements of the Sārāya-Siddhānta a correction, technically called bīja, which from that time has been generally adopted in calculations. In Table 5, col. b, the figures, all through, as they stand, are correct for the elements of the Sārāya-Siddhānta as modified by this bīja. And, as the Table is for the nineteenth century A.D., when the bīja has to be applied, the inclusion of the bīja in it is proper and correct.

The bīja, however, has to be rejected for the centuries anterior to the time of its introduction; and this is to be effected by a modification of Table 6. Here again (Table 6), in col. b, the figures, all through, as they stand, include the bīja. In the case of the centuries marked 15 to J. 3, in which the bīja is not to be applied, in col. b, correct the numbers from 185 to 785, inclusive, by substituting 0 for the last figure; thus, for 185, read 180; for 484, read 480; and for 785, read 780. Then, with Table 5 as it stands, and with Table 6 thus corrected, the final results will be in accordance with the text of the Sārāya-Siddhānta without the bīja. For the centuries marked G. 1 and G. 2, the application of the bīja is proper and necessary; and the figures 973 and 486 are correct, as they stand.

p. 166, Table 7, opposite 2nd August (common year), for b 720, read 730. Opposite 13th August read b 129 for 126, and opposite 14th August read b 166 for 169.

p. 168, Table 7, opposite 12th October (common year) for d 650, read 639.

p. 172, Table 10, opposite the argument 950, for equation 76, read 80.

" Table 11, opposite the argument 200, for equation 4-10, read 14-10.

p. 219, note 16, line 5, for ÁrvāFr, read Árvā; and line 11, omit the word March.

p. 239 b, line 46, for trāyō, read trāyō.

p. 240 b, last line, omit the comma at the end of the line.

p. 248 b, line 7, for Which, read which.

p. 250 a, line 20, for ithau, read ithau.

" b, line 11, for punar vasu, read punarvasu.

p. 251 b, last line, read (No. 17 instead of No. 9).

p. 252 a, line 6, omit the comma after tithi.

p. 270, in the column for the Tithi-Suddhi, opposite 720, for 1 9, read 1 9-0; and opposite 740, for 1 6, read 1 6-0.

p. 271, in the column for the Tithi-Kēndra, opposite 1040, for 1 45, read 1 48.

p. 315 b, last line, for Varshī, read Varāha.

p. 336 b, line 7 from the bottom, for māna — viyā-śājyē, read māna-viśājyē.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XVIII.—1889.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.
BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.
Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.
(Continued from Vol. XVII, p. 307.)

THIRD EDICT.
Prinsep, l.c. p. 584; Burnouf, l.c., pp. 669 and ff.

TEXT.
17 Devānaṁpiyē Piyadasi lāja hēvaṁ ahā [] kavaṁma eva ċekhari1 iyaṁ mē
18 kavaṁ kaṭeti nō mina2 pāpaṁ ċekhari iyaṁ mē pāpaṁ kaṭeti iyaṁ va
āsinaṁ
19 nāmāti [] duxativēkhā3 chu kho ēsā hēvaṁ chu kho ēsa ċekhiyē imāni
20 āsinavagāmē4 nāma aha chaṁdiyē niṁhūliyē kōdhē mānē [] isyā
21 kālanēna va hakaṁ mā palibhasayēsam ēsa bāśha ċekhiyē5 iyaṁ mē
22 hidatikayē iyaṁ ma namē pālatikayē []

NOTES.
1. It matters little whether we should read here, and lower down, ċekhari or ċekhari.
   The subject is indefinite: 'one see,' 'they see.' And we must consider the form dakhari or
   ċekhari as certainly the present and not the future (cf. Kern, J.R.A.S., N.S., xii. 389, note).
   See lower down the future participle ċekhiyē. It is unnecessary to remark that the regular
   orthography would be kavaṁma (or "namē) ēva.

2. The syllables nō mina are embarrassing, and the more so because the agreement of all
   the versions compels the greatest caution in making conjectures. Burnouf analyzed it into nō
   iṁma, 'not by this,' but I confess that I do not see clearly the sense which he proposes to
   draw from it, and perceive still less any meaning which would be usefully drawn from such an
   analysis. One thing is certain, that a negative is wanting. It may be contained in the first
   syllable, nō; but it may also be in the last syllable, na. Dr. Kern apparently, "so far agreeing
   with Burnouf, adopts the first explanation when he incidentally quotes this member of the
   sentence (J.R.A.S., N.S., xii. 389, note), and transcribes it as na punaḥ: mina would therefore
   represent punaḥ. Perhaps the same could be found again in the form mana at the end of this
   edict: iyaṁ mana mē. However, as will be seen in a subsequent note, punaḥ, in this latter
   sentence, is not needed by the necessities of the sense,—quite the contrary. This analogy would
not therefore be decisive in favour of an identification which presents so many difficulties. We have met this adverb on several occasions in our inscriptions, but always under the form puṇa or pana (panā). The change of an initial $p$ into $m$ is anything but frequent; when, in Prakrit, we meet with mīa, mīva, for pi va (api va), it is only after a nasal (cf. Weber, Hāda, index, s.v.). Besides this we should have to explain the change of $u$ into $i$, a change peculiarly unexpected after a labial. This transcription, therefore, ingenious as it may be, appears to me to be extremely hypothetical. I think it preferable to take refuge in a conjecture, and to read nāma (for nāma) na. Nāma would be placed exactly as it occurs at the end of the sentence, after āśinavē; nothing could be more natural, for the two phrases are in antithesis. I may add that, at the end of the edict, I can see no more plausible expedient than to correct manamē into mé nāma. Burnouf supposed an accidental repetition of the syllable mé (ma), but we cannot adhere to this explanation; we shall, indeed, see that there is no reason for admitting the presence of the negative for which Burnouf sought. Nor can I follow him further in his translation of the latter portion of this sentence. He commences a new proposition at āya vā āśinavē, which he translates, 'Et c’est là ce qu’on appelle la corruption du mal.' I scarcely see, in what precedes, to what this observation can refer; āśinavē is, on the contrary, defined a little lower down. Besides, the vē and the final ti necessarily range this proposition in order with that which precedes it. We shall establish a perfectly natural and connected sense if we translate: "One does not say ‘I have committed such and such a fault, or such and such an action is a sin.’" There is here no tautology. The first proposition deals with the material fact of the bad action which one does not feel bound to confess, the second deals with the exact appreciation of the value of those actions which one abstains from dwelling upon. Indeed, the remainder of the edict has for its object: 1st, to inculcate the necessity of self-examination; 2nd, to enlighten the conscience by definition, such as it is, of sin. With regard to āśinavē, see the preceding edict.

3. The irregular orthography of pāṭighākha for pāṭīyavākhā will be remarked. This anomaly occurs again, e.g. in pāṭighākhāmi, vi. 4, and also in anuṇaṭhamāna, viii. 2. The root prati-ava-tākh is consecrated in Buddhist terminology to the sense of 'examination of the conscience,' ‘self-examination.’ See, for example, a passage of the Visuddhimagga, quoted by Childers (sv. pachchavākhākha), which, among five subjects of self-examination, distinguishes those passions, which have been destroyed and those regarding the passions which are yet to be destroyed. These are exactly the two classes of self-examination of which the king speaks here. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the two words chu khō mark a double reservation. The first depends on the preceding phrase: One does not render an account of the evil which one commits; it is true that this self-examination is difficult. The second depends on this phrase itself: this self-examination is difficult, yet still it is necessary to examine oneself. Then follows the tenour of this examination.

4. Āśinavāgāmāna does not mean ‘the vices which come from āśrava, but ‘the actions which come under the category of āśrava or of sin.’ This is the only translation which agrees at once with the customary use of gāmin and with the general sense of the passage. The kēvān of the preceding phrase gives us notice that we are about to have an explanation of the self-examination which the king demands. As a matter of fact, the sentence commences with imdēn, which is in exact parallelism with the āyam of the preceding propositions. Moreover, and this is altogether decisive in the matter, the versions of Radhia and of Mathia mark off this beginning of the sentence with an ītē, which emphasizes its real purport. The continuation, yathā, &c., is an explanatory development, a kind of summary definition intended to explain the nature of āśrava, and in what sin consists. Chāndha, the equivalent of the abstract noun chaṇḍiya, does not appear to have been used in the classical language.

5. Hitherto this last sentence of the edict has not been understood. Neither the phrases nor even the words have been properly separated. The new copies, which supply us clearly with the reading kālabānā, can leave no doubt as to the construction. On the other hand, as most of the versions give palībhāsayaśinā (i.e. palībhāsayaśina) āsa, it is clear that the ī
inserted between the two words by two of the versions represents iti. It hence follows that this phrase is put in the mouth of a third person, i.e. of the sinner, and that it defines that which it is necessary to watch carefully, with energy (baddhaññi dekkhiiyaññu). Numerous passages (e.g. K. viii., 2; Kh. xii., 32; Sahasaram, I.; infra, viii., 1, &c.) leave no doubt as to the force of baddhaññu, which is that of a kind of superlative. The phrase isyakaβātana, &c., by itself offers no serious difficulty. Paliβhāsati in Pali means to decry, 'to calumniate,' 'to defame.' This is the meaning which we have here, whether the causal should have its full force, 'to cause to calumniate,' or whether, as appears to me more likely, it only conveys the meaning of the simple root. We have already met the form hakana as equivalent to ahaññu, and we shall subsequently meet it still oftener. That, therefore, which it is necessary to watch against with care, is the tendency to spread calumnies by reason of, i.e. under the inspiration of, envy. The versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah complete the sentence with a final iti, thus clearly shewing that the last phrase, iyaññu me, &c., is also comprised amongst the things which are to be made a subject of consideration. We thus arrive at this perfectly natural interpretation: 'it is necessary to say to oneself, "that (this watchfulness in avoiding calumny and envy) will be to my benefit in this world, that will be to my benefit in the other life."' It is plain that we cannot admit the negative for which Burnouf sought in manamethi. The king never separates, and above all, never opposes present advantage and future (or, more properly, religious) advantage; and, in any case, if he ever did, the opposition would here be unintelligible. It cannot be supposed that the king should consider watchfulness in avoiding calumny as without effect on one's future destiny. Regarding my conjecture expressed above, according to which I read iyaññu me nāma, I would point out that the correction of 18 to 18 is particularly easy. As for punah, supposing for a moment that it can be represented by a form māna, it cannot easily be explained here, where nothing calls for an antithesis.

I therefore translate this edict in the following manner:

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyaññasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—A man only seeth his good deeds; he saith unto himself, "I have done such and such a good deed." But, on the other hand, he seeth not the evil which he doth commit. He saith not unto himself, "I have done such and such an evil deed; such and such a deed is a sin."

True it is that this self-examination is painful; yet still should a man watch over himself, and say unto himself, "such and such deeds, such as rage, cruelty, anger and pride, constitute sins." A man must watch himself with care, and say, "I will not yield to envy, nor will I speak evil of anyone; that will be for my great good here below, and that verily will be for my great good in the world to come."

FOURTH EDICT.

Prinsep, p. 585 and ff.; Lassen, Ind. Alterth. II. p. 258, n. 2; p. 272, n. 1; p. 274, n. 1; Burnouf, p. 740 and ff.; Kern, Naartelling der zuyseldiēke Buddhisten, p. 94 and ff.

TEXT.

1 Dēvānaṃpiyā Piyaññasi laja hēvaññu āhā [ ] saññvastivassa
2 abhisitēna me iyaññu dhaññimalipi likhāpita [ ] lajukā me
3 bahusā pānasatassahasāsu janasi ayāta 1 tesaññu ye abhīhāle va
4 daññē va atapatiyē me kaññi lajukā asvatha abhitā
5 kāmāni pavataevāni janasa janapadasa hitasukhaññu upadāhevi
6 anugahāneva chā 2 [ ] sukhyanaudukhyanaññu jānisaññu dhaññamayetēna cha
7 viyōvadisaññī 4 janaññu jēcēsa jan kiññi hidataññu cha pālataññu cha
8 āḷādhañyāna ti [ ] lajukā pi laghaññī 3 pāṭichalitavē maññu puliññu pi me
9 chhaddaṃnāni pāṭichalisaññī tēpi cha kāni viyōvadisaññī yēna maññu lajukā
NOTES.

1. If there is no doubt as to the meaning there is at least some regard to the original form of the word which is here written áyutá. Dr. Kern corrects to áyutá, Sanskrit áyuktá) both the form and meaning of which are satisfactory. It is nevertheless remarkable that lower down (D. viii, 1), in an expression exactly agreeing with that of the present sentence, we again find the same reading, áyutá, in which here all the versions are unanimous. It is the same in the third passage in which the word appears (Dhauli, 1st detached Edict, I, 4). On the other hand, when we have certainly before us the substantive áyukti (Dh., detached Edict L. 11; II. 8; and also in line 15 of the present edict) the n, so far from being omitted, has acted on the y which precedes it, and has changed it into u. — áyuti. I doubt, however, whether we should go back to the analysis proposed by Lassen and adopted by Burnouf (áyuttá). Even if we call in the aid of the analogy of sumáyatta, the meaning does not exactly suit. 1 only see in the orthography here used the trace of some confusion which may have arisen in popular usage between the two participles, in themselves quite distinct, áyutta, and áyatta.

2. The meaning abhíhála is not defined exactly by the ordinary use of the word. The meaning 'offering,' which is that commonly met with in Páli, does not suit the present passage, 'Confiscation,' adopted by Burnouf, and doubtless derived by him from the signification of 'taking,' 'theft,' attested by classical Sanskrit, is very arbitrary. Further on (I. 14-15) we shall see a direct parallelism between abhíhála and dānā, on the one side, and viyóhálasamatá and dánásamatá on the other. It follows that here abhíhála should have a value very nearly akin to that of viyóhála. Vyávahára points to a judicial action. I think, therefore, that we cannot do better than agree with Dr. Kern in deducing, for abhíhára, after the analogy of abhípága, the meaning of 'pursuit,' 'prosecution' in general, derived from the signification attack, of which evidence exists.

Similarly, with regard to atapatiyé, I agree with Dr. Kern in analyzing it as átma-páti, but I am compelled, by the general sense of the edict to give an altogether different meaning to the word. The sentence is repeated a little lower down, and we cannot separate the explanations of the two passages. In both instances we see that the measures taken by the king have for their end the giving to the rajjukas a feeling of complete security, and the enabling them to attend without fear to the duties of their mission. But the second passage specifies another aim also of the king. The measures taken have their origin in a desire of securing 'uniformity (or equality) in the prosecutions, and uniformity in the punishments.' How could the king secure such a result while abandoning to his officials the arbitrary and uncontrolled right of deciding as to whether prosecutions were to be instituted or not, and as to the nature of
extent of the punishments to be inflicted? This, it must be observed, is the meaning to which the translation of the learned Leyden professor leads. All is explained if we take dtum as referring to the king himself, and, in this agreeing with Burnouf, the prosecutions and the punishments as concerning, not the persons committed to the charge of the rajjūkas, but these functionaries themselves. 'I reserve to myself, personally,' says the king, 'the institution of prosecutions against, and the awarding of punishments upon, them.' It is manifest that this is an excellent method for establishing a perfect uniformity in the legal responsibilities of these officers; and it is at the same time a weighty guarantee on behalf of those most interested. They could fulfill their duties without inquietude, knowing that they were responsible to the king alone, and that therefore they escaped the possible intrigues and enmities of any official superiors. I deem it useless to insist on the reasons which render inadmissible the interpretation which Burnouf, misled by a false analysis of atapatīyē, proposed for this sentence.

3. There can, I think, be no doubt as to these last words, regarding which the reading seachā, instead of seu chā, has hitherto misled interpreters. Anugahinēva is nothing but the optative of anughrīṣṭi, derived and spelled according to all the analogies of Prākrit, and in particular of the dialect of our inscriptions. The su is for yu, as in upadahēva, and in many other instances to which attention either has been or will be drawn. The translation is quite simple. The aim of the king is that the rajjūkas should provide for, and favour the welfare and the happiness of, the populations. We have previously shown how familiar the word anugrahā is to the language of the king. It has almost the appearance of a technical term.

4. In order to understand this member of the sentence, it is indispensable to compare with it the expression of the viiith Col. Ed., i. 2, which refers to it and sums it up. There the king expresses the mission given to rajjūkas as follows: hēvāna cha hēvāna cha pālyēvadēthā janau dhāmāmayutpayat. This comparison appears to me to condemn the translation proposed by Dr. Kern (cf. again J. R. A. S., N. S., xii. pp. 392 and 393, note). Ēvadāti has in Buddhist language the exact and ascertained meaning of 'to exhort,' 'to preach.' We have already explained this in discussing the Vth edict. Viyēvadāti has the same signification, except for the shade of diffusion which, marked here by the prefix vi, is in the circular edict given by the prefix pari. We have a direct proof of this in Dhamil, vii. vi; viyēvadēti[ṣī] corresponding to ēvadātiyāna of the other versions. This meaning is also the only one which suits the following sentence.

On the other hand, the same comparison prevents our taking yuta in dhāmāmayutā as a neuter, and translating, with Burnouf, 'conformably to law.' I have on a former occasion (l. 78) had occasion to remark that throughout our inscriptions dhāmāmayutā, or its equivalent, yuta, whether in the singular or in the plural, has always the same meaning, and designates the faithful people, the co-religionists of the king. So it is in the xiiiith edict, in which the king enjoins his officials to confirm them by their exhortations in their good sentiments; so it is also here. We have, in fact, a very simple means of putting the present passage in complete agreement with the former one: it is to take the instrumental in its meaning, so common and well known, of association. We accordingly translate, 'and with the faithful (at the same time as the faithful) they will exhort all the people.'

We are now in a position to restore all its regularity to the rest of the sentence. We can only, if we follow the usual style of these edicts, refer ādāhayēva to the people, to those who are set under authority, as the subject. Kiśīti, in short, always announces the intention attributed to the subject of the proposition; here, to the subject of viyēvadēsamuti, i.e. to the rajjūkas. As we enter, with kīśīti and ti, into the direct style, it would be necessary, if the verb applied to these officials, that it should be in the first person and not in the third. The idea of the king is therefore incontestably this: —the rajjūkas shall preach the gospel to my subjects, in order to provide for their welfare in this world and in the world to come.'

5. There can be little doubt here about the restoration of laghantī to chaughantī. The difference between j and ç is very slight, and the evidence of the other versions seems to be decisive. As to this form, no one has as yet noted its parallel use in Prākrit, or has determined
its prototype in Sanskritis. Dr. Kern compares the Hindustānī chāhā, the meaning of which, 'to desire,' 'to wish,' would be sufficiently suitable.

But to explain directly, and without any intermediate form, an expression of the time of Aśoka by Hindustānī, is in itself so desperate an expedient, that it appears to me necessary to search once more in a less distant region. I have only a conjecture to offer. I should propose to take chaghāti as an alteration of jūgrati like pati-jaggati, which is so continually employed in the Buddhist language in the meaning of 'to take care,' 'to watch.' Pāli presents more than one example of the hardening of a medial into a tensis (cf. E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pāli Gramm., p. 40; Trenckner, Pāli Miscellany, 161 and ff.), and the other Prākṛtś have even more instances. There are several in our inscriptions: I mention only one,—kubhā = gubhā.

Pāṭichalati should be taken purely and simply as an equivalent of paricharati, only used in the classical language in the meaning, here very suitable, of 'to serve,' 'to obey.' Examples of the substitution of pratī for pari are not wanting in the Prākṛt dialects. I cite only the Pāli pati-pātī for paripaṭī; and the Buddhist Sanskrit pari-jāgrati, beside the Pāli pari-jaggati(cf. Mahāvastu, I. 433; cf. also ibid., p. 396).

Dr. Kern, as well as Burnouf, corrects pulisāṇi into pulisāṇaṁ, and makes it a genitive dependent on the substantive cchandāvānāṁ. The unanimity of the versions prohibits our considering a correction which is not so easy as it would seem at first, the regular form being pulisāṇaṁ (I) and not pulisāṇaṁ (E). It only remains for us to take pulisāṇi as a nominative plural. So great is the confusion amongst the genders in all our texts, and the analogies in the history of the popular languages (I refer above all to Buddhist Sanskrit) are so numerous, that the use of a neuter termination with a masculine noun need not stop us for a moment.

It is clear that the sense thus obtained is in every way satisfactory. Throughout the entire edict, the first thought of the king is visibly to connect all his officials directly with his personal action,—to cause his orders, his wishes, to reign everywhere and immediately. So it is here: 'The rajākus shall apply themselves to serve me, and (under their influence) the officials (designated generally under the term "men of the king") will follow my wishes and my orders.'

The parallel versions establish the true reading beyond a doubt to be cchandāvānāṁ, and not cchandāvānī. There is therefore no need of thinking of a secondary derivative, equivalent in meaning to cchandā. Burnouf had already thought of taking pulisāṇi as the masculine, and of analysing cchandāvānāṁ into cchandājāna, but he would have made the two words accusatives and the second an epithet of the former. All this construction is irreconcilable with the meaning of pāṭichalasāṇi. It is, on the contrary, very simple to recognise cchandāvānāṁ as a Dvandva, compounded of cchanda and aṇā, 'will and order,' in the accusative case, dependent on pāṭichalāti.

There are, however, three syllables, the analysis of which it is necessary to correct. Hitherto chākāni has been considered as one word, the equivalent of the Sanskrit chakrāṇi, (or, after correction, chakrāṇāṁ) and attempts have in turn been made to translate it as 'a body of troops' and as 'a province.' I have already (I. 161) had occasion to indicate that it is necessary to divide it into cha kāni. I have shown the existence of an adverb kāni in the language of Piyadasi; it depends on the evidence of the passages in the vīth. (1. 6) and viiith. (1. 18) edicts, where kāni is not as in our other examples, preceded by cha. As regards the meaning, it remains somewhat undetermined, as indeed might be expected from its origin. The example of the vīth. edict (I. 9) might suggest our attributing to it the meaning of 'in general,' 'in a general way;' but it seems to me to be, on the whole, safer, for the reasons given in the passage above referred to, to consider kāni as almost equivalent to khalu, and the phrase cha kāni to the phrase cha khalu so commonly met with in this style.

Vēru, in the twelfth line, means 'in order that,' but this is not the only meaning which the word can have: that of 'because' is not less common. If we adopt this latter meaning here (I. 9), and refer tē, as would be natural, to the 'pulisāṇi,' we get a satisfactory explanation of the whole sentence. 'Let the rajākās conform to my views, and all my officers carry out my wishes. They also (the officers) will spread my religious teaching far and wide, if
the rajjūkas take pains to satisfy me.' In other words, the king entrusts the rajjūkas with a mission of superintendence over his officers in general, which, if properly conducted, should ensure their joint action in helping forward his religious intentions.

6. It is unnecessary to discuss again infinitive forms like pariḥatavē for pariḥartavē. The meaning of pariḥaratī is quite fixed by the custom of Buddhist language, in which it signifies 'to busy oneself,' 'to take care of,' (cf. e.g. Mahāvastu, I. 403). All the rest of the sentence has been ingeniously explained by Burnouf. Dr. Kern has improved his analysis with regard to the word viyēta, which he transcribes, not by vyēpta, but by vyakta.

7. With Dr. Kern, I consider samatā as not equivalent to sāntā, but as representing the nominative plural sāntāh. I have already (K. xiii. 11) drawn attention to the nominative ayē for eyaṇa; and this would be the exact converse, if the final ē were not transformed into ē in this dialect; but the frequent changes in it of nominatives neuter (aṁ) into nominatives masculine (ē) would furnish a ready foundation for a confusion of this nature. Sāntāh in this position will not construe. Regarding the rest of this sentence, see note 2. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the close correlation which the words yēna, ēṭēna, 'in order that,' 'for this purpose,' establish between the two members of the sentence. With a form slightly different, the sense is exactly the same as in lines 3-5.

8. I cannot agree with previous commentators in taking kiṅga as = kṛitiḥ. It must be the particle kiṅga, so common in our inscriptions. The termination of ichehiṁyē, which is the same in all versions, and above all a comparison with Bhabra, l. 6, and with Dh., detached edict i, 3, 9-11, &c., appear to me to be absolutely decisive. Ėṣā, as happens elsewhere (e.g. l. 19 of the preceding edict), and ichehiṁyē, represent neuters.

I have already stated the meaning in which I take samatā. I know of no authority, either in Sanskrit or Buddhistic usage, for turning the word from its proper signification, which is not 'impartiality' (Burnouf), or 'equity' (the equitas of Dr. Kern), but 'equality' or 'uniformity.' It is this last meaning, too, which leads us to a correct understanding of the whole idea.

9. The transcription of dērito (Burnouf's dērito is an obvious misprint) for duviti is admissible; but the meaning 'change of resolution' is unexpected, and entirely arbitrary. I have intimated above (note 1) that I transcribe it as dūkta. The change of y to v under such conditions is so common that it need not cause us to hesitate for a moment. This transcription is moreover the only possible one in the dēvāvumē of the 2nd detached edict of Dhauli (l. 8), as Dr. Kern has already recognised. So also in annavūtī (1st detached edict, l. 11), as we shall see later on. The meaning suits exactly, 'from henceforth, this is my injunction, my decision.'

10. I have already (l. 158) had occasion to fix the true signification of titita (tirita). Tirita refers especially to the completion, to the judgment of a case, and tititadaṁsa signifues 'those men whose sentence of punishment has been delivered.' Yēta appears to me to have been perfectly explained by Dr. Kern, through its connection with the Sanskrit yauṭaka, and gives the sense, first suggested by Burnouf, of 'respite.'

The revision of the different versions of the Corpus confirms the original reading jītiyē tānāṁ throughout. It is on this (and not on tiṁnam) that our interpretation must be founded, Dr. Kern’s conjecture (jītiyēti nāṇḍañhāṇaṁ, &c.) must be condemned by one fact alone, that in our text tānāṁ ends a line; and that hence, to judge from the constant practice of the texts which avoid the division of a word between two lines, the syllable nāṁ could not be separated from the syllable which precedes it, to be joined to those which follow. Tānāṁ suits the sense admirably. It is simply the well-known genitive plural of the pronoun ta. It can clearly only apply to the condemned persons who have just been named. It is also certain that these same persons are the subjects of the verbs which follow, dāhantī and kāchāntī; and from this I draw several conclusions. First, that tānāṁ belongs to the sentence of which the verb is nijhpayiṁsāktī. It must, moreover, be the last word of that sentence, for va cannot
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Commence a new one, and nijhāpayitā requires an object. It further follows that the condemned, under consideration, cannot be the subject of nijhāpayisvāti. This is the more important, as this verb has much puzzled interpreters, and no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered for it. Jhāp has been derived from kshap, the causal of kahi, and from a phonetic point of view, no objection can be taken to this. But, putting out of the question the fact that this verb is used nowhere else with the particle ni, this analysis leads to most complicated and unsatisfactory constructions. We find in Pāli the verb nijhāpāti (cf. Childers, s. v.), the regular causal of the Sanskrit ni-dhyāi, with the perfectly legitimate meaning of 'to cause to know,' 'to turn the attention towards.' We have here, it is true, the shortened form, nijhāpāti; but this occurs under the same influences as those which have produced ṭhapāti from sthāpayi and other similar examples. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from identifying this verb as occurring here. The subject of the verb must necessarily either be indefinite, as often happens in our inscriptions (cf. dekhānāti above in the 1st edict), or, which will come to the same thing, the officials, these pūrasas and vajjikas, of whom mention has just been made.

A very easy explanation now unfolds itself for the phrase which commences with nāsāntā. I grant, says the king, a respite of three days to those condemned to death before the execution of their punishment; 'they will bring them face to face with neither more nor less,' or in other words, they will explain to them that a space of three days and no more is all the delay accorded to them to live. This translation agrees exactly with the nijhāpayitā of the following sentence. Hitherto a participle absolute has been sought for in this word; but in that case the use of the form nisjīta, a few lines above, would have led us to expect nijhāpayitā. It is really a plural participle with which we are dealing, āpayitā being for āpāti, just as we find āsāpayitam in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and sukhayita below (viii. 3). Burnouf, I may add, took the word as a participle, although he analysed the root in an altogether different manner. The meaning is therefore, 'he who has had his attention drawn to,' who is warned of. The object can only be nāsanātā, which, as Lassen suggests, can well be referred back to nāsāntā, 'the term' or 'limit of their execution.'

Vā is vai, or rather, as we so often meet it, eva.

It is unnecessary to refer again to the adjective pālatka, or to the futures dekhānāti and kachhānāti.

11. The phrase niludhabhi kālāsi is the last in this inscription which offers any difficulty. Both Burnouf and Dr. Kern suggest a reading niludhasāpī kālāsi, 'during the time of their imprisonment.' If this translation is to be retained, the correction is indispensable. It would nevertheless, in the face of the agreement of all the facsimiles and versions, be better to avoid it if possible. To this consideration must be added others which are, I admit, less decisive. In the first place, we should have rather expected nilōdhasa, as both Burnouf and Dr. Kern have perceived. In the second, the use of kāla to denote the time which elapses, or 'period,' does not appear to me to be in accord with the custom of the language. I propose to avoid these various difficulties by taking kālāsi as the locative of kārā, 'prison.' The change of gender need not surprise us after so many analogous examples: at any rate, it is not so astonishing to meet the masculine locative kārasi of kārā, as to meet a feminine locative kālāyāni of kāla, at Rūpānā (L. 2). Niludhasā would then appear in its proper position as a participle, and the locative would mean, 'even in a closed dungeon'; 'even when shut up in a dungeon.' This interpretation appears to me to render more striking, at least in form, the evidently intentional antithesis between this phrase and pālatānā.

12. This last portion represents, as indicated by the final iti, either a wish or an intention of the king. It appears as if a potential were needed. Perhaps we have here, if we take raṅkhāti as being for raṅkāti, one of those traces of the subjunctive to which we have more than once drawn attention both in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. Mahāvastu, I. 499, &c.).
TRANSLATION.

Thus saith king Piyadasa, dear unto the Dēnas:—In the twenty-seventh year of my coronation, I have had this edict engraved. Amongst many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, have I set over the people rajjukas. I have kept in my own hands the ordering of all prosecutions against and of all punishments upon them, in order that these rajjukas may attend to their duties in security and without fear, and that they may establish and develop the happiness and prosperity of the population of my dominions. They will make themselves acquainted with their good and evil plight, and, together with the Faithful, they will exhort the (entire) population of my dominions so as to secure their welfare both in this world and in the world to come. The rajjukas will set themselves to obey me, and so will my purushas also obey my wishes and my orders. They will exhort far and wide, if the rajjukas set themselves to satisfy me. Just as, after confiding a child to a skilful nurse, a man feels secure, saying to himself, “a skilful nurse sets herself to take care of my child,” so have I appointed these rajjukas for the happiness and prosperity of my subjects. In order that they may attend to their duties in security and free from disturbing thoughts, I have kept in my own hands the ordering of prosecutions against, and of all punishments upon, them. For it is desirable that uniformity should exist, both in the prosecutions and in the punishments. From this day (I pass the following) rule:—To prisoners who have been judged and have been condemned to death, I grant a respite of three days (before execution). (My officers) will warn them that they have neither more nor less to live. Warned thus as to the limit of their existence, they may give alms in view of their future life, or may give themselves up to fasting. I desire that even those who are shut in the prisonhouse may secure (their happiness in) the world to come, and I wish to see developing the various practices of the Religion, the bringing of the senses under subjection, and the distribution of alms.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIEHLBORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first two of these inscriptions, at Mr. Fleet’s request, from excellent ink-impressions made and supplied to me by him. My notice of the third is also from his ink-impression; but in this instance, owing to the condition of the original plate, the impression is not suitable for editing in full. And my account of the fourth inscription is from imperfect rubbings which were received through Sir A. Cunningham.

A.—Copper-Plate Grant of Chandradēva and Madanapāladēva.

The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription has been previously edited, with a translation, by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXVII. pp. 220-241. It is on a copper-plate which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. No information is available as to where the plate was discovered.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 9" by 1' 2". The edges of it are both fashioned thicker and raised into rims, to protect the writing. Portions of the plate are somewhat worn, especially on the proper right side, from line 8 to about line 15; but there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription, with the exception of the first three aksharas of line 13, which are almost completely obliterated by the incrustation of rust, so that only very faint traces of them are visible in the impression. The plate is thick and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is bold and excellent; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the tool.—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there passes a ring about 9/16" thick and 3/4" in
diameter. This ring had been cut before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice; but there is no reason for supposing that the present ring and seal are not the ones properly belonging to this plate. On the ring there slides a bell-shaped seal, about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)\" high from top to bottom; it fits on to the ring by a circular opening, about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)\" in diameter, in the lower end of it. The surface of the seal is circular, about 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)\" in diameter. In relief on a slightly countersunk surface, it has, at the top, a representation of Garaṣṭa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling half front and half to the proper right, but with the face turned quite round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the legend śrī-
Madanaśālādevaḥ; and at the bottom, a śūkha or conch-shell.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{4}\)\". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, with nothing remarkable about it, except that in lines 15 and 16 there occurs the unusual phrase a padma-
sadmassañca hūhākāтратuṣ ydevat, in place of the ordinary a-chandarūkam.¹—As regards orthography, b is throughout written by the sign for v; the dental sibilant is 39 times employed for the palatal sibilant (e.g. in asūtadhyāna, line 1, Yāsūṣāraha and yasaṅ, line 2, samiṭūśa, line 3, &c.), and the palatal sibilant for the dental sibilant in śva-dattī, line 20, and sahaṅḍī, line 21; and the dental n is used instead of the anusvāra in vanaṅ, line 1. A few other mistakes will be pointed out and corrected in the transcript of the text.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhatāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, Madanaśālādeva (or, as he calls himself in line 23, Madanaśālādeva) of Kanyakūja (or Kanauj), who records that his father, the Paramabhatāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, Chandraśālādeva, when at Benares, granted the village of Aśūma, in the Dhanḍārāmanuā pattalī, to the Brāhmaṇa Vāmanaśāmāśārman, a student of the Śāmāvēda. And the date on which this grant was made by Chandraśālādeva,² is stated (in lines 11 and 12), both in words and in figures, to have been Monday, the third lunar day of the bright half of the month Māgha of the year 1154, uttarāyana-saṅkrānta.

That there is something remarkable about this date, or that, at any rate, the term uttarāyana-saṅkrānta cannot have here its ordinary and well-known meaning ‘on the sun’s entrance upon its northern course,’ is evident from the date itself. For the uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, which introduces the solar month Māgha, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar Māgha, and it therefore cannot possibly take place on the third day of the bright half of the lunar Māgha. It is, of course, possible that the grant may have been actually made on the occasion of the uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, and recorded on a subsequent date; but there is nothing to show that such was really the case. And I would rather confess that there is something here which, at present, I do not understand; and I can only draw attention to the date given ante, Vol. X. p. 188, in which the uttarāyana-
saṅkrānti apparently is similarly coupled with the fifth of the bright half of Māgha; and to two other dates, quoted ante, Vol. VIII. pp. 191 and 192, in which it has been coupled with certain days of the months Phālguna and Chaitra, when the sun can never enter upon its northern course.³—Omitting the reference to the uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, I find that the third day of the bright half of Māgha of the northern or southern Vikrama year 1154, current, corresponds to 19 January, A.D. 1097, which was a Monday, as required (and was the 27th day of the solar Māgha); for, on that day, the third tīthi of the bright half ended about 10 hours after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). And the third day of the bright half of Māgha of the

¹ See below, note 40.
² Dr Hall took the date to refer to the time when the deed was ordered to be drawn up by Chandraśālādeva’s son Madanaśālādeva, solely because, in Dr. Hall’s opinion, one would expect to read, in line 12, nītēs instead of nītēs, if the date were meant to refer to Chandraśālādeva’s original grant. But nītēs has undoubtedly to be referred to Chandraśālādeva’s original grant, and its use is perfectly correct, because the agent of nītēs must be the same as the agent of pradattā (in śva-dattī, line 20) in line 16.
³ In the numerous dates before me which mention an uttarāyana- or makara-saṅkrānti, that Saṅkrānti is generally coupled with a day of the bright or dark half of Phālguna; and I can at present recall only two dates where, in a northern year, the same Saṅkrānti is (rightly) coupled with a day of the dark half of Māgha. The whole subject apparently is too intricate to be treated here incidentally.
northern or southern year 1154, expired, corresponds to Friday, 8 January, A.D. 1098; while the uttarāyana-samkrānti had taken place on Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1097, which was the third day of the dark half of Māgha, by the pūrṇimānta, or of Pausha, by the amanita reckoning.

The village granted, and the pattalā in which it was situated, I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

**TEXT.**

I Ōn svasati II Akuṇṭhottama Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapūra laṭhār-karaḥ | samrambhāḥ surat-ārambhāḥ sa Śrīyāḥ śrīyāḥ-stu vah II Āsīḍ=Āsī(ā)tyadyi-vaṃsā(mā)-jāta-kshamāpā-mālsāva āṭvāh-gatāsa II sākṣāhūd-Vi-

2 vasvānāvāh bhūri-dhāma-nāmaṃ Yasyāḥ(tō)vidvāna ityudāraḥ II Tat sarvābhāmaḥ Mahāchandraḥ-chandra-dhāma-nibhām niṃjām | yenaś paramaḥ aparāpamāḥ āṣaṃś parāḥ yuj- pārātām yasa(sa)h II Tasya=abhūt-tenayā yasi-aika-rasikāḥ krānta-divi-

3 shan-maṇḍala vidhīvast-ōdṛhata dhīra(ś) yoddha-timirāḥ śrī-Chandra-dvāro nipaḥ | yena odāratara-pratāpa-sa(sa) mit-as(ā)sa praṇ-ōāprāvām śrīmad Gādhipura-ūdhirā- jyām-asasamāḥ dṛ-viṇkrāṃṣ-vājirājām II Tirthāni11 Kāsī(śi)-Ku-

4 sī(śi)K-Ottarākosa(sa) Ėndrasthānīyakāṇi pariṇālayat-āśhīr guṇa sa | hēm aṭma-gotiyāya dharmāna-sa(sa)yaṃ datātā dvijēdbhō yēnā-āukiṣā vahumati ya(sa)asa(sa) | talābūhī II Tasya=ātma-madānapāla śī kahītindra-chū-

5 dīmaṇīr-vviyaṣyate nīya-gotra-chandraḥ | yasya-ūbhūsaka-kalaś-ūkāsāya paiḥ pāḥ bhākṣyāyatā nīya-rājā kula-saṅkapā II Yasyā=āśā=vvījaya prayaṃgaṁ sa- 

6 nāyam-kumbhi pada-kram-āśama bhara-bhṛṣyamaḥ maḥa-maṇḍalāḥ | chuddārati-viśvina-tāla-galita-styān-āśrī udāhāsāthāḥ Śe(ā)śa| pēsha vasā(sa)deva kṣaṇam-āsau krodē nilnānana II Śe=yaṃ samasta r-

7 ja-chakra-saṃśīvita-charaṇaḥ II11 paramabhāṣṭīraka mahā-rājājīdhirāja-paramāṃśava śvāra paramaṁśāsva śvāra niśabhujopārījīta-śrī Kanyakvujā(bā) dhīpatya śrī Chandrā- dvā-pādāṇūdhāyāt-pa-

8 ramabhāṣṭīraka mahā-rājājīdhirāja-paramāṃśa śvārā paramaṁśāsva śvāra śrīman Madānapāla-dvāro vijayi II12 chha II Dha'nāśaramasa-pattalāyām Ahuṣāṇa-grāmaṇīvāsinī nāvakāla- jana-pādān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājā-yuvāraṇa mantri-ūdbhā-śrībhūra-sūnā- 

9 nikhilā-ūdbhā-anupatī bhād-īgārik-akoṣāpanatalika-bhīṣha(g) naiśīmikā-kāntaṇābhiḥdāta-kārūgangapa-

10 ttañka-rasātvānīgātoyāyaṇa mañjāyāyāy vēvōbō dhārayāt-sūyasa(sa)ti cha | Viditam-asti bhavaṭām13 yathāparipūkha-grīmaḥ sa jala-salaḥ su-lōha- 

11 madhūka-chūṭa-vana-vālitā-vijaya-trīṣa-yūti-gōchā-parantah sa gantrī-ārāhāḥ s-ōdṛ-dvā- ādhaś-chaṭra-anāhārī-vasū(sa)ddōh [sva]-sūmī-panantah chaṭuha(s)napaḥ-mūca-sa(s)ad-ādha-sa(s)taikāsāsa(s) saṁvatsarā Māghe ma-

12 si su(suk)kia-pakṣaṇa śṛṭīgyaṇa Śōma-dīne Vāraṇasyāṁ uttarāyana(ṇa)13 saṁkrānta anātaḥ saṁvāt 1154 Māgha su di 3 Sōme Vāraṇasyāṁ 

dvā-śrī-Trīlochana-gaṇghātī Gaṅgāyāṁ sūttvā śrīnā-

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* From the impression.  
* Expressed by a symbol.  
* Metre, śloka (Anuśṭubh).  
* Metre, śloka (Anuśṭubh).  
* Metre, Śrīdīvādhaṇita.  
* Metre, Śrīdīvādhaṇita.  
* This is distinctly dhīra, and not vṛtta.  
* This akṣara, bhī, is quite distinct here.  
* This sign of vissaya had originally been omitted.—I believe the right reading to be śīṣyāḥ śīṣaḥ-carī-dvēva: see ante, Vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.  
* This sign of punctuation is superfluous.  
* These signs of punctuation are superfluous. On the sign, resembling ohāra, which stands between them, see ante, Vol. XVI. p. 146, note 45.  
* The consonant, dh, of this akṣara is quite distinct, but the whole akṣara may possibly be dhī.  
* This sign of punctuation is superfluous.  
* The actual reading of the text is uttarānayaṇa.—Uttarānayaṇa for uttarāyana we also find ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 22.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.  

(JANUARY, 1889.)

13 [n.mahār? Ṛ]jāja-Śrī-Chaṁdradēvēṇa vidhyavan=mamtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitrī- 
gāṁś=tarpaṇya-tīva timi-ra-pātala-pātana-pātu=mahasam=Uḍḍiṇorōchēham=upasthāy= 
Añashadhipati=sā(ṣa)kāla-sē(ṣe)khaṁ samabhyarchchya 

14 [tri]bhuvana-trātare Vṛsūdevasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachuru-pāyasena havishā 
havivitām ātma-pitrī-rāmāṇa-sa paṇya-yāsas(ṣ)ī-bhivīdhyāyē 
Kausi(śi)kka-gōtrāya Visvā(śvā)mitra-Andalay-Dē-varāta³⁷-trīpravāra- 

15 ya Checchhaṁgōla-sā(ṣa)khiṇe vrā(brā)hēma-sā(Dē)vasvāmi-pautēya vrā(brā)hēma-sā 
Vārāhaśvāmi-purēya vrā(brā)hēma-sā Vāmanasvāma-sā̃(ṣa)rmāṇē gōk̄r̄ṣe 

16 Ṣukṣmaṁ yāvachchāsanākriya pradattā iti jñātāvā masāmbhiḥ pitri-dāna-sā(ṣa)sana 
prakṣeṣa(ṣa)nārthaṁ niṇa-nām-ākṣita-mdraṇā tāṁmah ²²-pāṭasatē niḥdhyā pradattā³³ 
matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhā- 

Bhavanti chātra slōkaṁ ²² Bhūmīḥ³³ yaḥ pratigīhnā(ḥu)ṭi yaṣeṣa 

18 yatau svarṛgga-gāminānā śa(ṣa)sākhaṁ bhadra-śānana checchhaṁ³³ varāsvā(śvā) 
vara-varāṇāḥ bhūmī-dānasya chihñāni phalasē-ṣetat-Puraṇādāra ²² Sarvāvān ²² 

19 mabhadrāḥ ²²(s)āmānḥ-yām dhamma-sēttur-nripāpā[ṇ]āḥ kāle kāle pālanyō 
bhavadbhiḥ ²² Va(ḥa)bhūrhir³³=vvasudhā(ḥā) bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ ²² 

20 phalaḥ ²² Suvarṇaṁ-ṭkaṁ gāṁ=ṭkaṁ bhūmīḥ=ṣyā=ṭkaṁ=sāgula[ṇu] ²² haran=narkam= 
apnoti yāvād-ābhuṭasampāvanā ²² Sva(svā)datāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta 
vasundharaḥ sa saṁvīraṁ kṛjīṁ=bhūvta pitriṁ bhaṁ saha 

21 majjatā ²² Shashaṁ vārā-sahācār(ī)ṁ vārgge vasaṁ bhūmidaḥ ²² achchhēttā 
ch-ānumantaṁ cha tīyā=ṣva narakam(kō) vāṣet ²² Xān=²²(ha) dhāṁ dattāṁ purā 
narēndraṁ-iddānāṁ va(ḥa)ṛantu-yāsas(ṣa)ścarāṁ ²² nirmāmā. 

22 lya-vānta-pratimāṁ tāṁ kō nāma sādvēh punar-adāditā ²² Vāt=²²(ḥha) ṛbhā-svāmahām= 
idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyaṁ stumbledā madhurā viṣhāy-ṣīyaḥbhūgāḥ³³ prāṃas= 
trīgyaṁ-jaivalīṁ-samā na 

23 rāṇām dhammaḥ sakhaḥ param=ahō paralāka-yāṇe ²² Śrīmaṁ.²² Madanadēvēṇa 
pitri-dāna-prakṣeṣa(ṣa)kāḥ ²² sā(ṣ)asanaṁ niya(ma)ndhēyaṁ kārtālaṁ sviya-mudrāya ²² (I) Līkhiṁaṁ kāraṇaṁ-ṣākṣkura- 

24 Śrī-Sahadēvēṇa I Śi(śi)vam=ṣa[stu] ²² Maṅgalaṁ mahā-Śrīḥ I 

TRANSLATION.

Oōň!

May it be well!

(Line 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuṇṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (personage) Vaṣṇuviṣṇa by name, (whom) by his plentiful splendour (sense) as it were the sun incarnate.

²² I am doubtful about these three aṣeṣaras, of which only faint traces are visible in the impression. The aṣeṣaras were certainly not drīdhatīvā.
²³ According to the Aśvalayana-Brataśtra, Calcutta Ed., p. 883, the three names are Vaivikāmitra-Dēśvarē-Andāla.
³³ Read hūmarā.
³⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anāshuḥḥ); and in the next verse.
³⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anāshuḥḥ); and in the next three verses.
³⁶ Metre, Indravajām.
³⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anāshuḥḥ).
³⁸ Metre, Vasanatilakā.
³⁹ Read ṣūkhāyēhā.
(L. 2.)—His son was Mahichandra, who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon’s splendour, 
(even) to the boundary of the ocean.

His son was the king, the illustrious Chandradēva, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (and) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (the moon does the) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gādhipura, when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kāsī, Kuśika, Uttarakōnalā, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in weight) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).

(L. 4.)—Victorious is his son, Madanapāla, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars all* impurity of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Śesha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

(L. 6.)—He who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all Rājas, the Paramabhaṭṭa-raka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Pratāpacāra, the devout worshipper of (Siva) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Madanapāladēva,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭa-raka, the Mahārājadhirāja, and Pratāpacāra, the devout worshipper of (Siva) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Chandradēva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyakubja,—

(L. 8.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of Ahuāma in the Dhanḍesaramaun pattālā, and also to the Rājas, Rājās, Yuvarājas, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynaecums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), vimānaś and gōkulas,—(as follows):

(L. 10.)—Be it known to you that the illustrious Mahārāja (?), the illustrious Chandradēva,—after having bathed in the Ganges at the ghāf of the divine holy Trilōchana at Benares, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of Vāsudēva, the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—at Benares, in the year eleven hundred increased by fifty-four, in the month Māgha in the bright half, on the third (lunar day), on a Monday, on the sun’s entrance upon its northern course, in figures, in the year 1154, su. di. 3 of Māgha, on Monday, has given, in order to increase the merit and fame of his parents and himself, the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with, and including its groves of madhūka and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with its ravines and saline wastes, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutals, up to its proper boundaries, to the Brāhmaṇ the illustrious Vāmanasāvāmmārman, son of the Brāhmaṇ the illustrious Vārāhavāmin, son’s son of the Brāhmaṇ Dēvavāmin, of the Kaṇāka gūtra, (and) whose three pravāras are Viśvāmitra, Andalaya and Dēvārāja, a student of the Chhandōga śūkhā, (confirming his gift) with (the pouring out)

*33 'Ghāf’s town' is Kanyakubja.
*34 e. Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayodhya, and probably Indraprastha (or ancient Delhi); see ante, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 46.
*35 Other grants have rajah-paṣalas 'the coating of impurity.'
*36 See ante, Vol. XV. p. 12, note 27.
*37 See ib. p. 9, note 54.
*38 See ib. p. 10, note 55.
*39 vis. of the Śāmavēda.
from the palm of his hand (of) water purified with khwa grass . . . . . 33 (and) ordaining (that it should be his) as long as sun and moon 34 (endure); —

(L. 16.) —(And) that, knowing this (to be so), to make known (our) father's order of (this) donation, we have set it forth on (this) copperplate, furnished with a seal marked with our own name, and have (thereby on our part) given (the above-written village). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over (to the donee) every kind of income, the due share of the produce, money-rent, and so forth.

(L. 17.) —And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses: —[Here follow nine of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 23.) —This deed, making known (his) father's donation, has been ordered to be drawn up by the illustrious Madanađēva, (and it is furnished) with his own seal.

Written by the writer of legal documents, the Thakura, the illustrious Sahadēva.

May it be auspicious! (May) bliss (and) good fortune (attend)!

B.—Copper-Plate Grant of Madanapāla and Gōvinda-chandradēva.

The Vikrama year 1186.

This inscription has been previously edited by Babu Durgaram Basu, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLV., Part I. Proceedings, pp. 131-135. It is on another copper-plate which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was presented by Mr. J. Growse, of Mathurā. It was discovered, in 1889, at a place called 'Rāhan' in the 'Etawah' District in the North-West Provinces, by a person who was digging in a field.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1 7/8 by 1 1/16. The front of the plate is quite smooth; but on the back of it the edges were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims all round, as if to protect an inscription that was, or was intended to be, written there; there are, however, no indications of this grant being a quasi-palimpsest through the obliteration of an inscription on the back and the engraving of a new one on the front of it. The writing is well preserved throughout; and, excepting one or two akṣaras, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The plate is substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool. —In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there fits tightly a copper rivet, secured at the front with an eleven-leaved water-lily. At the back this rivet secures a copper-band, about 1 1/16 and 1 1/16 broad, with a cross-line pattern on the outer side of it, the projecting part of which is folded over so as to give an inside circular diameter of about 3/4. Through this there slides, quite loosely, a ring about 1 1/16 thick and 2 1/8 in diameter; it had been cut, before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, and probably before the time when it was obtained by Mr. Growse; and the seal belonging to it is not forthcoming. —The average size of the letters is about 1/16.

—The characters are Nāgarī. —The language is Sanskrit. In line 23 we have the Prakrit word pūpā, for pūṣpa; in line 16 the term sthrā, probably denoting a measure of land; and in line 21 several rare revenue-terms, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. As regards orthography, the sign of the upadhānya has been employed in tuṣṭa-pāyūbhīkkhi, line 6, and antahapurika, line 13; b is throughout denoted by the sign for v; the dental sibilant is 11 times used for the palatal sibilant (e.g. in vanka, lines 1 and 2, asāsha for asāha, i.e. asāha, line 4, etc.), and the palatal sibilant 9 times for the dental sibilant (e.g. in sāya, line 2, vāsūmati, etc.).
The inscription refers itself (in line 11) to the reign of the Paramabhatāraka, Mahārāja-
dhirāja, and Paramāśvara, Madanapāladeva of Kanyakubja (or Kānauj), whose son Gōvindachandradeva, apparently acting on behalf of his father, thereby makes known that the Rāṇaka Lavarāpravāha, who must have owed allegiance to Madanapāla, when at Āsatika on the Yamuna, gave part of the village of Rāmaitha, in the Śignurōda paṭtalā, to the Brāhmaṇa Gaṇachandra, a student of the Rīgveda and emigrant from the village Bhatakavaṇḍa.

The date on which this donation was made, is stated (in lines 17 and 18), in figures only, to have been Sunday, the 15th of the dark half of the month Pausha, of the year 1166, at the time of a solar eclipse.

The introductory metrical portion (from line 1 to 10) of the inscription gives the genealogy of the so-called Rāthōr princes of Kanyakubja, down to Gōvindachandra, referring those princes, like the Basāhi plate of Gōvindachandradeva (with which this inscription has much in common), to the Gahādvāla-vamśa, and mentioning, before Madanapāla’s father Chandra-
deva, only the one prince Mahītalā, clearly the Mahītal of the Basāhi plate. The statement that Chandradeva acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja when the two great regal families of the solar and lunar races had perished, is identical in purpose with the statement of the Basāhi grant, that Chandradeva rose to power when Bhoja and Karna were no more. Beyond this attention need only be drawn to Gōvindachandra’s wars against the Hammira, which are referred to in line 9.

The text, the details of which have been given above, does not appear to work out satisfactorily. Taking 1166 to be the current northern or southern Vikrama year, the corresponding date, by the pūṁmānta reckoning, would be 4 December, A.D. 1108, and by the amānta reckoning, 3 January, A.D. 1109. On 4th December, 1108, there was a solar eclipse, but it was not visible in India, and the day was a Friday, not a Sunday; and 3rd January, 1109, was a Sunday, but without a solar eclipse. For Vikrama 1166, expired, the corresponding dates would be Thursday, 23 December, A.D. 1109, and Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1110, both without an eclipse and therefore in every respect unsuitable. And for the Vikrama year 1165, current, the corresponding date, by the pūṁmānta reckoning, would be Monday, 16 December, A.D. 1107, when, about noon, there was a solar eclipse which was visible in India; and by the amānta reckoning, Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1108, without an eclipse.—Considering that in all the years from A.D. 1100 to 1120 the 15th of the dark half of Pausha never fell on a Sunday on which there was a solar eclipse, I for the present incline to believe that some of the recorded details of the date are erroneous; but all I can say with certainty is, that of the several corresponding dates given above, Sunday, 3 January, A.D. 1109 would be the most suitable, if the writer had made a mistake concerning the eclipse.

Regarding the places mentioned, none of which I am able to identify, I may add that Āsatika on the Yamuna is also mentioned in line 9 of the Basāhi plate.

**TEXT.**

1 Ō[m*] Paramātmas[é] nāmaḥ || Akūṁṭhōkaṁṭha-"Vaikunṭha-kaṭhahītha-lutha-
karāḥ || saṁrāmbhaḥ sarat-ānamaḥ sa Śriyāḥ śṛyāṣya-stu vaḥ || Abhun="
ṣ[ṛ]pā Gahādvāla-vainīṣ[ā] Mahītalā nāma jī-

2 t-aṁrīchakṛaḥ || sthit[ō] dhārā-bhāram-śāśṭha[ī m?]" || āha Śaṁśah saṁsaḥ(khi) yaṣya su[xbhn]jē
nīdhyāya || Pradhvānta" || Sōma-Ś[īh]ṣuḥ-y-aṁbhava-vidita-mahā-kaṭhrahvaṁśa(sa)-
dvēyā-sminn-utsmanṇprāya-vedadhvani jagad-akhilah ma-
3 nyamanaḥ Svayambhūḥ 1 kriyād deva-grahāya pravapam-ih manaḥ [ś]uddhab-vu[bn]ddhir-dhihiṣṭiyām עודחדחתו drham-margsaḥ propri(ḥ)intam-atma-
4 tathā kahatra-vana-dvayaḥ cha || Vaśiīya48 tatra tataḥ sa ṣaḥ sa sambhūd-hūbhā-
5 pradhvast-ōdhaata-vairā-vidmārā iti Chandradvo niṣṇāḥ 1 yēn-
6 lī[ō]daratara-pretā-paśam-āsā(ē)ṣa-praj-ōṛpadavara śiśramad Gādhipur ādhiṣṭayaṃ-
7 asamāṇā dōv-viṅgkramēśārījitaṁ[11]
8 Tṛthāṇi[1] Kasi ni Kusi ni Ottakāśoḻ-Eendraśthānyakāni paripālayataḥ-abhigamyā 1
9 hēm-ātma tulyam-anisaṁ daḍatā dvijēbhō yēn-saṁkītā vaśu(sa)mati satasa(sa) sa-
10 tulābhiḥ || Tasya-ātma
11 Yasy śāsid-vijaya-pryāyā
12 1 ṛnṣa-samayē tuñghāchī-ōbhais-chalan-mādyata-kumbhī-pada-kra[lm]-a[s] ma-bhara-bhram-
13 syan mahīmaṃḍal[ē] 1 chudārata-vibhinnatālī galita-styān-āsī(ē)ṣa (g) udgbhāśita-
14 Šēśaḥ [py2]a-sah-vās[ā]dīva kahasaṁ-aesa[au] krō-
15 1 dē mi[nj]lān-ān[na] 1 Jātasa18-ṭatō rajanijānirvīsamvuna(m)āresā-Gg[ō]vindha-
16 chandā iti kānti-bhārābhirāmaḥ 1 rāj-ātāmaḥ[ē]ṣa na bhavata sam[u] pājā scrolling(rj)
17 tani Rāmēca Dāsarathinē eva yaś[a]ś[si] yēna || Durvāra-ṣaṃphā
19 mūhur然是-asamā-rasa kriṣiyā yō vidhāttē 1 sa[sa]sva(ṣa)sva santī-samīcharī-valgat-turag-
20 khuraṇḍ-ōllēka-mudrā-sānapa(tha)-kaḥōṇ-ōvī(ṣvī)kā-
21 ra-dakṣaḥ sa iha vijayē prithārāna kāpavrēkṣaḥ 1 Paramahāṭṭaraka mahārājā-
22 dhiga(ro)japaram[ē]ēvara-paramamahēsvara-mi ni(j)ahubhōjēṛjita-srī Kanyaku-
23 vā(bh)ēhāpāya-śrī Chandradvēśa
24 pādāṅdhṛtyā-paramahāṭṭaraka mahārāj[a] jādhrājyā-paramēśvara-paramamahēśvarā-śrī Ma-
25 danapaladēva-vijayarājē || Asy aiś-ātma mahārājaputra-śrī Gāvindhachandrā-
26 devō[12] 1
27 1 Siguroḍha-pattalā[ya*]ṁ || Rāmāthra-grāmē || samasta-mahattama-janapada-nīvāsi-
28 lōkān prativāsi-lōkān-cha || rāja-rājūḥ-matri[18] prūhit-āmāty-ākhyā(ks)patar-
29 likā(km)-hm(ḥām) dāgarika-ḥī-
30 1 shag[n] iliṣṭīka-ṣe]nāpatī[18] antaḥpurika-samast-ōdhiṣṭā-purusha-dīn samājī(ī)ē yai-
31 payati saṃvō(ḥ)dnahyā cha || Yath-āstu vidit-ēy-amit-yat-[ū]y[u]* gatā y[u]* śēṃ-
32 bhih || Vat-āstapūr-svāt-tr(i) ṇaṇgrān-ā-
35 ksha-pa-
36 drīṣṭha-mahāā ś[a][m]n-pat Kshnaṃkā[n][n]diyā-su-
37 khāni[1] Satamā[18] gatvarām ārāhīṃ-āyāḥ 1 Tad-i[da]m[f] may-āpi sakāā-
38 -śāp(e)trī athvāvīśnūnā(c) pile śruti-smṛtībhīṃ upājita-saṁchīyāena amānt-
39 phala-bhūga-bhājanaṃ bhuṁī-dānaṃ matvā[21] || asmin
40 grāmē r halāṇān chatau[ro] bhihi prasmāyēḥ[?][18] || 1 strā sa jala-śṭhālā s-śeṣara-
41 pasēhā(ṇa) 1 giri-nād[da]vī smṛtī[19] r[a]ma-māhīka-lōla-lava-ākāra 1 urdhv-
42 [r]ādha[h] siddhy-īyāta sa[sa]dāpārka-dām[da] 1 tri(triga-
44 Āṣātikāyāṃ dēvātā-sūraṭhāghaṭṭē || Yamunāyāḥ yathā-vīdhinā[16] snātē-
45 dēva-mannāya-śītī-patraṇā-ānāntaraṃ

41 Metro, Sāradāvikṛṣṭita. 18 Metro, Vasantaṭilākā; and in the next verse. 19 Metro, Sāradāvikṛṣṭita.
20 This echāra looks like gṝ or gṝ. Read sātāh, and compare ante, Vol. XIV., p. 12, note 97.
21 In the original, this echāra is s, preceded by the medial i, and followed by the medial d; but the medial u
22 is similarly denoted below in Gauda, line 9.
23 Metro, Vasantaṭilākā. 20 Metro, Sāradāvikṛṣṭita.
24 Here and below, in places which it is unnecessary to point out separately, the sign of punctuation is super-
25 fluous.
26 Read -ṛṣṭi-mahātri.
27 Read -ṣṭipatya.
28 Read sātāḥ.
29 Read sātāḥ.
30 Read ṣukula.
31 Read -niṣchayē-ānānta.
32 Read maṭe-devin.
33 Perhaps prameyā.
34 Read yathā-vīdhī.
GRANT OF MADANAPALA AND GOVINDACHANDRA.

TRANSLATION.

OM!

Adoration to the Supreme Spirit!

(Line 1)—May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuntha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!

In the Gāṇḍavallā family, there was a prince, named Mahītala, who defected the host of (his) enemies, (and) by entrusting to whose arm the whole burden of the earth, Śeṣa enjoyed permanent comfort.

**Notes:**
- **GRANT OF MADANAPALA AND GOVINDACHANDRA.**
- **TRANSLATION.**
- **OM!**
- **Adoration to the Supreme Spirit!**
- **(Line 1)—May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuntha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!**
- **In the Gāṇḍavallā family, there was a prince, named Mahītala, who defected the host of (his) enemies, (and) by entrusting to whose arm the whole burden of the earth, Śeṣa enjoyed permanent comfort.**

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**Notes:**
- "Perhaps altered to Gēya."
- "Read -sūdē-".
- "Read -sidēy."
- "Read -kāraha-".
- "Read -tēy epi."
- "Read Shashēdĕōn."
- "Read-sūtē."
- "Read-sūtēn."
- "Originally-sūtēndē (?)"
When the two well-known great regal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished, then, the self-existent (Brahman), the pure minded, considering the sound of the Veda to have become almost extinct in the whole world, having conceived the inclination to assume a bodily form here, in order to re-establish on earth the path of religion, as well as the two famous regal families,19—

In that family there was then born that illustrious prince Chandradéva, the crest-jewel of rulers, who scattered the haughty hostile warriors as (the moon does the) darkness (and) who by the valor of his arm acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gadhipura,20 when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Káshi, Kusika, Uttarakotála, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in weight) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).

(L. 5.)—Victorious is his son Madanapála, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars, the coating of impurity of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Sásha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

As (the moon) whose wife is the night (sprang) from the ocean, so was born from him Góvindáchandra, pleasing by his great loveliness, who, as son of the king, acquired fame like Ráma, the son of Dáśáratha.

Victorious is here that tree of paradise for (gratifying) requests, who, terrific in clearing the frontal globes of arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Gandá, again and again by the play of his matchless fighting makes the Hammira lay aside (his) enmity, (and who is) skilled in appropriating the earth (which is) marked by the scraping of the hoofs of (his) constantly marching bouncing horses.

(L. 10.)—In the reign of victory of the Paramabhatáraka, Mahárájájíhirája, and Paraméśvara, the devout worshipper of (Síva) Mahésvara, the illustrious Madanapáladéva,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhataráka, Mahárájájíkirája, and Paraméśvara, the devout worshipper of (Síva) Mahésvara, the illustrious Chandradéva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyákubja:—

His son, the illustrious Góvindáchandradséva, the son of the Mahárája, commands and informs all the Mahattamas and the people residing at the village of Rámaítha in the Siguródha patálaí, as well as the neighbouring people, (and) the Réjas, Réjúks, counsellors, chaplains, ministers, keepers of records, treasurers, physicians, astrologers, commanders of troops, superintendents of gynaecums, all officers having authority, and others,—as follows:—

(L. 13.)—You should know30 that this life does not last for ever. As the dew-drop which sticks to the point of a blade of grass, on account of wind and heat, has no stable position, so it is with life. Unsteady31 like the drop of water on a lotus-leaf, resembling the babble produced by the shower from a cloud, fortune appears for a moment and then vanishes. Momentary are the pleasures of the senses. Ever fleeting is the life of mortals. Of this32 I

19 The sentence contained in this verse is incomplete, because it contains no principal verb; and I consider it impossible to connect the verse grammatically with the following verse, although it may be true that Chandradéva is intended to be described as an incarnation of Brahma. To me it appears, that the verse Vatsíś tatra originally followed immediately upon the verse Abhémaśripá, and that the verse Pradhanaití sitam has been inserted here from some other prose text in which it was followed by a verse which is not given in the present inscription.
20 For this and some of the following names and expressions compare the preceding inscription.
30 In the original one would expect to read here pāthaka raś cāntikāsi, Vidyāyam. The following must be understood to be the words of the Réjaka Lavaśapraváha (in line 80), whose donation is made public by Góvindáchandra.
31 If the original is correct, which I doubt, the word chañchála must be taken to qualify the following buddha. I have translated as if the reading were chañchála, chañchála.
32 Here again the words of the original, tad-idaś, are ungrammatical.
GRANT OF GOVINDACHANDRA.

too have become convinced by the Védas and the law-books, which (in this matter) do not differ from the teaching of all the Sástras; and, considering that donations of land secure the enjoyment of endless rewards,—

(L. 15.)—I, the illustrious Ráma Lávarapraváha,—having duly bathed in the Yamuná at the gháṭ of the deity Murútha, here at Ásatiká, having satisfied the divinities, men and ancestors, having adored the holy sun and thereupon worshipped with fivefold offerings my favourite deity Mahésvara, having presented a full oblation to the holy fire,—to-day, on Sunday, the 16th day of the dark half of (the month) Pauša, of the year 1166, during an eclipse of the sun,—in order to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, have given as a grant in this village one sárd, measuring four ploughs, with its water and dry land, with its saline wastes, stones, hills, rivers, groves, enclosed gardens, mango and madhúka trees, mines of iron and salt, together with what accrues above and below, with the fines for the ten offences, (and) with the receipts from grass, leaves and so forth, and from mines (?), to the Bhátha, the Bráhma Guṇachanda, the son of Rihibh (and) son's son of Gúgha, who has gone forth from the village Bhátakavája, a student of the Sámkhyáyana śúkha, whose three pravaras are Gautama, Áitathaa and Ágírara, (and who is) a Bráhma conversant with the Védas,—with a pure mind (confirning my gift) with (the pouring out) from my hand (of) water purified with kuśa (grass), (to be his) as long as earth, sea, air and heaven (endure).

(L. 21.)—Aware of this, (you) being disposed to obey my commands, will have to make over to him and also to his descendants the share of the produce, the money-rent, whatever accrues from without and within, all this, as it may be given (now), and also whatever else may be produced from the cultivation (?) of the land. Nobody shall cause any obstruction in this matter, listening to the (following) sayings of the sages:—[Here follow eight of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate].

(L. 28.)—This" was written, with the cownsent of the Maháttaka" the illustrious Gángéya, by Tribhuvanapála, son of the Thákkura the illustrious Dévalika. (Engraved" it was ?) by Súnarakudána(?), son of Sátháhára.

C.—Copper-Plate Grant of Góvindachandrádeva.

The (Vikrama) year 1174.

This inscription has been previously published, with a translation, by the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLII., Part I., pp. 324-328. It is on a copper-plate which belongs to the Government Museum at Lucknow, and was found, with the grant of the same king bearing the date of (Vikrama)-Satravat 1161, published by Mr. Fleet, ante, Vol. XIV. pp. 101-104, in the village of 'Basáhi,' in the 'Étawah' District in the North-West Provinces.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 5½" by 11¾." The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. But a good deal of the surface of the plate is very much corroded by rust so that at many places the writing is quite illegible. And small pieces' of the plate have broken

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"I have not found this technical term anywhere else; it is evidently related to sárd, 'plough.' On kúša 'plough,' as a measure of land, see e.g. ante, Vol. XVI. p. 299, note 48. And with the construction káladána chaśvabhí compare compounds like bhánadána-chaśvabhí, suta-đrāva, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 13, line 29, and p. 229, line 6.

"i.e. the Sámkhyaáyana śúkha of the Rigvédá.

"One would expect Ágírara, Anútháya and Gántana, and the pótá Uchátháya.

"I am unable to explain properly the technical terms which follow here in the original. Of other grants, the Basáhi plate of Góvindachandra, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 108. l. 12, has bhadápála (instead of bhág,*pála of the present grant), akáža-pála-prátha (instead of akáža-pála-prátha), turuskádána, and (as it appears, in the place of viśnú-śaśó-chácháthá) viśnú-śaśó-chácháthá (? prátha; the plate of the Putárjá Jayaachandra, ante, Vol. XV., p. 8, line 22, has turuskádána and kumárā-cádána (as I would now read); and the Raiwan plate of Góvindachandra, Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. LVI. Part I. plate VI. line 24 has turuskádána and kumárā-cádána (as) tátam (kála). The term turuskádána occurs also in other grants.

"If lihkáthá-pātha of the original is not a mistake for lihkáthá or lihkáthá-śan, we must supply some masculine ending, such as śanáhá.

"The same term occurs in the Basáhi plate, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 104, l. 21.

"I am very doubtful about the meaning of these last words of the grant, and am unable to explain them properly.
away at each of the four corners, and at the ring-hole. The letters do not shew through on the reverse side of the plate at all. The engraving is good; but few of the letters shew any marks of the working of the tool. In the upper part of the plate there was a ring-hole; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. The weight of the plate is 6 lbs. 1 oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{3}{6}\). The characters are Nāgarī.—The language is Sanskrit.

Having regard to the large amount of this record that is illegible, it seems unnecessary to produce the text in full, by restoring it from perfect grants of the same dynasty. It is sufficient to state that the inscription is one of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājadhārī, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Gōvinda-chandragadēva of Kanyakubja; that it contains the usual genealogy of the rulers of Kanyakubja, from Yāsövigraha to Gōvinda-chandra; and that it records a grant, by Gōvinda-chandra, of two villages (the names of which are quite illegible) to a Brāhmaṇ Thakkura named Devapālasarman.

Of the legible portion of the inscription, the only thing of importance is the date, which by Dr. Rajendralal has been transcribed incorrectly, and which really is as follows:—

(Line 13.) . . . . . chaṭṭhasaptān-adhik aikāḍāśas(as)at-sauvatsarē Phālugunē māsi kriṣṇa-pakshē triṭṭiyāyāṃ-tīthau Sukra-dīnō-ākāś-pi sātvat 1174 Phālugu.

(Line 14.) [na va di 3 (?)] Sukrē . . . . . i.e., "in the year eleven hundred increased by seventy-four, in the month Phālugunē, in the dark half, on the third lunar day, on a Friday; in figures, the year 1174, Friday, Phālugu[na va di. 8]."

Taking this date to be recorded in the Vikrama era, according to either the northern or the southern reckoning the corresponding dates would be as follows:—

(1). For the Vikrama year 1174 current,—
   (a) by the amānta reckoning, Wednesday, 21 February, A.D. 1117;
   (b) by the pūrṇimānta reckoning, Monday, 23 January, A.D. 1117.
(2). For the Vikrama year 1174 expired,—
   (a) by the amānta reckoning, Sunday, 10 February, A.D. 1118;
   (b) by the pūrṇimānta reckoning, Saturday, 12 January, A.D. 1118.

Of these four dates, the first three evidently are altogether unsuitable; nor do I believe that the tīthi intended was the one ending (about 11 hours after mean sunrise) on Saturday, 12th January, 1118, for that tīthi did not commence till about 12 h. 50 m. after sunrise of the preceding Friday, 29 and the calculation of the dates of other grants of Gōvinda-chandra appear to show that the reckoning followed was the amānta reckoning. Such being the case, I for the present incline to believe that there is some error in the details of the date, and that the year intended was really the Vikrama year 1173 current. For the date corresponding, by the amānta reckoning, to the 3rd of the dark half of Phālugunē of Vikrama 1173, current, is 3 March, A.D. 1116, when the third tīthi of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and which was a Friday, as required.

D.—Copper-Plate Grant of Gōvinda-chandragadēva and Rājyapāladēva.

The (Vikrama) year 1199.

In Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XXII. p. 59, Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle mentions two inscribed copper-plates, constituting one grant, which were found at ‘Gagahā,’ to the west of the Rāptī River, about 21 miles south of Gārahkpur, in the North-West Provinces, and were secured through the kindness of Mr. Lumsden, then Collector of the District. What has become of the original plates we are not told; and my account of the inscription is from indifferent impressions, made over to Sir A. Cunningham, and transmitted to me by Mr. Fleet.

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99 Phālugunē-krishṇa-trīṭyā being one of the Kalpāṭi-tīthi (see Dharmarājendrā, p. 62), the ceremony with which the donation was connected probably was a śraddhā ("śam Kalpāṭi-tīthiḥ śraddhāḥ pūjā-trīṭyāḥ"), and a śraddhā should not be performed during the month.
From these it appears that the inscription is on two plates, which measure about 1' 6" by 11' 4" each, and which, to judge from the ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, were or were held together by a ring. Each plate contains 17 lines of writing. The lower half of the first plate, on the proper left side, and the upper part as well as the proper right side of the second plate, appear to be in a bad state of preservation, so that it is impossible to make out with certainty from the rubbings the proper names of localities and private individuals, contained in these parts of the inscription. The engraving appears to be good.—The average size of the letters is about 1/2. The characters are Nāgarī.—And the language is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of the time of the Paramabhāṭṭāraha, Mahāarājaḥūrīja, and Paramēśvarī, the illustrious Gōvindachandrādeva of Kanyakubja. In lines 1-12 it gives the usual genealogy of the rulers of Kanyakubja, from Yaśovigraha to Gōvindachandra; and its proper object is to record (lines 13-25), that the Mahārāja-putra, or son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bājyapaladēva, by the consent of the lotus-feet of the illustrious Gōvindachandrādeva endowed with all the royal prerogatives (samasta-rāja-prakṛti-çpeta), when encamped at a village the name of which is illegible, granted a village, the name of which also is illegible, in the [Ha] Ṛthaunaḍa patalā, to a [Brāhmaṇa] Ṭhakura of the Vatsa gōta, a follower of the Yajurvēda śākhā. The inscription contains the usual admonition to give to the donee whatever by this grant may be due to him (the bhāgabhūjakara, prāraṇikara, jātakara, gōkara, turukākasaḍa, etc.), and it contains (lines 25-34) some of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses. And it closes (in line 34) with the remark that this tūma-paṭṭaka was written by the Karaṇaka, the Ṭhakura the illustrious Vivikā.

The date on which this donation was made, is in lines 18-19 given as follows:—

(Line 18.) . . . . . samvatsarāśva-çkāla-asa-sa(śa)śaśa-sa(śa)śaśa-nava-navavati-adhikēśu Phalgunēmāra
(Lines 19.) si [sa]kla-paṇḍeh čkāla-yaśān tithan Sa(śa)ni-dinē tath-āukē-pi samvat 1199 Phalgunas su di 11 Sa(śa)nau II. . . . i.e., in eleven hundred years increased by ninety-nine, in the month Phalgunas, in the bright half, on the eleventh lunar day, on a Saturday; in figures also, in the year 1199, Saturday, Phalgunas su. di. 11."

Taking this date to be recorded in the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be,— for the (northern or southern) year 1199 current: Sunday, 8 February, A. D. 1142, when the 11th tithi of the bright half ended about 11h. after mean sunrise;
for the (northern or southern) year 1199 expired: Saturday 27 February, A. D. 1143, when the same 11th tithi ended about 13 h. after mean sunrise.

The true date accordingly is Saturday, 27 February, A.D. 1143; and the year mentioned in the inscription is the Vikrama year 1199 expired.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. XIII.—The Floating Palace, or the Three Wise Precepts.

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a merchant who had an only son. When this son came of age, the father, with a view to put his business capacities to the test, proposed to place at his disposal a sum of money large enough to enable him to begin life as a respectable merchant, but with this proviso, that if, at the end of a certain period, the merchant found that the young man had made good use of the money entrusted to him and showed an aptitude for business, he would leave him in his will all his immense wealth, but if, on the contrary, he found that his son was wanting in that foresight and shrewdness which are the characteristics of a merchant, and launched into unprofitable speculations and thus lost money, he would disinherit him without mercy.
The young man, who had all along hoped that he would one day quietly come into possession of his father's wealth, demurred at first at this proposal, but when he saw that the old man was determined, he reluctantly consented, and taking the money from his father went to all his friends and consulted with them as to what he had best do with it.

They all suggested different ways in which to make use of the money, till at last one old man, who was reputed to be a sage, proposed to him that if he made over the whole to him he would in return give him something worth all of it and more. The simple young man agreed, and keeping a trifle for himself made over all the rest of the money to the old fellow, and that worthy in return gave our hero a sheet of paper neatly folded, saying with a look of great importance, "Take this, my good friend, make good use of it, and you will find that this scrap of paper is worth a great deal more than the sum you have invested in its purchase."

Our hero took it home; and on opening it found the following sentences inscribed on it in bold characters:

1. "Hesitate not, but tread boldly."
2. "A sister in prosperity (lit. plenty), a true friend in adversity (lit. scarcity)."
3. "He who falls asleep within a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." (1)

The credulous youngster read the lines over and over again and then treasured up the paper like a thing of great value. He then invested the small sum he had still left in a few cheap articles of merchandise, and quietly booked himself as a passenger on board a ship bound for a distant shore.

The father, who had all this while been watching his son's movements, felt very sorry to find that though he had placed a large sum of money in his hands, he was fitting himself out as a petty trader only, instead of chartering a whole ship for himself and his wares, as became the son of a great merchant, and so when the time came for the young man to bid farewell to his father the latter reproached him strongly on what he considered his meanness, and the two parted in high anger.

The poor fellow went on board with a heavy heart and the ship sailed away. After a long voyage, she entered the mouth of a large river, and cast anchor near a magnificent city situated on its banks.

Now in the middle of this river, and at a short distance from the city, there was a large and most beautiful palace, which was the wonder of all who came from far and near, for instead of being built on terra firma, it appeared to be floating over the surface of the waters, rising, as it were, from the depths of the river, without a yard of dry land around, along which one could walk over to the door and enter it. Besides the beauty and grandeur of the palace itself, there was another object that attracted the attention of the people on board, and that was a lovely damsel who appeared at one of its windows.

Our young hero, however, did not seem to take much interest either in the damsel or in the palace, so occupied was his mind with his own affairs, although he constantly heard his fellow-passengers discussing among themselves as to how it could be that the palace appeared to float on the surface of the river and how people could go in and come out of it.

Now as our young hero was thinking of landing and entering the city to see if he could find a market for any of his wares there, the owner of the beautiful palace, who had been watching him all the while, called out to him and invited him to come to it. The young man could not for the life of him see how he was to approach the palace, in the absence of any visible means of communication with it, and was greatly puzzled as to how the

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1 In Gujarati these sentences run as follows:
   1. Jeevanah pade tejasah
   2. Channa amejabhantah yath
   3. Raja dehthsavakee kareh, jeevita jote daye to mire.
was to act, when he bethought him of the old man and his scrap of paper, and the first sentence in it showed him a way out of his difficulty. It ran thus:—"Hesitate not, but tread boldly." So he went as close up to the palace as a boat could take him and then, to convince himself that it was really water that surrounded the palace, he plucked a piece of thread from his garments, and let it fall unperceived by any one upon what seemed to be the surface of the water, and to his great delight he found that the thread remained as dry as before, for it was not water that encircled the palace, but only a pavement of glass, so cleverly contrived as to resemble the water around, and thus deceive the unwary stranger's eye.

This contrivance not only served to attract attention towards the palace, but gave the owner, who was a bad character and enticed away unwary strangers into his den to rob them of their possessions, time to observe closely and form his opinion of the person to whom he offered his hospitality.

So when he saw our hero walking boldly on, as if he had found out the trick of the glass pavement, the bad man felt himself outdone for once, and thought he had to deal with one who might be more than a match for him. Nevertheless he welcomed him with great show of kindness, and pressed him to remain in his palace and consider it as his own till he could find suitable quarters for himself in the city.

The unsuspecting young man saw no reason why he should not accept the proffered hospitality; and ordering all his wares to be brought over to the palace, he took up his abode there with the minister and his daughter.

He had a very pleasant time of it for some weeks, for his host and his daughter treated him with so much kindness and affability that he could hardly think of quitting their hospitable abode. There was one thing, however, which made the young man feel very uneasy as to his future. The sale of what few goods he had brought with him realized but a trifling sum of money, which melted away like snow in his hands in the face of the great expenses he had to incur to keep up appearances, and he had nothing left which he could invest once more in merchandise and thus try his luck again. So he wandered aimlessly from one part of the city to another in the hope of finding some suitable means of earning a livelihood.

One day as he was walking about the streets dressed in rather a homely suit of clothes and presenting a care-worn appearance, he happened to catch sight of his only sister, whom he knew had married into a wealthy family, and had often occasion to visit the city he was in, with her parents-in-law. She was standing at one of the windows of a large house, and their eyes met as he looked up, but she drew in her head and did not appear to notice him. So he went up to the door and desired one of the servants to go up and inform his mistress that her brother wished to see her. But the rich lady thought it beneath her dignity to acknowledge so near a relationship with one who went about on foot unattended by any servants or horses, and dressed in a style not at all becoming her father's son. So she sent him word that she did not want to see him or to have anything to do with him.

This hurt the poor fellow's feelings to the quick, and he walked away from the house in no very envious frame of mind. He had not proceeded far, however, when he fell in with a person whose face he remembered as that of an old playfellow, the son of a man of very modest means, who had once been on very good terms with his father. The other recognized him also, and the two men, after greeting each other very kindly, began to talk of their private affairs. When this old acquaintance heard our hero's story, and learnt in what manner he had parted with the large sum of money placed at his disposal by his father, how he had been left amongst strangers without the means of subsistence, and how heartlessly his own sister had disowned him, he felt very sorry for him, and offered to place at his disposal a small sum of money which he had scraped together out of his slender earnings, saying:—"Take this, it is all I have; I am but a poor man's son, and can content myself with only the bare necessaries of life, but it is a different thing with you, who have been bred in the lap of luxury; make therefore what use you choose of this money, and do not concern yourself as to how you are to return it to me. First of all, provide yourself with suitable apparel, buy a good horse,"
and keep a few servants, and you will soon see that you will find credit in the city. Nor will you have cause any longer to complain of the coldness of your sister, for, if you do as I tell you, she will lose no time in owning you as her brother.

The rich man’s son was greatly touched with his poor old friend’s generosity, and accepted his offer with the greatest reluctance. At the same time the second of those dearly-bought sentences “a sister in prosperity, a true friend in adversity,” came to his recollection, and he praised the wisdom of the old man.

This newly found friend took the opportunity of warning our young hero against the apparent kindness and friendship of the owner of the floating palace, who, he informed him, was one of the ministers of the state, but was known to be a very dangerous character. So at parting, the young merchant made a promise to his friend to bid good-bye to his host and his daughter as early as circumstances permitted.

Shortly after this his host, the minister, who had long since found out that his guest was worth nothing to him, but was on the contrary continuing to be a burden upon him, set about thinking of some method by which to get rid of him. At last he hit upon a plan by which to dispose of him effectually.

The king, his master, had an only daughter who was afflicted with an incurable disease, which had baffled the skill of a great many physicians, who had come from far and near to cure her and win the promised reward. This reward was nothing less than the hand of the fair Princess herself and the sovereignty of half her father’s kingdom. Nearly every day a physician presented himself before the king and obtained permission to watch by the Princess’s bed and find out what it was she was suffering from, with a view to cure her, but before next morning he was found lying dead in the chamber. So the wily minister thought this a very feasible mode of doing away with his young guest, and going up to the king one day, he told him that he had a man staying with him, who was proficient in the healing art, but pretended for some reason or other to be ignorant of it, and that, therefore, if the king wished to secure his services he had only to send his men to bring him into the royal presence, and see if he could not induce him by threats and promises to undertake the cure of the Princess.

The king agreed to this, and sent armed men to the floating palace to seize the stranger and bring him into his presence.

When the guards seized hold of the unsuspecting young man, he, in his fright, asked his host to interfere and save him, but the doublefaced villain, still pretending to be his friend, advised him to obey the king’s mandate without opposition and leave the rest to fate.

Acting upon this advice the young man went with the guards and stood before the king who questioned him as to the extent of his knowledge of medicine and offered him the promised reward if he took the Princess’s case in hand and cured her. But our hero declared himself quite ignorant of any knowledge of medicine and related how he was only a merchant’s son. The king, however, would not believe him, and the more the poor fellow declared himself ignorant, the more the deluded king disbelieved him, so much was his mind prejudiced by the minister’s story.

At last, partly by threats and partly by promises, the monarch induced the young man to consent to keep watch by the Princess’s bed for one day at least and leave chance to do the rest, hoping that the sight of the poor lady’s misery would melt his heart and induce him to try his remedies on her.

So the supposed physician went with the attendants into the chamber where the sick Princess lay and was there left alone with her. Not knowing what to do, he sat for some time narrowly watching the fair patient. He saw that her abdomen was swollen to an enormous height, and heard groans of great agony issuing from her mouth. In other respects, however, she appeared to be all right, for her highly beautiful face was calm and serene, and she looked as if she were wrapped in sweet slumber, in which state, as he had been told by the attendants who had led him into the chamber, she had been lying for months past, taking no other food but milk, which too had to be poured down her throat. The young man felt greatly for her,
and fervently wished he had the power to do something for the poor suffering creature. He sat by her bed the whole day, watching her movements, and towards evening he ordered the attendants to strew her bed with soft, fragrant flowers, for, he said to himself, "how bed-sore and tired she must be feeling, lying here so long and so cheerless! The odour of sweet flowers will do her good." So they strewed her bed with the choicest flowers that could be had, and placing a pail of milk near her bed, retired, leaving her alone with the reputed physician.

Left thus alone to his thoughts our hero sat and pondered for a while on what he thought his very equivocal position, wondering much how the king could have been led into considering him a physician, and how the next morning he would be able to account for his failure in curing the Princess. By degrees slumber began to steal upon him and he was about to lie down to go to sleep, when all at once he remembered the lines, "He who sleeps in a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." So up he started and rubbing his eyes and shaking off sleep, he sat intently gazing at the Princess again. Nor was his night's vigil unrewarded, for about midnight, he perceived the patient writhing in great agony, and giving out low moans, indicative of extreme pain. He thereupon went nearer her bed and stood by, gazing with pity on her lovely face, when what should he see but a fierce serpent slowly thrusting his head out of the poor lady's mouth, and looking stealthily about as if to see whether there was any one near! The young man, surprised and bewildered as he was at this unexpected sight, had presence of mind enough left to hide himself behind some curtains and watch what followed. The loathsome reptile, seeing the coast clear, began to draw its whole length out of the Princess's body, inch by inch, without fear, the Princess all the while giving low groans of agony, and finally with a heavy jerk it fell out amongst the flowers, and hid itself beneath them. Seeing his prey thus secure our hero came out of his hiding place and was just going to strike it with his sword, when the greedy reptile, happening to see the pail of milk hard by, slid from amongst the flowers and glided towards it. Just then the brave young man drew his sword and gave the hateful creature such a heavy blow with it as to kill it on the spot.

The joy of our hero knew no bounds when he saw the venomous reptile that had so long been tormenting the sweet Princess lying dead on the one hand, and that beautiful lady, now free from pain, with her abdomen fallen to its natural level, pouring forth her thanks on the other.

He allowed the loathsome carcass of the dreaded reptile to remain where it was, that he might show it to the king as a trophy of his victory, and engaged in a pleasant tête-à-tête with the fair Princess.

With morning came into the room a couple of sweepers who had been sent there as usual to clear away the remains of any physician who may have dared to treat the Princess that night, but what was their surprise when they saw the physician alive and hearty and conversing with the Princess, who was herself sitting up in bed, looking quite well and happy, and a large serpent lying dead beside her bed. They retreated respectfully and spread the good news everywhere in the palace, so that the king was soon on the spot.

When the monarch saw the body of the huge reptile and found his beloved daughter sitting up in her bed and looking cheerful and happy he comprehended at a glance what had happened, and was beside himself with joy. He held his dear child to his heart, and then, embracing the reputed physician, congratulated him on his success. Now it was that every one came to know what the poor Princess had been suffering from, and how it came about that every physician who attended her was found dead in the morning, for, judging from the account our hero gave the king, the venomous reptile had been in the habit of coming every night out of the poor lady's mouth and stinging the unfortunate physician in attendance on her while he was asleep.

The young merchant now felt really thankful to the old man who had given him, among others, the lines that warned him against going to sleep within a king's palace, for he clearly saw that but for them he too would have lost his life like the other physicians.
There was immense joy and rejoicing all over the kingdom when the Princess for the first time after her recovery from her terrible illness, rode through the city, and the fame of the fair-haired youngster who had cured her, when so many others had failed, spread far and wide, and every one, high and low, sought his friendship and did him honour. Nor was our hero's sister tardy in her attentions towards him, now that he stood so high in the royal favour. She sent messengers to invite him to make her house his home, and expressed herself highly concerned in his welfare; but her brother knew her too well to be carried away by these manifestations of her regard, and sent her word that he could do well without a sister who had discarded him when he was poor, and wanted now to make up to him only because he was rich and powerful.

Now that his beloved daughter was thoroughly cured, the king thought it high time that the promised reward should be bestowed upon her deliverer. So he sent for his astrologers and bade them fix upon a day on which to celebrate the Princess's wedding with the young merchant. But our hero's heart was not as light as it should be, considering that he was loved by the Princess as much as he loved her, and that they both looked forward to their union with the greatest rapture; for he saw that the proud nobles and grandees of the king's court looked upon him as a mere upstart and a creature of circumstances. He thought, therefore, of going back to his own country to solicit his father's forgiveness and bring him over with all his friends and relatives to celebrate his nuptials with the king's daughter with fitting pomp and ceremony. So he obtained the king's permission, and fitting out a magnificent ship sailed in it to his native country.

His father was both surprised and happy to see him back again and greeted him with the greatest kindness, for his heart was glad to find that his son had at last shown himself possessed of those qualities that he prized in a merchant's son, by making the most of the money he had placed in his hands. So he made preparations on a grand scale and sailed with a train of friends and relatives towards the country of his daughter-in-law elect, and there amidst universal rejoicing, the nuptials of the illustrious pair were celebrated with immense pomp, and the promised half of the kingdom was soon made over to the happy bridegroom.

Our hero, however, did not forget, amidst all this pomp and rejoicing, the poor friend who had assisted him in his poverty. He duly sent for him, and not only returned to him with interest the money he had so generously placed in his hands when he was poor and needy, but bestowed upon him a high post as a reward for his unselfish and disinterested friendship.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XII.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Journal of the German Oriental Society) for 1887; Vol. xii.

(a) The first part opens with a continuation of Prof. Bühler's Essays on the Aśoka Inscriptions. The present paper deals with the detached edicts of Dhamil and Jangada, and comprises text (in the Devanāgarī and Roman characters), translation, and notes. The text is founded on Dr. J. Burgess's paper impressions, checked by paper rubbings obtained by General Cunningham. Owing to its nature, a summary of the contents of the paper would be useless. Amongst new explanations given by Dr. Bühler may be mentioned that of the date and time fixed for reading the edicts publicly. He also points out that Aśoka's instructions for the inspection-tours of his higher officials agree with those of the Brahmāsācārya-law-givers, and with the Rājaśāhī, and offers a new derivation for sakkhāndanābhās in the first edict from śākapādrambhā. In the second edict, he explains chakṣu as the fut. part. pass. of the Prakrit verb chak 'to be able,' a representative and possibly a relation of the Sanskrit shok. The Maḥārāṣṭri form chay occurs in Prākrit-lacehā, vs. 202, and in Hēmāchandra's Prākrit Grammar, IV. 86 (śākṣe chayatara-tāvra pārāh), and in the Dēśikāśa.

This is followed by a reprint of Dr. Ignaz
Goldziher's paper, read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna, in 1886, on the Mahdist movement of North Africa.

Next comes a facsimile of an Arabic and Chinese inscription from a mosque at Canton, with notes and translation by Herr K. Himly. The inscription is in a mosque described by Dennys in the Treaty Ports of China and Japan, and dates from the year 1350 A.D.

Dr. O. von Böcklingk contributes a short note on the Maurya question and the Mahabhâshya, in which he replies to Dr. Kielhorn's criticisms on a former paper of his on the subject.

The number concludes with an appreciative review by the same scholar of Dr. J. S. Speijer's Sanskrit Syntax.

(b) Dr. George Ebers, the well-known Egyptologist, opens the second part with a notice of the life of Dr. Gustav Seyffarth, who died in New York in Nov. 1886, at the age of 69. Dr. Seyffarth was the first professor of Egyptian Language and Antiquities at Leipzig. He was the first discoverer of polyphonic hieroglyphs, and, with some reservations, of the syllable-signs of that system of writing.

This biographical sketch is followed by a continuation of Dr. Carl Lang's translation of Ibn-al-Mu'tazz's heroic poem regarding Mu'tadid as Prince and Regent, already noticed.

Dr. F. von Spiegel contributes a second article on the Fatherland and Age of the Avesta. The paper is devoted to a reply to criticisms of Dr. Geiger and others on his theories concerning the late age of this work. He first deals with the linguistic side of the argument, and shows that the fact of the Avesta being written in an ancient dialect is not necessarily a proof of the antiquity of the work. He draws attention to the habit of scholars writing at the present day both in Sanskrit and in Latin. He further maintains that the language of the Avesta, while agreeing in many points with Sanskrit, has also some hitherto unexplained points of difference, which seem to show traces of the influence of modern Persian, and which can only have come into existence in later ages, whether owing to corruption of the dialect or to the fact that portions of the Avesta were written in a dead language. Moreover the whole work rests on a mythic foundation, and the kings mentioned in it are the same as those admitted as mythical in the lists of the Shâhrâmâ. If the Avesta were written at the time of Zarathustra, we should expect to find his contemporaries divided into two great camps of believers and unbelievers; but instead of this we find the Avesta to be a fanatical book, showing us the existence of various kinds of heretics. The historical arguments for the antiquity of the Avesta,—viz. (1) that, with the exception of Bacthis, it mentions none of the noteworthy towns of the time of the Achemenides or Parthians, (2) that it contains none of the more usual later tribe-names, and (3) that it contains no historical notices,—are met by the contention that it does not deal with historical reminiscences, but only with the mythic period of Iranian Folklore. Places which occur in the folk-myths are mentioned, and not others. The argument that Zarathustra speaks of himself in the Gāthās in the first person, is met by the fact that Ahura Mazda does the same. The author who dared to speak under the name of the highest God would not hesitate to speak under the name of his prophet. Four other arguments for the antiquity of the Avesta are:—

(1) that the people of the Avesta did not appear to know salt; (2) that they did not know glass; (3) that coined money was not current among them; (4) that they did not know the working of iron. All that can be said about the first three is that they are not mentioned in the hymns, which considering their character is not extraordinary. Moreover in north and east Iran, cattle and farm-produce are still used instead of money. Regarding the fourth contention it rests on the interpretation of the word ayâq, which the upholders of the age of the Avesta translate as 'bronze.' Dr. S. Spiegel, however, maintains that, as in Sanskrit, it meant 'metal' in general, and also 'iron.'

An appendix to the article is devoted to disproving the existence of the so-called Bactrian Kingdom of Vistâpa, which has hitherto been dealt with by writers on ancient history as a reality.

Dr. David Kaufmann contributes a note on Hebrew lexicography, and is followed by a paper by Dr. J. H. Mordtmann on the typography of Northern Syria, according to Greek inscriptions. The same author also gives a short note on five forgotten Himyaritic
inscriptions existing at Sana'a, the capital of Yemen.

Dr. C. de Harlez next contributes extracts from a translation of the Shang-yu-pa-ki. The Emperor Chi-tsung, son of the illustrious Kanghi (1723-1736) was one of those sovereigns of the Manchu dynasty, who have left full traces of their administrative action. Amongst other things he has left is a collection of decrees addressed to the right divisions of the Manchu-Mongol Army. They were published in Manchu, and afterwards translated into Chinese. The present paper consists of translated extracts. These decrees are of importance to students of the histories of Chinese civilisation, and of the middle kingdom.

Dr. H. Hübchmann next contributes an elaborate paper on the formation of Ossetic nouns. Thirty-five primary and secondary suffixes are dealt with, one by one; the derivation, meaning, and use of each being separately considered.

Dr. Heinrich von Wilisloki gives some folk-songs of the transylvanian Gipsies, with a translation in German verse. To philologists a literal prose translation in addition would have been an advantage.

Herr Felix Liebrecht in his short notes compares a Malagasy sermon on the shortness of life with similar opinions in old Egyptian Literature, and refers to the Arabic origin of the juss primus noctis.

The number concludes with two reviews, the first by Dr. Disterer on Dr. Schwarzelaa's treatise on the arms of the ancient Arabs, as described by their poets, and the second on Mr. Payne-Smith's Thesaurus Syriacus (Fasc. vii.)

(c) Part III. commences with an essay by Dr. Karl Vollers on the living Arabic now spoken in Egypt, with special reference to the works of Spitta Bey, and other grammatical writers. The paper consists of additions and corrections to Spitta Bey's grammar.

This is followed by a baptismal liturgy in Ethiopic, with a Latin translation, taken from a work entitled Hydraulologia (published in Rome, 1886 A.D.) by Dr. Carl von Arnhard.

Dr. M. Lamoroth continues his interesting series of articles on Greek authors quoted by al-Ya'qoubi. The present paper deals with Grecian Philosophers. Translations are given of the various passages of Ya'qūbi in which a long array of these worthies, and their systems, is described. An appendix gives a list of the writings of Aristotle known to the Arabs.

Dr. H. Gelzer, in two short notes, identifies the modern sites of the ancient Egyptian Triumvirs and Kopritheca Kômê.

Dr. H. von Wilisloki gives us next a further set of specimens of the Gipsy language of Transylvania. It consists of three capital folk-tales worthy of Grimm, with, this time, a literal German translation.

Herr K. Himly discusses Chess, and other connected games, with special reference to their introduction into and method of play in Burma, Siam, China and Japan. He is not inclined to dispute the Hindu origin of the game, and maintains that at any rate its birthplace ought to have been a country, where the use of elephants for warfare was well-known.

Prof. Aufrecht gives us some Sanskrit notes. The first concerns the rare Kâśmiri-Sanskrit word hênsaka, which he identifies with the Arabic مِّنَّا 'love,' 'desire.'

He next shows the use of the word namaka as a technical term for the first section of the Rudraypada. The third note deals with the date of Narahari, the author of the Râjâna-grhañâtha, whom he places as not earlier than the commencement of the 15th century. The catalogue of Indian poets is added to every year. Dr. Aufrecht brings two new poets, Bhaṭṭa Bhallata, and Indrabhanu to light, and discusses the identity of another named Mâlavabhâdara.

An imitation of the Gîta-Gâvinda, entitled the Râma-Gîta-Gâvinda, and also attributed to Jayadeva is next discussed, and the paper concludes with an account of a Brâhachchhârâyadharapaddhati published in Benares in the year 1874. This latter is an enlarged edition of the Sâraîadhârâpaddhati previously brought to notice by Dr. Aufrecht.

Dr. F. Pollenssen follows with some Essays on Vedic Criticism. The word prithivi he says, is given in the dictionaries as meaning 'earth.' This meaning is however too narrow, as its derivation from prithu shows, it can mean any expance, and in fact we have the târas prithivayoh, earth, air, and heaven, mentioned.

Andus and nirâdhraavyah have been translated by Grassmann (in Râg-Vèda, V., 29, 10) as ugly, and reviler, and by Ludwig noseless and speak-
ing an enemy’s tongue. The reference is to the Dasyus. Megasthenes refers to Indian tribes who were noseless (ἀνους) or mouthless (ἀστρυκοῦ) Andās, if it is a + nās (as Ludwig takes it) means noseless, if it is an + ās it is mouthless.

Dr. Bollens suggests that the latter is the correct interpretation—the Aborigines, speaking unintelligibly (mritdāra-vācch) and when spoken to being mouthless, i.e. dumb.

Amongst the Aryans, the head of the nobles (sūri) was the Magdavan, who always rode in a carriage. The other nobles usually rode on horse-back. So it was in the god-world. The chief gods always had their carriages. Hence the Āryas were not so much riders (Reiter) or knights (Ritter), as travellers in a carriage drawn by horses. The horses were called edāni (vii. 73, 4) and are described as plump (sambhrītā) and strong-footed (vilūpapā).

Dr. Bollens maintains that they do not represent the twilight, but the morning and the evening stars.

The next note deals with grammar, and refers to Rig-Vēda vi. 61, 13, in which the loc. pl. term su is believed to have been elided after an ā. Incidental mention is also made of the word apā, fem. water, or used as an adjective following.

In dealing with ulōka and lōka Dr. Bollens maintains considerable length that the former is the original word and discusses Prof. Ludwig’s objections to the theory. Amongst other poets, he draws attention to the fact that lōka occurs only eight times, and only in the most modern hymns, while ulōka 29 times and only in the most ancient ones.

The earliest Trinity of the Aryans was Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman. The last is the most mysterious. He is only mentioned in one hymn of the R. V. (vii. 64, 3), where the plural verb shows that besides Mitra and Varuṇa, the words dēvā aryā must refer to him. Dr. Bollens sees in dēva aryas, the God Aryan, the tribe-father of the Aryans, their peculiar national God from an ethnic, as Indra is from a religious, point of view.

Mitra is pre-Indian, and was the Sun-God of the Indian world. On Indian ground he is superseded by Savitar as the sun-genius, and by Śrīya as the Sun is visible form. He is merely described as the friend of Varuṇa, a colourless etymology enough. Really the word is derived from the root smī, ‘to be clear, to beam’: cf. Lat. micare for smicare. It was originally an adjective like varūna and īndra; cf. mitramahas, having gleaming splendour.

So also Varuṇa is wrongly derived from root var ‘surround.’ It is from another root var or vara, ‘to shine,’ and is an adjective meaning ‘shining.’ It occurs more than once as a simple adjective in the Rig-Vēda. As a god, Varuṇa is the day-light as distinct from sunlight, i.e. the light of day when the sun is obscured.

Indra, Varuṇa’s frequent companion, is a special Indian creation, and does not belong to the original Aryan Pantheon. His name must be derived from a root in current use in India, and not from one which has fallen into oblivion like those of Mitra and Varuṇa. With Grassmann, Dr. Bollens connects it with īnd-, ‘to be clear,’ with loss of the aspiration. It was also originally an adjective, cf. īndratamā (ushās) ‘very clear,’ ‘very bright.’ As a god, Indra is ‘the clear one,’ ‘the bright one,’ and therefore the first morning light, that precedes the aurora and the sun. The stars are then still in the sky and harness his chariot. Every morning, darkness and light are at warfare, and Indra conquers Susha, the demon of darkness, who holds the light imprisoned. Then he brings into manifestation the dawn, the sun, and day-light. He is accordingly a war-god.

In the next paper, Prof. Oldenberg, criticises M. Bergaigne’s essay on the adhāya division of the Rig-Vēda in the latter publication.

Dr. O. von Bühlingk next combats Dr. Bühler’s proposition that īśi and ēka can have the meaning of ēdī. This is a continuation of an old controversy.

The number concludes with a review, by Dr. J. Lōw, of Ascherson and Schweinfurth’s Illustration de la Flore d’Égypte.

(d)—Part IV. commences with translations by Dr. H. Hübschmann of some Ossetic folk-tales of more than usual interest. The first fifteen relate to the Nars, a fabulous tribe, half-men half-angels, and the concluding one deals with Ossetic beliefs as to the fate of the soul after death.

Baron von Schlechta-Wassehrd next gives translated extracts from Firdūsī’s Yāsaf and Zalīkhd, in German verse.
This is followed by a short notice from the pen of Herr H. G. Schils of a new translation of the Man-yó-sû, an ancient Japanese poem. The translation is in course of publication in the Journal of the French Société des Études Japonaises et Indo-Chinoises (Paris, Maisonneuve).

Dr. J. Barth next contributes some essays on Semitic philology, the most important of which deals with biliteral nouns.

In a former number of the Zeitschrift (xl. 412) Dr. Morales, translating from Bar-Hebræus, gave the peculiar properties of wine according to Indian writers. It had the properties of a peacock, as an ape, a lion, and a pig. Dr. M. Grünbaum now gives a number of similar legends from Semitic sources. Thus, according to Damir, when Adam planted the vine, Ibis slew a peacock over it, and the earth drank up the blood. When the leaves showed themselves, he slew an ape, when the fruit appeared, a lion, and when the vine came to maturity, a pig. The vine drank the blood of the four animals, and hence their peculiarities appear in the various phases of drunkenness.

Prof. O. von Böhtlingk contributes some notes on the Kâlisthâ and laments the unfinished condition in which Dr. Eggeling is leaving the Bibliotheca Indica Edition. He also gives us some miscellaneous critical notes on various points of ancient Sanskrit literature.

Prof. R. von Roth contributes an interesting paper on Wehrgeld or Blood-money in the Veda. He shows from a quotation from the Tâṇḍya-Bhrâhma, that the Vedic vaivra (cf. the Anglo-Saxon vore) can only mean 'blood-money,' and that the amount was paid in cows, in the Vedic period, just as Tacitus relates of the Germans. According to the Tâṇḍya-Bhrâma the number of cows was a hundred, probably in the case of the honestiores and optimates as mentioned by the Latin author.

In Apastamba the vaivra-vatana which Prof. Roth translates as 'payment of blood-money,' is assessed at 1000 for a Kâbarrisya, 100 for a Vaisya, and 10 for a Sudra.

The volume concludes with reviews of the following works:

Codrington's Melanesian Languages, by Dr. W. Grube.

Winkler's Das Uraltaische und seine Gruppen (On the Ural-Altaic and the groups composing it), by Dr. O. Donnes.

Schreiber's Manual of the Tigreic language, spoken in Central and Northern Abyssinia, by Dr. E. Pretorius.

Hirschfeld's edition of the Al Khasâri of Abd'ul- Hasân, Text and Hebrew translation of Jehuda ibn Tibbon, by Dr. J. Goldscheider.

Wellhausen's Essays on Relics of Arabic Heathenism, by Prof. Th. Noldeke.

Cornill's edition of The Book of the Prophet Esaiasal, by Prof. Augustus Müller.


Bondi's Hebrew and Phoenician loan-words in Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts, by Dr. Steindorff.

G. A. Grierson.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 21.

In the copper-plate grant of king Bhavasrîna, from somewhere in the direction of Bihar in the Bengal Presidency, published by Mr. Grierson in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 100 f, the date (from the published text) is — La-saś 293 Śravansa in 7 Guran 11 Abda Lakshmanaśena-buddhāt-matē vahmi-graha-dȳ-ankītē mśē Śravā-saṅjākē muni-ūśhā-pakasvē-vaḷakaśē Guran —— —— —— 11 Saṅ 801 Saṅvat 1453 Śākē 1321,— the year of Lakshmanaśena 293, (the month) Śravāna, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 7, on Thursday; in the year, (of the era) that was sanctioned by king Lakshmanaśena, numbered by the (three) fires, the (nine) planets, and (the numeral) two, in the month that has the appellation of Śravāna, on the tīkā (that has the number of the (seven) Seeras, in the

the year is made quite clear by the immediately following repetition of the date in words.

* Here, again, I have taken a liberty with the published text, which gives the number of the year as 807. But it is not difficult sometimes to make a mistake between 1 and 7, in reading the older Divanqarī figures. And the year referred to is evidently the Hījra year 801, which commenced (see Indian Eras, p. 127) on the 1st September, A.D. 1392, and ended with the 2nd September, A.D. 1399.
bright fortnight, on Thursday. The (Hijra) year 801; the (Vikrama) year 1455; in the Śaka (year) 1331."

Here the data are:—The year 293 of the era of Lakshmanasena, the Hijra year 801, and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1455 and Śaka-Saṅvat 1321, not specified either as current or as expired; the month Śravaṇa (ordinarily July-August); the bright fortnight; the seventh civil day, and the seventh tīthi; and Guru, i.e. Guruvarā, or Thursday.

Since, in the absence of an examination of the original record, the correct Hijra year can only be established by inference, the most important item is the mention of Śaka-Saṅvat 1321.

And this shows that we have to find the English equivalent in A.D. 1398 or 1399, according as the given Śaka year is to be applied as current or as expired.

By Professor K. L. Chhatro’s Tables, the results are:

(1) In Śaka-Saṅvat 1321 current, the given tīthi, Śravaṇa sukla 7, ended on Saturday, the 20th July, A.D. 1398, at about 55 ghatās 50 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bombay.

(2) In Śaka-Saṅvat 1322 current (1321 expired), the given tīthi, Śravaṇa sukla 7, ended, as required, on Thursday, the 10th July, A.D. 1399, at about 17 gha. 10 p.

This resulting date can be referred to the given Vikrama year, only if the latter, Vikrama-Saṅvat 1455, is taken as a southern Vikrama year, expired; and as really denoting the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1455 current, commencing with Kārttika sukla 1, corresponding approximately to the 12th October, A.D. 1398, and ending on the 30th September, A.D. 1399.

For, the northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1456 current (1455 expired), commencing with Chaitra sukla 1, extended approximately from the 19th March, A.D. 1398, to the 7th March, A.D. 1399, and had ended before the date in question.

This record, therefore,—(1) gives an instance of the use of an expired Śaka year, and an expired Vikrama year; to be applied as such, though they are not distinctly so qualified;— and (2) proves that the southern reckoning of the Vikrama era was preserved in Bihār down to A.D. 1399.

This date has been noticed by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, in his Indian Eras, p. 777. He gave the same result, Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1399. But, instead of explaining it by the use of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, he seems to have accepted a statement made by Buchanan, on the authority of a Brahman named Kamalākanta, to the effect that, in that part of the country, the Vikrama era was taken as commencing only one hundred and thirty-four years before the Śaka era, instead of one hundred and thirty-five years, as is taken to be the case in Northern India generally. The meaning of this statement, unless it can be shown to be limited to the period from Chaitra sukla 1 to the pūrṇānta Kārttika or amāśā ṛṣiṇa kriṣṇa 15, is that, in the part of the country to which this record belongs, the reckoning of the Vikrama era, with the northern scheme of the year, is one year behind the reckoning in other parts of Northern India. And, on this view, the resulting English date would belong to the northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1455 expired or 1456 current, commencing with Chaitra sukla 1, corresponding approximately to the 8th March, A.D. 1399, and ending on the 25th February, A.D. 1400,—according to this supposed erroneous reckoning of the era. But any such reckoning could have really come to exist, or to seem to exist, only if the years of the Vikrama era, given in the Tables and Almanacs, were current years; which is not the case. And other instances will be forthcoming, which, taken all together, render it quite certain that the true explanation is that which I have put forward; viz. the preservation in Bihār and in neighbouring parts of Northern India of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttika sukla 1, at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century A.D.

J. F. Fleet.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE OF A BUFFALO IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

A Malay in Trong, Perak, wrote to the Assistant Resident as follows on the 19th March 1885:

"Your servant begs to inform your honour that on Saturday we will slaughter a white male-buffalo in Trong, to cleanse the kampong (village) of all evil, in accordance with the custom of the old people."

The charter is issued from the town of Gajahapura; but I do not know the modern representative of this name. If the times should be reduced for the town of Bihār, they would be about 3 gha. 9 p. later in each instance. This would not cause any difference in the resulting week-days, as determined for Bombay.

* G. Patell’s Chronology, p. 196.

* Indian Eras, p. 183.

* Indian Eras, p. 183.

If this is not done, then there will be less paddl (paddy) and perhaps more sickness. This is done once in six years. There is an abstinence from eating during this one day (22nd March Sunday). No persons from a distance can enter Trong on that day. In former times on such occasions the limit for people living close by is three days and people from any distance seven days.
days; but now your servant cannot undertake
to preserve the barrier so long; one day would be
all that your servant can undertake for."

Can any one give any information regarding
the above custom? It would be interesting to
know whether it is observed in other Native States
or in Sumatra or Java.

I am informed that only a white male-buffalo
is the smallest piece of meat would entail the most
can be used, which must be killed and eaten in the
disasterous consequences on the whole com-
jungle. The whole of the flesh must be consumed
munity.
at a kandari (feast), which is held for the purpose
in Sumatra—not a of a convenient distance from the village—not a
particle must be taken away. I am informed on
good authority that the surreptitious removal of
the note on Púlas Nágrí (Note 67 in Notes and
Sacristies of this sort are not uncommon in
Queries, No. 3, issued with No. 16 of the Journal
remote parts of the Malay Peninsula. See the
of the Straits Branch B. A. S.). Forbes, author of
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Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archi-
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Queries, No. 3, issued with No. 16 of the Journal
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the Púlas Nágrí (Note 67 in Notes and
the custom of the people of Pasunah, West Coast of
the Púlas Nágrí (Note 67 in Notes and
Sumatra, to sacrifice a buffalo to purify a village.
the Púlas Nágrí (Note 67 in Notes and
W. E. MAXWELL.
EDIT this grant from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

It does not appear to have been previously published; though a reference on the plate,—
to an entry in the Asian Researches, Vol. XVII. p. 621, recording the presentation of a
copper-plate grant, which seems to be this one, by Mr. R. Brown,—would indicate that it
has been on hand for about sixty years. But the inscription has been occasionally mentioned,
in the Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 8, note, by Dr. F. E. Hall, who, “with the plate
before him,” stated that it contained a land-grant of the “king Vijayapaṇḍa, son of Adyapaṇḍa,
son of Trilochanapaṇḍa.” The original plate is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic
Society at Calcutta. From the entry in the Asian Researches, referred to above, it appears
to have been discovered at Jhūṣi, a town in the Allahabad District, North-Western Provinces,
opposite the city of Allahabad, on the left bank of the Ganges.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 17½ by 14½, without
including the projection, the object of which is not apparent, at the top of the plate. It is
smooth; the edges of it being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into a rim. Its preservation,
however, is perfect; and every letter has come out clearly and distinctly in the impression,
so that the actual reading of the text is nowhere in the least doubtful. The plate is thick;
and the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the back of it at all. The
engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the
working of the engraver’s tool.—There is no ring-hole in the plate, for a ring, with a seal
attached to it; and no indication of a seal having been soldered on to it.—The size of
the letters is between ½” and ¾”.—The characters are Nāgārī. They are boldly and
beautifully drawn; but either the writer or the engraver has often confounded those signs which
are at all similar to one another (na and ka; da, bha, and ha; ma and sa; va, cha, and dha;
sa or sva, and kha; and others), and has several times omitted the superscript ́ and the medial ́
that the inscription contains a rather large number of minor mistakes which will be
pointed out in the text.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the beneficent and
improvident verses in lines 12-16, the inscription is in prose. The language is grammatically
correct; except that in line 12 the singular form asya has been employed for the plural eśam,
or rather eśhay.—In respect of orthography, I may note that b has throughout been written
by the sign for v; that the dental sibilant has been employed for the palatal sibilant in para-
mitau, line 2, dasparūdhah, line 3, sīkā, line 7, aśeṣa, line 8, and kasa, line 10; and
that for the conjunct mra we find mura in sāmura, line 5.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhaṭṭarakas, Mahārāṣṭrā, and Paramēśvaras, the illus-}
trious Trilōchanapaṇḍava, who (lines 1-3) is represented as meditating on the feet of the
Paramabhaṭṭarakas, Mahārāṣṭrā, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Rājyapaṇḍava, who, again,
is said to have meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭarakas, Mahārāṣṭrā, and Para-
meśvara, the illustrious Viljyapaṇḍava. Trilōchanapaṇḍava, being in residence on the banks
of the Ganges near Prayāga, (lines 3-11) in the customary manner informs the king’s officers
and the mahattamas and other inhabitants of the village Lēbhunḍaka, in the Asurabhakha
viharaya, that, having bathed in the Ganges and having worshipped Śiva, etc., he, on the
occasion of the dakṣiṇamūrti-nahārāṇi or commencement of the sun’s entrance on its southern
course, on this meritorious day, gave the aforesaid village, with its belongings, to six-thousand
Brahmans belonging to Pratishṭāhāna, who were of various gotras, had various pravaras,
and were followers of various Vedic schools; and he admonishes the people concerned to

1 The original has Pratishṭāhāna; but I have little doubt that the name intended is Pratishṭāhāna, ‘a town at the
confluence of the Gṛgh and Yamuna, on the left bank of the Gṛgh, opposite to Allahābād;’ and that Pratish-
ṭāhāna is the older name of the very town Jhūṣi, where the grant is reported to have been found. See ante,
Vol. XIV. p. 160, note 3.—The same place appears to be meant by dīlo-pratishṭāhāna, in the grant of Gvinda-
make over to the said donees whatever in accordance with this grant might be due to them. After some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (lines 12-16), the inscription, at the end of line 16, is dated in the year 1084 (expressed by decimal figures only), on the 4th day of the dark half of (the month) Śrāvaṇa.—There is hardly anything in the wording of the inscription which calls for any special remark; and the phraseology of the whole is so well known from other inscriptions, as to render a full translation superfluous.

The inscription affords no clue as to the line of sovereign to which the three princes mentioned in it may belong, and, beyond noting that a prince Trilōčana-pañāla appears to have opposed2 the Sultan Mahmūd in A.D. 1021, I am unable to offer any suggestion on the subject. Nor am I able to identify the village mentioned in the inscription, or the viśaya in which it was situated.

The details for calculating the date are, in line 16,—the year 1084 of an unspecified era, the 4th day of the dark half of the month Śrāvaṇa, being, as appears from line 8, the day of the dakshināya-saṅkṛatī. The mention of the dakshināya-saṅkṛatī, which introduces the first day of the solar month Śrāvaṇa, coupled with a day in the dark half of the lunar month Śrāvaṇa, shows that the year with which we are concerned is a northern year, with the pūrṇimānta arrangement of the months. And referring the year 1084 to the Vikrama era, the corresponding European date should fall in A.D. 1026 or A.D. 1027, according as 1084 is the current year or denotes the years expired. In A.D. 1026 Śrāvaṇa va. di. 4 was the 6th July; which cannot be the day intended by the grant, because the Karkatasaṅkṛatī, which introduces the solar month Śrāvaṇa, had taken place already on the 25th June. In A.D. 1027, on the other hand, the fourth śukā of the dark half of the lunar Śrāvaṇa ended, at Prayāga, about 2 h. after sunrise of the 26th June, causing that day to be called the 4th of the dark half of the lunar Śrāvaṇa; and the same 26th June was the first day of the solar Śrāvaṇa, the Karkatasaṅkṛatī having taken place about 2 h. 30 m. after sunset of the preceding day. Accordingly, 28 June, A.D. 1027, is clearly the day specified in the grant; and the date 1084 of the grant is thus proved to refer to the Vikrama era, and to denote the number of years expired.

TEXT.3

3 ja-param[ś] jva-śrimat-Trilōčana-par[ś] lādēvaḥ 1. Asurā[bhāka]-visva-[sha]-ye Lāb-
4 bhūṇḍaka-grāmē 1 samapagata[ḥ] ma[ḥ]-rājapuruṣah-[ṛa-ṛa]-hmas-ōttaraḥ-
5 ś-va[ḥ]-chā pratiniḥsama-stama-sa[ḥ]-hattama-janapada-d[ē]di[n]-māka(ma)yati sa[mrvf]-[mb]-d-
6 dhayati-āj[ī]-jñ[ā]-payaty-aṣṭu vaḥ se(sa)mviditaṁ yathā-parilis[i]-[ṣhi]-ta-grāmē-
7 gaṇapaya kari-kalabha-kāṇḍagra-chalpaṁ la[kahm?-]avilāya*[mā[tu]-aḥva-(ta)-dipa-

4 From the impression.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
7 Of the two aksharas in these brackets the first is quite distinct, and the second I can only read po. Both appear superfluous, and I believe that the writer has merely repeated here the second and third aksharas of the preceding samapagati,
8 Read-paryantaḥ.
9 Read-lakṣaṁtaḥ, vilīkya (for lakṣamaṁ-viśaya).
10 Read-acīram-. 
Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Trilochanapala.—The Year 1084.
SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 173.—Gudigere Jain Inscription.—Saka-Sambat 998.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from an ink-impression supplied to me in February, 1888, by a Native friend who then held the post of Māmilatdār at Lakhmēshwar, but whose name I cannot just now recall.

Gudigere alone is the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name, belonging to the Junior Mirej State, within the limits of the Dhārvad District. Its Kanarese name, under the more precise form of Gudigere, occurs in lines 21, 23, and 26. And it is also mentioned under the Sanskrit name of Divvajatajaka in line 12. In these two names, keṣa and iṭāka are exactly synonymous; both meaning ‘a tank.’ And the see, in the Sanskrit name, of dhārja, ‘a banner, flag, flag-staff,’ seems to indicate that gudi is here to be taken, not in its most customary sense of ‘a temple,’ but as meaning ‘a vessel raised up on a long bamboo, as at a festival.’ The inscription is on part of a stone-tablet, measuring about 2’ 10’’ broad by 3’ 2’’ high, standing against the wall of a Jain temple at this town. It is only a fragment; the upper part of the tablet, containing all the introductory portion of the record, and the usual sculptures at the top, being broken away and lost.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the extant portion, save for a margin of about an inch down each side and at the bottom, is in a state of very good preservation throughout; and nothing is illegible, except in those parts of lines 1 and 2 in which the fracture of the stone occurred. The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the eleventh century A.D. They include, in line 19, the decimal figures 8 and 9. The virāma is represented sometimes by its proper Kanarese sign, as in śrīmat, line 7, avayväl, line 9, and ālayol, line 10; and sometimes by the vowel u, as in asubhavagayya, line 3, dhātriyula, line 16, and gudigeregol, line 26. And an interesting instance in which a pronunciation

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11 Read sūryaṃ >archekapitām. 12 Originally śākya. 13 Read śākya upa. 14 Metre, Śōka (Anushthub); and in the following verses. 15 This akṣara is really t, with the sign for ५ before and the sign for ५ after it. 16 The ‘Gudagerree’ of the map; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41. Lat. 15° 6’ N.; Long. 75° 26’ E.
value has to be given to the latter form of it, occurs in line 13; where the metre requires us to pronounce aruhane, as written; though what is intended is aruhane, i.e. arhane. The average size of the letters is about \( \frac{1}{4} \). The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese; with two Sanskrit verses in lines 40-42. And the inscription is in mixed verse and prose. Three curious words occur in it. In line 8, we have runda, *large, great, lofty,* which occurs in many other inscriptions in the Kanarese country; and the formation of which has been explained by Mr. K. B. Pathak.\(^2\) In line 9, in introducing the mention of Aṣṭopavāsī-Kanti, the disciple of Srinandipaṇḍita, we have tiṣhāhīnti, *a disciple.*\(^3\) And in line 22, we have guḍḍa, which on previous occasions\(^4\) I have shown must have the meaning of *a disciple,* or something very similar; and of which we have also the feminine form guḍḍi.\(^5\)

My previous explanation of the word is fully established by the present inscription; for, while in line 22 the Śenabōva Śingayya or Singappa is called the guḍḍa of Srinandipaṇḍita, the latter, in line 13,—mentioned there under his epithet of paravādi-sarakha-bhūrṇa, —is distinctly called the Guru of Singayya. And I have only to add that, as the word is applied here to a Śenabōva or *accountant,* and in my previous instances either to Seṭṭis or *merchants,* or to Guṇḍas or *village-headmen,* it evidently means *an ordinary pupil;* and not *a religious pupil, or disciple,* which is plainly the meaning of tiṣhāhīnti. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice, are (1) the use of the upathmāṇya, represented by the same sign that stands for the Old-Kanarese \( ɾ \), in manabḥarṇarāka, line 6; (2) the use of the Old-Kanarese \( ʃ \) in the Sanskrit word kalpaṇa, line 11; (3) the doubling, very exceptional as so late a period, of \( p \) after the anusvāra, in samuppana, line 13; and of \( s \) before \( y \), in yasya and tanaya, line 41; (4) the occasional use of \( b \) for \( v \), in Sanskrit words only, in bhava-Vyaya, line 16, and in priyaṁbhadāna and brati, line 17; and (5) the occasional use of the wrong sibilant, as in namadaya, lines 11 and 23, niṣṭe-duṇa, line 14, and niṣṭe-darna, line 5, sarabha, lines 6 and 19, sachi-sabha, line 16, and saka, line 19.—A special point of interest is the allotment of the properly regal titles Paramesvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka, in line 4, to *the divine Arhat.* I have no other instance of this use of Paramesvara. And the only other instance, known to me, of the use of Paramabhaṭṭāraka in this way, is in line 42 of an inscription at Mandapur in the Belgaum District, dated Saka-Sannvat 1172 expired (Indian Inscriptions, No. 1), in which it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalasāiva or Vimalasānhūhu.

The inscription is a Jain inscription. The extant portion of it opens with the mention of an official, holding the post of Pergaṇa, named Prabhākara (line 2), or Prabhākaraya (l. 3). In his time of office (anabhashaya, l. 3) there was a Jain priest or teacher named Srinandipaṇḍitadeva (l. 7),\(^6\) Siriyandimunindra (l. 9), or Siripandi (l. 17), *who had crossed to the other shore the sea of nectar of the Siddhāntas and all the other Śastras which are useful in investigating the real nature of all the good and evil and other substances that proceeded from the water-lily that is the mouth of the divine Arhat, the omniscient one, destitute of passion (vīra-rāga),* the Paramesvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, who is decorated with a third eye\(^7\) which is the unsurpassed knowledge of the doctrine of unity (śtva-rāja), that is the refuge of the whole circuit of the earth;\(^8\) and who had the other name or epithet of paravādi-sarakha-bhūrṇa (l. 6), indicative of his skill in vanquishing those whose doctrines were opposed to his own. While this Ākhārya, Srinandipaṇḍita, was practising asceticism (l. 7), his disciple

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3 I thought at first that, though the word appeared to be tiṣhāhīnti, it might optionally be read tiṣhāpinti, or even tiṣhpinti. And, if we should adopt the reading tiṣhpinti, there are instances, in other inscriptions, which would justify our pronouncing it tiṣh-pinti, which might represent tiṣāga-pratīti. This last word, however, though quite possible, is not altogether a probable one; especially since the passage introduces only one disciple, and not a row or line of disciples. And a further examination of the whole record satisfied me that the word is undoubtedly tiṣhāhīnti.
6 The use of śrīmat in line 7, is an instance of the habit of emphasizing the use of śrī as an integral part of a proper name (see Corp. Insr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 8, note 9).
7 This was also a Buddhist title: e.g. in line 1 of the Śrīvatsi inscription, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 62.
8 This, in a Jain inscription, is rather a peculiar instance of borrowing from Hinduism; the origin of the metaphor being the three eyes,—one in his forehead,—of the god Śiva.
(śīkṣhitī, l 19) was Aṣṭādvāsigaṇti (l. 10), or Aṣṭādvāsi-Kanti (l. 29), "who delighted in the duty of maintaining the religion of Jīnēḍra." And this latter person obtained from Srīnidīpaṇḍita a namasya-grant of seven māttaras of land (l. 11), and applied it, under the protection of the Twelve Gāvāṇḍus or village-headmen of (the village of) Dhvajatāṭaka (l. 12), for the worship of Pāśva-Jīnēḍra, and for providing food for people versed in the sacred writings.

The inscription then introduces the Sēnābēca Sīṅgāṇa (l. 13), Sīṅga (l. 14), or Sīṅgāya (l. 22), whose god was the Arhat, and whose Guru or teacher was Srīnidīpaṇḍita (l. 13); who was a very moon in causing the increase of the ocean of the Jain religion (l. 15); who was a very bee at the water-lilies which were the feet of the ascetic Sirīṇḍandi (l. 17); and who was the Sēnābēca or village-accountant of Srīnandi (l. 18).

It then proceeds to record that, at the śrāha or śrāhē of the Anaḷa saṁvaṭṣara, which was the Saka year 998 (expired) (l. 19), Srīnidīpaṇḍita, shewing the charter to Kālāda-Nāyīmmaraṇa (l. 22), acquired possession of the western fields, in the lands of Gudigēre, which, on the authority of a copper-charter, were under the control of the Jain temple called Anēśajēya-basadi (l. 21) which Kūṅkumamahādevi, the younger sister of the glorious Chālukya Chakravartik Vijayadityavallabha (l. 20), had formerly caused to be built at Purīgēre; and gave, out of those fields, to his pupil (gūḍḍa) Sīṅgāya (l. 22), as a sarvaṇamasiya-grant, fifteen māttaras of land (l. 23), which Sīṅgāya allotted (l. 24) for the purpose of providing food for the saints at Gudigēre,—making it the duty of the king, the Paṇḍita, the Twelve Gāvāṇḍus, and all pious persons (l. 25), to see that the proceeds of the land were applied only for that purpose, and were not diverted to any other religion or any other object, and to continue the grant as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth might endure (l. 27).

The boundaries of this land were: —On the east, the cultivable land of Bandigāvāṇḍa (l. 28); on the south, the road to (the village of) Pulunāgar; on the west, the cultivable lands of the basadi, and of Nākayya; and on the north, the joint-fields (pasugeya polam) of the Gāvāṇḍus. And the boundaries of the seven māttaras of land, granted, as stated in lines 10-11 above, to Aṣṭādvāsi-Kanti, are here specified (l. 30) as being, on the east, the cultivable land of (the village of) Baṅgaṅgōri (l. 30); on the south, the cultivable land of the village-chaitiyaṇya; on the west, the cultivable land of the Pergaḍe Prabhākaraṇya; and on the north, the road to Pulunāgar. Thus there were given two paryāyā-allotments of twenty-one māttaras of land (l. 31).

Also, in the same western fields, Srīnidīpaṇḍita gave, as rent-free land (umbalāṇ), one hundred and eleven māttaras to the Twelve Gāvāṇḍus (l. 36); fifteen māttaras to Rudrayya (l. 37), son of the Pergaḍe Prabhākaraṇya; fifteen māttaras to the Sēnābēca Habbaṇa (l. 38); seven māttaras to Mākūriya-Kāvaṇa; four māttaras and six hundred kāmsas to Kantiyara-Nākayya (l. 39); and twenty māttaras, as a sarvaṇamasiya-grant, to the god Bhuvanainamaṇḍali-Sāntināṭhadeva (l. 40); i.e. to a Jain temple or image of Sāntināṭha that had been built or set up by the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvāra II., who had the bīruda of Bhuvanainamaṇḍali.

The inscription ends with two of the customary benedictory and imprecatory Sanskrit verses, in lines 40 to 42.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription, — in addition to Gudigēre itself, which is spoken of under the names of Gudigēre and Dhvajatāṭaka, the latter being the Sanskrit translation of the Kanarese name,—Pulunāgar is the modern Hulgūr, in the Dhwārāj District, six miles south-west of Gudigēre. And Purīgēre is one of the ancient names of the modern Lakshmīswar, in the Miraj State, about six miles east of Gudigēre. Baṅgaṅgōri, which cannot now be recognised in the map, must have been an ancient hamlet of Gudigēre, or of Lakshmīswar.

As regards the date of this inscription, we have, in line 19, the details of Saka-Saṁvaṭ 998; and, coupled with this, of the Anaḷa saṁvaṭṣara, which, as by the southern lunisolar system it was coincident with Saka-Saṁvaṭ 999 current, shews that the given Saka year is to
be taken as an expired year, though it is not qualified as such. And further we are told that the copper-charter was exhibited at the śrāhē of this year; but I have not succeeded in obtaining any explanation of the word śrāhē, or, as it may possibly be read, aśrāhē.

The name of the reign king is lost with the missing fragment of the stone. But the date shows that the record belongs either to the very end of the reign of the Western Chalukya king Sūmēśvara II., or to the commencement of the reign of his younger brother and successor, Vīkramāditya VI.

The Chalukya Chakravarthi Vijayaśādityavallabha, who is mentioned in line 20, seems to be the Western Chalukya king Vijayaśāditya, of whom we have an inscription at Lakshmēśwar,


\[ \text{TEXT.} \]

\[
1 \quad \text{Lavara} \quad \text{Bassadi[m]} \quad \text{Vī} \quad \text{Sama} \quad \text{naya-mākara=ant=adu} \\
2 \quad \text{yākara=abhāy-ākara} \quad \text{dvija-divāka[ran]} \quad \text{bhikara=nudha-nāsakara=udgha-yaśaṇ Prabhākara=Ant=ensida perggaṇe} \\
3 \quad \text{Prabhākara=nyan=anubhavanapye[sa] Ṭūni} \quad [ \text{S]v[as]}[t] \text{Samasta-bhuvanavrājya-nījayā niratiṣaya-kēvalajñāna-niratṛiti Vijayāditya=virājāmāṇa-} \\
4 \quad \text{bhagavat-arhat-sarvajña-vitarāgā-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mukha-kamala-vinirgatā} \\
5 \quad \text{ākāśa-sad-asad-ādi=asti-svarūpā=nirūpā=pravāja=siddhā} \\
6 \quad \text{nt-ādi=Samasta-sā[sa]str-āmuṣṭipāvāma-paragaran=ana=mrīpi-makuta-taṭa=gaṇa=kaṇa-ja-la-dhārā-dhaut-avādā-pūta-cha} \\
7 \quad \text{nāravindarū} \quad \text{budhaṇa=mana=puṇḍarīka-vana=mārtḍapaṇuḥ śat-tarka=Saṃgu-} \\
8 \quad \text{karuḥ parama-tapasācharaṇa-nirantarūn paravādśa[sa]ra-bhṛūṇa-āpara-} \\
9 \quad \text{nāmadhēya=appa śrīmat Śrīnandī-panḍita=deva=āchāryyar-āgi tapo-rājaṃ=geyeyuttam} \\
\]

\[ \text{Vṛi} \quad \text{Jina} \quad \text{Samay-Agam-āmbuniḍhi-pāragar-n} \\
\text{yugmar=emb=niṭtuyat maha[t:s]vadiņ Siriyanandī-muniṇḍara deva=urvviyol Avara} \\
\text{śiḥahāmṛtyi prepar Sama=dama-yama-niḷama-yutār=vv} \\
\]

\[ \text{* ante, Vol. VII. p. 112.} \\
\text{Pati, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 196.} \\
\text{11 See my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 47f. To my remarks there, I would add that the inscription calls Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaśāditya sarvākāśām or 'refuge of all people,' which is a very customary Eastern Chalukya epithet, but does not, I think, occur in any of the inscriptions of the Western branch of the family.} \\
\text{13 From the ink-impression.} \\
\text{15 See Vṛiṣṭ, i.e. Ākrut.} \\
\text{16 Or perhaps ant-ṣadam=ḥ(e).} \\
\text{18 Here, and throughout this inscription, this word is represented by a symbol; not in writing.} \\
\text{19 Read ṭṛiṣṭīyātra.} \\
\text{12 Metre, Champakamalā.} \\
\text{13 Metre, Champakamalā.} \\
\text{10 Metre, Kanda.} \]
SOME SOUTH-INDIAN LITERARY LEGENDS.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M. F. L. S.

INTRODUCTION.

I have frequently had the privilege of laying before the readers of this Journal the folk-tales of the people of Southern India; but in addition to these there are current among them many legendary tales based on Sanskrit or Tamil Literature and Tradition. These legends, are, I think, worth recording in the forms in which they occur in popular use, and I propose in the following pages to give specimens of them. They are specially interesting, because now-a-days they are rapidly disappearing before the march of education and the spread of communication with the outer world.

The time to hear them is during moonlight nights, after the simple toils of the villagers are over for the day, and their frugal, but withal plentiful, repast is finished. It is then that they delight to squat themselves on mats in the open moonlight, and spend a few hours relating folk-tales and folk-legends to each other. Several such evenings have I spent most pleasantly, with simple but hospitable companions, during my travels in search of the ideas that pervade them. And I trust that the results of what I have been thus able to record, may prove to be something more valuable than matters of mere passing interest.

LEGEND I.

On a certain day, a learned but poor Pandit was coming to the council house of king Bhūja on a visit. His intention was to display his learning to that great monarch, and receive presents from him for his hard-earned knowledge. Now, to go to a king with empty hands is considered a great sin among Hindus. So, on his way he bought some sticks of sugar-cane as a present for the king, cut them into smaller ones, each of a cubit’s length, and made a bundle of them. When he approached the palace, he found he was too late to enter the council-chamber that evening, for the king and his learned assembly had already dispersed. So, the Brāhmaṇ, not relinquishing the idea of missing the morning council as well, by going elsewhere for the night, made up his mind to sleep on the palace roofs, so as to be ready.
The place he chose for the night's repose was a stable; and there he put the bundle of sugar-cane under his head for a pillow, and soon began to snore away the night, for the day's work had been too much for him. In the middle of the night a groom happened to come into the stable. The pillow had slipped from beneath the Paṇḍita's head and attracted the groom's attention. He opened it and found it to contain sugar-canes. He at once determined to take possession of the canes, and rolled up in the bundle, in their place, some half-burnt sticks of fuel. He then put the bundle back into its original place and went away.

Our hero arose early the next morning, never dreaming that any trick had been played upon him, for the bundle appeared to his eyes to be exactly the same as when he had rolled it into his kerchief the previous evening. He rose up and hastily took the bundle under his arm, not liking to open it, lest some of the troublesome palace peons should snatch away part of the present he was carrying for the monarch. Proceeding thus hastily, he took his seat in the midst of the learned Paṇḍitas assembled before the king, and in his turn pronounced several benedictory verses in a general way. And lastly wishing to bless the king with the sugar-canes in his hand, he opened his bundle. But what was his dismay and confusion, when, instead of the canes, only some half-burnt fuel-sticks met his eyes! The whole conclave of Paṇḍitas was amazed to see one among their number with such a present in his hand. However, our hero, who had a ready wit, sang the following benedictory verse:

वर्गं लाक्षण्युक्तम् हि वृक्षं येवं त्यं मैरण्येवतं
वर्गं स्वर्गस्थन स्वेतं मंगलानि तथ्यं त्यं कर्णम्।
शरीरं जनं सङ्कारकामिन सेनापि वर्गं न वि॥

"The (great) forest of the Khândava, full of divine trees, was burnt down by Arjuna; the city of Lâṅka, otherwise called Hêmanagârî (the golden city) whose surface was all of gold, was burnt by Vâya's son (Hanumân); the friend of all, the god Madana (Cupid), was reduced to ashes by Harî. Why should this happen? What bad acts did they do? But this poverty of mine, which puts me always to sorrow, has never been burnt by any one."

So sang the poor Brâhmaṇ, hinting thereby that he meant by the presentation of those sticks that the king should burn his poverty with them. And the monarch too, famous throughout the world for liberality, amply rewarded the Paṇḍit, being extremely pleased with the verse.

LEGEND II.

In a certain learned village there lived a poor Brâhmaṇ who had no learning by which he could earn his living, or which could enable him to go with the others to the king, when he held assemblies of Paṇḍitas, and return home with presents from him. Now, to go to the king and get from him some present, was his great aim in life; and, finding all the means of doing it unaided hopeless, he resolved at last to go for help to the great poet Kâlidâsâ. He went to him accordingly and represented his case. The great poet promised to oblige Bhûjánadâsarâthi—for that was our hero's name—and told him to get by heart the following benediction:

चतुर्भीकिषितस्वाभाविनः। तत्वं काँतिकास्वाभाविनः।
"May there be to you the attainment of the three-fold happiness."

With the greatest difficulty, and after spending a month over it, Bhûjánadâsarâthi at last got it by heart. Kâlidâsâ then wished to take him to the king and previously told his majesty that a fellow-student of his was coming the next day to the assembly. Bhûjâ (for that was the king's name) was highly pleased to hear it, and awaited the happy occasion.

In due course Bhûjánadâsarâthi came into the assembly and was introduced to the king. He carried a cocoanut in his hand; and, presenting it to the sovereign, essayed to pronounce the benedictory sentence. But, as the troubles of his poverty always stood before his mind's eye, he remembered pîśa, 'misery,' much better than sukhâ, 'happiness,' and so tumbled into the mistake of substituting the former for the latter and said चतुर्भीकिषितस्वाभाविनः। "May there be the attainment of the three-fold misery to you."
The king's face changed colour on hearing such an unwelcome benediction, if benediction it might be called, from the fellow-student of the great poet. And all the assembled Pañjits were struck dumb with fear and astonishment. But in order to save Bhōjanadāsārathī, Kālidāsa at once rose up and said,

आसने विपनीया च दुम्पिता च नोभने ।
शब्दे सार्वपीया च विवेच गीता रिते चनि ॥

"May Brāhmaṇs trouble you when you are on your throne; may your sons trouble you when you sit down to eat; may your wives trouble you (for amorous sports) when you are in bed. Thus may there be three kinds of trouble to you day after day."

Thus Kālidāsa explained away the three miseries wished by Bhōjanadāsārathī to the monarch. And the king, highly pleased, rewarded the poor Brāhmaṇ, though of course he did not deserve anything.

LEGEND III.

One day a poor Brāhmaṇ went to Kālidāsa, and requested him to take him also to the assembly of king Bhōja. The great poet asked him whether he knew anything to bless the king with, and the Brāhmaṇ, being the son of a reciter of Upanishads replied that he had heard his father often repeat the words सहस्राष्ट्रम् पुरुष: सहस्राष्ट्रम्—

सहस्राष्ट्र: सहस्राष्ट्राः—

but that was all he knew, and even of that he did not know the proper intonation or meaning. "Very well, it will do," said Kālidāsa, and asked the Brāhmaṇ to come to the king's assembly the next day; and, his duty discharged, without using the peculiarity of the Upanishads, he said सहस्राष्ट्र: पुरुष: सहस्राष्ट्र: सहस्राष्ट्राः.

Every Pañjī there was astonished to hear so gauche a repetition of a portion of one of the Vēdāṅgas. Kālidāsa read the faces of the assembled Pañjīts, and standing up in their midst said: " Pañjītaḥ! Learned Sirs! The Pañjī who has just quoted from the Upanishad did not adopt the usual intonation, as he meant it to be but one-half of a verse. You must all try to patch up the other half. The whole assembly heard what Kālidāsa said, and tried their best to fill in the other portion, but in vain. Then rose up Kālidāsa, the king of poets, and said चाचित्याचित्यार्थं चतुष्कम् सत्यम् प्राप्तविया, which may be rendered thus — Tava sainyā pradhāvati, "when your army marches," Sahasraśaṭṭha purushak ālayitaḥ, "the thousand-headed (hooded) god Adiśēṣa changes his position (unable to bear the weight)." Sahasrāśaṭṭha chakītāḥ, "the thousand-eyed Indra fears for his safety," and Sahasraṣṭāt, "the sun becomes," chhannaḥ, "clouded by the dust raised by the army."

The king praised Kālidāsa, scolded the assembled Pañjīts, and rewarded the poor Brāhmaṇ.

LEGEND IV.

Four poor Brāhmaṇs visited Kālidāsa on a certain day and requested him to introduce them to the king. The poet asked them whether they knew any Sanskrit verses to bless the king with. The first Brāhmaṇ said that his father was a great reader of the Rāmāyaṇa, and that he had heard him often repeating the words कृतां रमायानम्, and that he knew only so much. The second Brāhmaṇ replied that his father was a great Pārāśā-s reader, and that he had heard him often repeat आचार्यां उद्धृत्तिः, and that he knew only so much. The third Brāhmaṇ stated that his father took great delight in the Hariyāvāsa, and that he had heard him often repeat the words श्रवणं वचनं रामाणम्, and that he knew only so much. And the fourth Brāhmaṇ said that his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and others, were all priests, and that he had often heard them pronounce, while discharging their duties, the words फितां वेदस्तवम्, and that he knew only so much. Kālidāsa was pleased with them all, and, pitying their poverty, asked them to be present at the king's assembly the next day.
Next morning the great poet went in advance, and informed the king that four of his fellow students had come to the town, and that they would soon be in the council to see him. In due time the four Brāhmaṇs entered the hall of assembly, and the monarch received them very kindly, as he had heard they were fellow-students of the great poet. After being seated, each began to repeat what he knew; and that most learned assembly of Paṇḍits, with Kālidāsa at its head, heard the following jumbles of Sanskrit verse:

\[
\text{कृतं रामायणं अवविशयो कुतुंबिते।}
\]
\[
\text{उवाच वचनं भीमारित्युतं इति सतवर्तम्॥}
\]

Each quarter of this being borrowed from a separate source, no one in the hall could make a grain of sense out of it. But up rose Kālidāsa, and said that the best verse ever uttered by Paṇḍits was the one that was just given out, and he explained its meaning thus:

\[
\text{रामायणं (नारायणं) भीमाणं (भ्रमणं) हि वचनं युक्तं प्रियाप्रियं कुतुंबितं अवविशयं वचनं}
\]
\[
\text{नवसत्वमहतं: 'To Nārada, who was always pronouncing 'Rāma, Rāma,' the most holy (Brahmā) said thus:—'Whatever is given in honour of the names (pitrī) to the Śrītrīya Brāhmaṇs who have large families, becomes the most imperishable donation in the world.' And as the four Brāhmaṇs who have come now to the court are Śrītrīya Brāhmaṇs with large families to protect, they remind you, O king! of the words of Brahmā to Nārada, and ask you to follow the same advice.'}
\]

So explained Kālidāsa, and the monarch at once issued an order that each should be rewarded with a hundred-thousand gold coins for each letter.

**LEGEND V.**

A certain boy, who had just begun Sanskrit and had not advanced beyond the declension of nouns, went on a certain day to Kālidāsa and said he wanted to be taken to the assembly of king Bhōja. The poet asked him what he knew. He said that his master had only the previous day taught him kavi, kavi, kavayaḥ—कवि, कविः, कवयः: the declension of the word kavi (poet) in the singular, dual, and plural of the nominative case. Said the poet “Come with me to the assembly to-morrow, and, blessing the king with कवि: कविः, कवयः, request the assembled Paṇḍits to compose a verse on it.”

The boy did accordingly. No one present was able to compose a verse upon those forms, till at last Kālidāsa got up and said:—जाति जगपि नामाकं जाति: काव्यसिद्धि अवस्तं। कविः हसि ननो ब्यासे कव्यसिद्धि संविधि॥

“When Vālmika was born, the word कवि: (poet) came to existence in the world; and then when Vyāsa too was born, the dual कवि: (poets twain) came into use; and when you began to wield the sceptre, the whole world became full of poets, and कवयः: (poets) came into use.

The king was exceedingly pleased at this praise and amply rewarded the boy.

**LEGEND VI.**

A certain buffoon named Bhukkunda, very learned in Sanskrit and of most ready wit, lived in the country of king Bhōja. One day he committed a great crime for which, by the laws of the state, he was to be executed. When taken before the king, to have sentence pronounced upon him, he said:—अतिविरोधी भाषित-बृहत्त्व:।

\[
\text{विविध्वेदः, भृत्व-विविध्वेदः। अवलंकृतं विविध्वेदः।}
\]

\[
\text{काव्यसिद्धि रजस्व:। भृत्व-काव्यसिद्धि मुक्तिः।}
\]

\[
\text{“Bhāṭṭi (the great grammarian and minister) is gone.}
\]
\[
\text{Bhāravi (another poet) is also gone. Bhikshu (a beggar) is dead and gone, and Bhāmaṣeṇa too is dead. I am Bhukkunda. And you are Bhūpati, O king! Infer from this that the god of death has entered the Bha series in order (Bha, Bḥā, Bhi, Bhu, Bhū). And that when I, Bhukkunda, die, the next person to die after me is yourself, your name being Bhūpati.”}
\]
The witty arrangement of the names of the dead persons confused the king. He seriously began to think that, when Bhukkuṇḍa dies, Bhūpati, i.e. he himself, must die next. So he pardoned Bhukkuṇḍa.

This verse is quoted as an instance of ready wit, though there is not much logic in it.

**LEGEND VII.**

In the Maīṣūr Darbār, during the days of Krīshnārāja Udāiyār, a certain Paṇḍit concluded a verse with the words Ṛṣmītadvāna viś Solar | | —“She looks with her eyes a little shut,” and wished his fellow Paṇḍits to patch up the verse on the condition that the verse was to be natural and treat of a thing without sentiments of love.

One of the Paṇḍits rose up and said:—


gāhastu kārīvavāṣya ṛṣitaṁ gatiṁ viṣṇū ṛṣitaṁ ||

परिचये गृहस्वदर्शी रशिनि दशी रशी करीववाष्या विषवाष्या ||

“While searching for cakes of dried cattle-droppings in the forest, a pulinda (hunter) woman comes across a tamarind fruit and when tasting it, she looks with her eyes a little shut.”

The allusion here is to the fact that, when anything acid is eaten, the nerves of the cheeks and the eyes contract and make the eater half shut his eyes for a second or two. The peculiarity of the above verse is that it is without sentiments of love, as is always the case when women in Sanskrit literature are represented as looking with half-shut eyes.

**LEGEND VIII.**

King Bhōja was seated one day among the learned Paṇḍits in his assembly, when a poor Brāhmaṇ presented himself before his majesty. Mendicants can be distinguished by their very faces, so the king said to him kūravasvāmīni viṇāt: “Whence have you come, O Brāhmaṇ?” Kālāśa-śamānī gītā vam | | “I have come from Kailāsa, O king.” Then his majesty asked him—विभिन्न प्रक्रियों शब्दोऽपि ||

“Is Śiva there doing well then?” And our Brāhmaṇ hero replied—तत्त्वं तत्वं विद्वी सृष्टि: || “No, there is none there. Śiva is dead and gone.”

The king was apparently startled and wishing to confound the Brāhmaṇ asked him “What had become of the several things which were in Śiva’s person if he had died?” Whereon the Brāhmaṇ repeated the following verse which is unparalleled for its beauty among such effusions:—


cīrānathī viṣṇuvaṇकर्तव्यात् हरस्वासुतम

वेदवर्धन भिगुन मृतस्वरूपवर्वा वर्जनीति

गंगा सागरस्वर चारिकक नामविचित्र: भूततम

सचिवलोकपर्वतस्वयममभां न विज्ञायतम ||

“Half of Śiva was taken away by the enemy of the Dānavas (Vishṇu); the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) too took away half of Hara (Śiva) to her own body. Thus the conqueror of Tripura, the great Śiva, was swallowed up in the heavens (by Vishṇu) and on the earth by Pārvatī, and became a cypher. He had the Ganges on his head; she went to the ocean as her lord. He had the moon-disc on his head; she went to the sky. He had several serpent-lords (as his ornament); they went to the nether world. He had the mastery of learning and the lordship of wealth; they came to you, O King! And lastly, Śiva was a mendicant; and he bequeathed his mendicity to me.”

Thus replied the Brāhmaṇ, most truly accounting poetically for the way in which Śiva disappeared, and hinting very cunningly that, because Bhōja was a wealthy and learned king, he had come there to beg. The king, who wished to confound the Brāhmaṇ by dragging him into unnecessary questions, was himself confounded. He rewarded the Brāhmaṇ amply, and sent him away.

In the above verse, the half of Śiva being taken away by Vishṇu is merely a poetical fiction. There is a god Hari-Hara, sometimes called Vishṇu and sometimes Śiva, by the
Vaishnavas and Saivas respectively. In this avatara or incarnation, half is Hari (Vishnu) and half Siva (Hara). This is most ingeniously represented in the above verse as Hari stealing away half of Siva. And in the incarnation of Siva as Ardhanarishvara, half of him is himself and half Pârvati. This is what is meant by the other half of Siva being stolen by Pârvati, as the poet cleverly represents it. And of course, when the two halves that make up one Siva disappeared, Siva himself disappeared.

Some orthodox Saivas sometimes criticise the last line of the first verse नासिनः तद्विवेजयमनः and say it is irreligious of the king to have spoken about the god as having died. But they make things right by representing that the words निहो and मृत् can also be separated as निहो and मृतम्. And by the rules of the Vyakarana (कश्चिं प्रार्थिते च तत्त्वं न बलिते श्रयुत्तसंख्यमेव न ज्ञाते), and the अर्थं both become respectively निहोगमनं. In निहो, अर्थं: Siva does not die, but only undergoes a sort of poetical death for the occasion; only in the mouth of the Brâhmaṇ mendicant.

CURiosITIES OF SOUTH-INDIAN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M.F.S.

I.—Punning Verses.

The following two verses, one on Siva and one on Vishnu, are looked upon in Southern India as among the best examples of puns upon words in Sanskrit.

Siva, in his incarnation of Naṭeśa, was always going astray with strange women. One night he returned home very late and knocked at the door of the goddess, when the following questions and answers passed between them—

करस्य दूती व्रतव्रतैर्विषयाय वैदम वैदम न जाने
स्थनुपदिते न वहितं सपन्निनावव: प्रमुखे ध.
केवलमं कय एस पशुपातिरक्षणे वैय कृपणे निवापणे
हृदयमै जैवकन्यागृहस्विष्यनजय: पाषु मै पाषायीध:।

which may be rendered thus:

Pârvati.—“Who is it that knocks at the door?
Siva.—Sûlī.
Pârvati.—If you are Sûlī go to the doctor’s house for treatment, as I do not know medicine.
Siva.—I am Sthānab, my dear.
Pârvati.—Sthānab! Trees do not speak.
Siva.—No; I am Nîlakanthana.
Pârvati.—If so let me hear one of your kâkâ notes:
Siva.—No; my dear! I am Pașupati.
Pârvati.—Then how is it that I do not see your sharp horns.

(Siva was confused by the natural interpretation given to each of his names by Pārvati.)

May that lord of Pārvati who stood confused and unable to reply to the questions of the daughter of the king of mountains, protect me!!!

The puns here lie in the words Sûlī, Sthānab, Nîlakanthana and Pașupati. Each of these four means Siva and also a person suffering from stomach-ache, a piece of wood, the peacock, and the bull as the lord of the cattle (cows). When Siva says that he is Sûlī, Pârvati interpreting the word to mean a person suffering from belly-ache, wants her husband to go to the doctor’s house as she had not studied medicine. Siva then says that he is Sthānab; and as that word means also ‘wood’ she wonders and says “if you are a Sthānab you could never have spoken, as trees do not speak.” Then Siva has recourse to a third name of his which also unfortunately means a peacock. The word is Nîlakanthana. Then Pârvati teases the god and wants to hear one of his kâkas—the special name, in Sanskrit, of the peacock’s note—as all Nîlakanthas sing kâkas. Once more Siva tells his wife that he is Pașupati which also means a bull.
Pārvatī then wants to see whether her husband has the horns of a bull and for that purpose opens the door. Then says the story that the god and goddess were reconciled, and the poet calls upon Śiva's protection in his half-amorous mood!

In the same strain, but representing the adventures of Kṛṣṇa, who was notorious for his adventures with the fair sex, is the following verse—

अंगुर्ग्या क: कपलट महर्ति कुड़ते मापत: किं वसल्ली
नाय चक्री किं कुंडलु नाय चर्चित: किं चित्रित: कथिती:।
नाय गंगाहोरी स्वभिस्त महसुसती नह: किं करती:।
इसप्रेम मयापानात्मिक चन्दन: पातु मो दयनान:॥

which may be thus rendered:—

The Gopās.—"Who is it that strikes (slowly) at the door with his fingers?
Kṛṣṇa or Padmanābha.—Mādhava, you enraged woman.
The Gopās.—What? Is it the god of the spring season?
Kṛṣṇa.—No. I am the Chakrī—the bearer of the discus.
The Gopās.—What? Are you the potter (who bears the wheel)?
Kṛṣṇa.—No. I am the bearer of the earth.
The Gopās.—Then are you the double-tongued king of serpents?
Kṛṣṇa.—No. I am rather the killer of the serpent (Kāliya).
The Gopās.—Then are you the lord of the birds (Garuḍa) who is the killer of serpents?
Kṛṣṇa.—No. I am Hari.
The Gopās.—What? Are you then the lord of monkeys (Hari)?

May the god Padmanābha who stood bewildered and unable to reply to the questions of the Gopās protect me!!!

Here also the names chosen by Padmanābha for revealing himself have all double meanings. Thus, Mādhava means Vīṣṇu as well as the spring season, and Chakrī also means the potter. The bearer of the earth is Vīṣṇu and also the lord of the serpents Āditiśa; and the Gopās whose aim was to worry the god so interpreted his name. Then Kṛṣṇa told them that he was the killer of the serpents as it is known that he vanquished Kāliya while yet a boy by jumping into the pool in the Yamunā where that serpent demon dwelt. As Garuḍa kills serpents, the Gopās at once asked him if he was that bird. He denied it and said that he was Hari which unfortunately means the lord of monkeys also.

Both the above verses are often quoted in Southern India as examples of puns, though they are not found in any of the set books.

II.—Fate.

The following verses are always quoted by the South-Indian Pañḍits for the supremacy of हेर, fate.

A hen and cock pigeon were once seated on the branch of a tree, when a hunter came to the root of the tree, and bending his bow was just about to aim an arrow at the birds. The hen pigeon saw him and said to her lord by her side that a miserable death awaited them as they were deprived of escape through the air, as just at that time a kite was wheeling over their heads. She had scarcely finished speaking when a serpent started from under the tree and stung the hunter, and he in confusion at the prospect of immediate death missed the pigeons and hit the kite by accident. Thus both the enemies of the pigeons—the hunter below, and the kite above, went together to the world of death. And fate, whose ways are wonderful, preserved the loving pair of pigeons. The following is the verse relating the story in pathetic Sanskrit, though the logic in it may not satisfy the modern students of Bain's "System."

कान्ने नाथ कारात्मकसः कुलसेवा नायास्यत्वकाॅलेपुरा
प्राचीनोपनयिन्यान्वितिविषयं देवं परित्यागत।
एवं सर्वशास्त्रम मधु दुर्युवा द्विनां निरुनितमेव
सूर्य ती कुमारवं प्रति गति हैसि चिनन्द्रा गाविः॥
"The hen pigeon much bewildered said to her lord—'My lord, now has come our last moment to us. The hunter pulling tight his bow has aimed his arrow at us. 'Over our head the kite circles in his flight.' Scarcely had she spoken this, when by a serpent he was stung and by his arrow the kite was killed, and both their enemies went at once to the house of death. The ways of the fate are wonderful."

In another verse the difficulties of a doe are enumerated:

अंगे स्थानः कर्पवकारः पञ्चाकरः आलमाला
पुष्प वालादहिति च वर्मस्यानी सारसेशः ।
एषी महायोद्धगन्धा शास्तिक: पालिन्यः
विन्यास्विद्दा कर्पवकारः पुष्पः फळि कारणोऽभिः कः प्रभः ॥

"In front of her is a hunter with a full-drawn bow in his hand: on both sides of her he has spread his nets so that escape on either side is impossible; to turn back and run away is also impossible, as he has lighted a big fire which is burning the whole forest. The space between the hunter and the nets is guarded by the hounds. With all these external difficulties, the doe is full heavy with young and not at all able to walk quickly, and a young one is running between her feet. In the midst of so many difficulties she is buried in the ocean of anxiety and says to herself 'What shall I do? Where shall I go?'

While thus surrounded with dangers the following events occurred, or are supposed to have occurred, and made her escape possible:

गर्भे व्या बुद्धिः च रातावमन्वितस्मि व्यामेवानाम्
निश्चयद्वक्षुकुमारनागिनिः पाश्च वियोगिनि ।
शान्ती बहुरुक्कानिस्यखरालिशि: सुतां पुष्पी सारणिशि
वामापकारिः सतव नुष्पा देवस्व लक्ष्मीपि: ॥

"The bow-string broke in the middle (from too strong a pull); the bow too was smashed to pieces. From fear of the forest-fire a hare left its bush and ran and was followed furiously by the hounds. The nets were burnt by the fire. All of a sudden an untimely cloud appeared and poured volumes of water upon the fire and quenched the flames, and in that very place after crossing all the channels of difficulty by the favour of the lord of the Lakshmi (Vishnu) the doe was confined and brought to bed of another young one."

Thus if fate only desires it, everything shall take place as it should. In this way many an idler generalizes in remote villages and quotes the three verses given above as his authority for so doing.

III.—On Musk.

The following beautiful verse is current as one addressed by a great Paññit to a rogue:

कस्तुरिकां चन्द्रवमानसीचराणि
विन्यास्विद्दा च वियोगिनिः ।
सूक्ष्म विविधा च लक्ष्मि च चार्मनलेविष्ठा
सूक्ष्म विन्यास्विद्दा चेष्टा सकलमेवारः ॥

"The fool Brahmā by placing musk in the navel of those poor beasts which graze on grass and roam the forests made them (most unreasonably) objects of slaughter; but if, instead of that, he had kept it at the root of the tongues of wicked people it would have been a great help to all."

The author means that wicked men would lose their tongues, and thus their wickedness, and that the rest of the world, would get musk from their tongues instead of from harmless beasts.
IV.—An old man’s wife.

The following is a fine (but somewhat tasteless) verse based on the observation that a lamp is useless to the person who holds it while walking:

करे गृहीतापि पुरे विद्यापि
स्नेहेन समयं परितङ्गितापि।
परीपकालाय मनःकृति निर्यथ
कृत्यस्य भायेय करसेत्यस्य॥

“Though held by the hand, though made to be before us, though well kept up by snēha, (oil and also affection), like a lamp held in hand which always becomes useful to others, and not to the person who holds it, is the wife of an old man.”

The author evidently means a young wife of a very old husband.

V.—On Friendship.

The following is a fine verse on friendship:

शान्तेनेवं विशुद्धपि वंशिण्यः
नितिःक्रिया निरतते नक्षितः
स्थितस्य निर्देश बद्धुच्छि
सम्रामस्य ज्ञातन्यनण्यस्य॥

“Though the six-footed (bee) is an expert in boring even trees, it gives up all its powers and becomes actionless when it is enclosed in the lotus. There are several kinds of bonds; but the bondage of friendship is unparalleled.”

The bee is supposed to be tied down by the rules of its friendship to the lotus. Hence it does not like to use its tree-boring powers which, if brought into action on the lotus, would destroy the latter in no time.

VI.—The Advaita Philosophy.

The following verse is related in every village as an example of the Advaita Philosophy, and apart from the fact, it stands unparalleled in beauty. It is a conversation between Sītā and her faithful friend Trījaṭā:

तत्तांग सर्थिः चुंगत्राष्ट्रवतं संवरीश्य सीति कर्यं
श्रीरामनापितलैलसुधिरुपुण रानी निवश्वास्यहास।
तस्ये ते अप्रदा रमाय रामासागरविद्येः कुतः
सीति यज् सिद्धियोऽथ तस्मि युवयोः संसर्गाताम् नचत॥

Sītā observed a wasp bring a worm to its nest in the tree under which she was confined. The bee used to sting the worm during all its leisure hours, but the worm, which was always in dread of the wasp soon turned into a wasp itself. When an animate thing, so low as a worm, by thinking with dread upon an object which it hates, can itself become a wasp, a fortiori can men who follow the Advaita philosophy become Śiva by thinking upon Śiva with an idea of doing a pleasurable duty? This is called Bhūringakṣitaṅkāya. The meaning of the verse is as follows:

Sītā.—“Well, my friend, after witnessing the evolution of the wasp and worm I fear much.
Trījaṭā.—Sītā! What do you fear?
Sītā.—That I who have been thinking of Rāma for ever shall now become Rāma (by the rules of the above explained evolution).
Trījaṭā.—What of that?
Sītā.—With that lord of my life, I shall lose the pleasures of a wife, as those would become impossible in me after my becoming Rāma.
Trījaṭā.—Fear not. He must always be thinking of you and become changed to yourself by the rules. Then there shall still be the happiness to you both of a husband and wife.”

Though this is a conversation existing only in the imagination of the poet, it is considered a very fine expression of genuine affection between husband and wife.
PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society.

(a.) Meeting of the 24th September (6th October) 1887.

J. S. Yashtrebov, Consul-General at Salonika, presented the Society with a collection of Old Coins, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Slavonic and Italian.

V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, in a letter to Baron Rosen, expressed his consent to the publication of the fourth part of the Essays on the Tsars of Kasimovo.

Vice-Consul Villier-de-Lille Adam presented to the Society a collection of Egyptian Antiquities, bronze and alabaster statuettes, heads in terracotta, &c.

V. A. Zhukovsky read a paper on M. Biełozerzkiev’s book *Letters on Persia*, included in the *Collection of Geographical and Topographical Notices of Asia*, and in his careful review of the above-mentioned book shewed the superficial nature of the views of M. Biełozerzkiev and the levity with which he had addressed himself to the task.

(b.) Meeting of the 26th October (7th November) 1887.

S. J. Chakhotin sent some Eastern Coins for inspection, one of which, according to Baron Tieschenhausen, exhibited special interest.

The Fifteenth Volume of the Transactions of the Eastern Section, containing the text, translation, notes and preface to the History of the Mongols, by Rashiduddin, published by I. N. Beresin, will appear as soon as the index which is now in the press is ready.

A letter was received from A. T. Solovjev, with some coins and an impression of a Chugatorai Coin of Kazan-Timur, which, in the opinion of Baron Tieschenhausen, is very curious.

V. Villier-de-Lille Adam sent three Egyptian Statuettes as a present to the Society.

A. M. Pozdeiev read a paper on Calmuck Literature, which is important, although boasting no great antiquity.

(c.) Meeting of the 13th December 1887.

V. M. Uspeiski sent four coins, one of which is unique according to Baron Tieschenhausen.

N. N. Pantusov sent to the Society six Chinese Proclamations to the inhabitants of the Ili District in three languages, Chinese, Manchu and Turki, of the years 1880-1881, the time of the transfer of Kulja to China; they contain an amnesty offered by the Chinese to the inhabitants of that district.

V. V. Radlov read a paper on the yarlik of Tuqtamish and Timur-Qutluq (which will be published shortly in the Transactions).

S. M. Georgievski communicated extracts from his large work on Chinese Social Institutions.

(d.) Song about Khudvar Khân.—N. Ostrowiprom communicates from Tashkand a song on the Banishment of Khudvar Khân from Fergana. It is said to produce a great effect upon the Musulmans, who weep upon hearing it sung. The author is unknown. A translation is added. The piece is in the usual Oriental style, full of trite reflexions, e. g., “My life has passed, O God! My actions have been vain.” In one verse he is made to say—“I have fallen into Russian nets, and have been shut up in a cage.” In a note to the poem Baron Rosen says that he does not think either the text or translation quite accurate, but as the Sart dialect is so little understood, he has only ventured on a few emendations.

(e.) The Embassy of Spophari.—This is a translation from the Chinese, giving an account of an embassy sent in the year 1676 by the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich to the Emperor of China. Communicated by A. Ivanovski.

(f.) Remarks on the kurgâra of Turkistân, by N. Veselovski.—These are called in Western Turkistân, kepe, which means hillock. The word kurgâra, which was undoubtedly used for such mounds in ancient times, is now preserved only in the names of towns and villages. There are no traditions among the natives that these mounds were heaped up over the graves of their ancestors. The writer did not excavate any of the mounds used as graves, but collected information about them wherever he could. When kurgâra of this kind are found alone they are very high, but smaller when they are in groups, and the place is then called by the natives mintepê, ‘the thousand’ hills. The most numerous are situated in the Margelan district of Fergana. In the mintepê various articles are found, such as buckles, rings, metal looking-glasses, &c. The fact that mintepê are only discovered near the Sirdarya, leads us to conclude that they were raised by nomads. On the other hand, kurgâra are sometimes used by stationary populations as fortifications, but by the nomads they are never employed as such. A fort of this kind is Toi-tepe (situated 35 versta from Tashkand, on the way to Khojand). Some kurgâra stand quite alone and have no towns near them, as Chorlokepê, forty versta to the north of Tashkand. It
is a lofty cone-shaped hilltop. Between seven and eight years ago a great hoard of silver coins of the Timurids was found here and three golden earrings. The writer conducted excavations with the following results:—On the northern side there was a clay wall and some cylinder-shaped wells, and unmistakable signs of a dwelling. Among other things were found a little earthen pitcher, some trinkets, a piece of glass, two iron knives, one of which was curved like a sickle, a stand made of stone with three legs, a little brass lamp (chirmagh), a brass coin of the so-called Bukhar-Khudats, a large earthen pot, within which were three stones for grinding by hand, many pieces of earthen vessels, ashes, stones, &c.

The Academician Müllendorf, in his Sketches of the Valley of Pergama does not regard the kurgans of Central Asia as artificial, but holds that the people merely made use of the natural ones which they found. With this opinion the writer does not agree. He thinks the kurgans among the Turkmen the work of an earlier settled population. There is a very interesting kurgan in the Khanate of Bukhara, between the Kishlak Shhrin-Khâtun and the town of Zîâ-u'dîn (the old Dehistan). The writer had not heard of kurgans being excavated by natives, but still they are constantly being destroyed. The natives use some of the earth in them as manure. Pieces of land in which kurgans are found are therefore valued more than others, and, in consequence, many of them have lost their original forms and threaten to disappear. It is from earth being taken in this way that objects are found. Colonel Voitsekhovich gave the writer some which had been found by a Sart in his field.

The article concludes with a list of kurgans in Turkistan, which the writer recommends to the investigation of antiquaries.

(g) Georgian Inscriptions found in Russia, by A. Tsagareli.—Many Georgian Inscriptions and other antiquities have been found in the interior of Russia. The relations between Russia and Georgia date from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Emblisses coming from Georgia to Moscow brought presents for the Tsars and Patriarchs, such as embroidery, robes for priests, icons, church furniture, books with miniatures, &c.

In the same way Russian embassies going to Georgia received similar presents or bought things in the country. In the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries came many emigrants, tsars and their wives, with large suites, and priests. Two emigrations are especially noteworthy. In 1725 arrived the Georgian Tsar Avidy VI. with all his family and about 1500 persons, and another extensive emigration in 1809-1815. It is in this way that the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Arts acquired its rich collection of manuscripts. Many valuable articles are scattered about in the different governments. Thus Struyer found in the year 1829 at Vologda, a splendid copy of the Nomocanon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, perhaps the autograph of the translator himself, Euthymius, of Athos, a Georgian, who died in 1028. So also the palitse of Tula and the cope of Kiev. Brosset published many of the inscriptions in 1839; see Inscriptions tumulaires Georgiennes de Moscou et St. Petersbourg, expliquees par M. Brosset. Some of the inscriptions are translated in the paper, and it is hoped that some more will be found.

(1.) Inscription on a Priest's Cope at Kiev.—

"O Mother of God, Virgin Mary, protectress not only of Moscow, the country of the North, but also protectress of the whole world, defender of all those who worship thy Son as God, be not ashamed of us at the day of judgment, thy servants, the Tsar Archil and Tsaritsa Kotevan and our children." Archil was born in 1647 and married in 1667 the sister of Heraclius I. He came to Russia in 1690 and died at Moscow in 1712. He was a considerable author in Georgian. He prepared the Georgian Bible for the press which was published after his death at Moscow in 1743.

(2.) Inscription on an Icon.—"Thou defender of all sinners, Most Holy Mother of God, of Kazan, be merciful and spare from all sickness and affliction him who devotedly adorns thee, Alexander, the son of the Tsar."

There were several sons of Georgian Tsars bearing the name Alexander, and living in Russia in the XVIII. and XIX. centuries, and as there is no date it is difficult to say who this 'adorer' of the Kazan icon was.

(3.) Georgian inscription on two guns, one large, the other small, preserved in the Museum of the Admiralty at St. Petersburg. They are in civil characters without any abbreviations, and there is a date on the largest gun:—"Eristavi Rostom, 1736." How these guns got into their present place is unknown. Perhaps they were brought here from Kutais after Meretia had been united with Russia in the year 1810; perhaps they came to Kutais as trophies of victory after the defeat inflicted by Solomon Tsar of Meretia on his powerful vassal Rostom Eristavi, who had declared war against him in 1767-1768. The Tsar Solomon, having defeated Rostom,
imprisoned him and had his eyes put out. Perhaps at that time Solomon brought these guns among other things to Kutais. In Russia in the eighteenth century, there were emigrants of the family of the prince Eristavi.

(4.) "We, the Tsar George and Tsaritsa Tamara, have ordered this palitra to be embroidered so that our souls may be remembered. Amen." This is embroidered in silk on a palitra (part of the dress of the upper clergy) now at Tula. There is also a verse of the 44th psalm in Greek. In Georgia there were several couples having the names George and Tamara. Thus a George and Tamara ruled about 1387 to 1390. There was also the Tsar George X. and his wife, according to some Mariams, according to others Tamara. A letter of this Tsar has been preserved addressed to Boris Godunov. There was besides the Tsar George XI. who ruled from 1675 to 1688, and again from 1691-1693, and was married to Tamara. The latter Tsar did not have any close relations with Russia. The palitra hardly belongs to the twelfth century, although, from lack of date, it is difficult to say when it was brought into that country.


(i) A List of the Persian Turk-Târtâr and Arabic MSS., of the Library of the University of St. Petersburg, by K. Saleman. The titles are given first in Russian and afterwards in the original languages.

(j) Miscellaneous Notes.

(1) Interpretation of a Saying in a Satire by Firdâš, by V. Zhukovski. The satire is against Mahmūd Gharnâvi. This is the line, which may be literally translated as follows:

"The hand (properly palm) of Shâh Mahmûd of exalted origin is 9 × 9 and 3 × 4."

Mohl thinks that it is an allusion to a game and translates: "La générosité du roi Mahmoud, de si illustre origine, est riche et moins que riche." He afterwards corrected the last part as follows: "n'est rien ou plus de choie." This correction was introduced by Mohl in consequence of the explanation communicated to him by Kasimirski at Tehran from a certain Mulla Muhammad 'Ali, who explained Firdâš's 9 × 9 and 3 × 4 in connection with an ingenious trick of counting on the fingers. Mohl was followed by Stanislas Guyard (chapitre de la préface du Farhamgî Djehangirî sur la dactylogramme.) He differs in some points from Mohl, but they both agree in thinking that it has to do with laying the fingers in the hand and counting by them and was a way of referring to the extreme stringiness of Mahmûd of Ghazni, as the satire is well known to have been written by Firdâš because Mahmûd had not paid him the promised money for the Shah Nima. V. Zhukovski adds two further interpretations heard in Persia—the first from one who knew the whole work by heart. He did not think there was any allusion to counting on the fingers. The line made sense if the numerals of the hemistich were changed into the corresponding letters in the abjad, or alphabet, arranged in numerical order thus:

\[93 = (4 \times 3) + (9 \times 9) ; 93 = (4 + 2 + 6) + (40 + 10 + 1 + 30)\]

The second computation may thus be arranged according to the abjad, \(\text{ق} + \text{i} + \text{ض} + \text{ه} + \text{و} + \text{م} \text{ر} + \text{د} \text{ه} + \text{ش} \text{م} \text{ن} \text{د} \text{ه} \text{ش}\), i.e. \(\text{i} + \text{ض}\). He then translates, 'The hand of the Shah Mahmûd of lofty lineage is very avaricious and foul.'

The second interpretation belongs to a scholar of Isfahân. It proposes a different reading in the verse itself, \(\text{ف} \text{ض} \text{ق} \text{د} \text{ه} \text{ش} \text{م} \text{ن} \text{د} \text{ه} \text{ش}\), and explains that by the laying of the fingers on the hand as expressed by the figures 9 × 9 and 3 × 4 the hand takes the form of a closed fist. The reason why Firdâš expresses the avarice of Mahmûd by a closed fist is to be found in the well-known story of a certain dervish, who came to Mahmûd of Ghazni. The latter put his hand in his pocket, but drew out a closed fist and placed it in the dervish's hands, pretending to give him something. M. Zhukovski adds that this explanation seems somewhat far-fetched.

(2.) The so-called Khân Çuci or Zuci, by V. Tiesenhausen. —In the well-known work of Heyd on the trade between Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages, in the chapter on the mercantile affairs of the Venetians and Genoese in Persia (11. 123), from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, mention is made of a 'privilege' which is only preserved in a Latin translation. This was given in the year of the serpent (according to the Târîkh manner of computation), or the year 1305 of the Christian era, by the then Târîkh 'Sultan' to the Venetians, and begins with the words: 'Verbüm Çuci (or according to another reading Zuci) Soldani ducii Venetiarum.' Heyd is right in thinking that the 'privilege' was given by the Khân Uljait, but is wrong in taking Zuci for a person's name; it is
only a transcription of the Turkish word which means 'his word' or 'his decree,' and was the customary word at the commencement of documents issued by the Mongolian Khân.

(3.) Coins belonging to S. I. Chakhtchin (continued.)—The only one of these coins, in the writer's opinion, hitherto unclassified, is a silver coin of the Turkish Sultân Murâd IV. (1032-1049), the son of Ahmad, struck at Damascus, and remarkable for the fact that it we met for the first time with the Mulsânman ejaculation 'May his shadow be lengthened!' Also a copper, and as it appears, unclassified Saljuq coin of Sultân Kai-khusraw L., son of Khilij-Arsalân (588-607), with the representation of horsemanship on one side.

(4.) Maimatal, by D. Kobele.—Among the documents of the diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Crimean Horde are the instructions given by the Grand Duke Ivan III. to the Bayar Semoi Borovovich, sent him in the year 1486 to the Khân of the Crimea, Mongl-qiêri. The Khân in his answer uses the word maitamal, which appears to mean public chest or treasury, but is employed in no other documents relating to Russian dealings with the East.

The Khân has taken for his treasury the goods of a Russian who died in the Crimean. This custom prevailed with the Turks till the commercial treaty with Russia in 1783.

(5.) Story of Khîldî-as-Sâbi concerning the taking of Bukhârâ by Bogra-Khân, by Baron Rosen.—All investigators of the history of Central Asia regret the meagreness of information about the Turkî Dynasty which reigned over Mâwarûn-n-Nahr in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries of the hiýra and took the place of the Slâmânîs. The writer wishes to point out a useful source of information in the chronicle of Khîldî-as-Sâbi, which serves as the continuation of another chronicle by Sâbit ibn Sâînân, uncle of Khîldî. The history of Khîldî includes the years of the biýra 366-447 (973-1055). The opinions of Mulsânman authors on the value of the works of Khîldî and his uncle are given by Chwalson in Die Subhier und der Subhismus, St. Pet., 1856. Lately Baron Kremer has succeeded in finding the work of Khîldî in the Ducal Library at Gotha. Besides this newly-discovered production of Khîldî, we have also a fragment of his chronicle, including the history of three years, i.e. 390-392 of the biýra (= 1000-1002). It is preserved in the British Museum (Cod. Add. 19, 360). This manuscript the writer saw in 1379, and made extracts from it relating to the taking of Bukhârâ by the troops of Bogra Khân. Khîldî employs the account of a contemporary merchant, Abû-l-Hussain ibn Iyâs. The narrative of the merchant is extremely curious, because it shows us the great influence which the Mulsânman holy men, now called Isâhân, had at that time on the bulk of the population.

(6.) Pâni I. 4. 79.—In his remarks on this wâra Böthlingk (Pâni's Grammatik) refers to Vajrachchhêdika (Anechoy Osuminika, I. 35, 10, 42, 7), and on page 477 says: Dr. H. Wenzel macht mich darauf aufmerksam, dass रविवर्तन an den angegebenen Stellen im Tibetischen durch Uraeche weidergegeben wird. Both expressions quoted in Mahâdevajpatte, 223, are, and in the Tibetan text, are translated by the word 'cause.' The Pâli upânasî, with which may be compared उपासि (Sukhâbhîyâka, 31, 9) has the same meaning. viz., cause.

(7.) Chandragomín, by I. Minasyan.—Among the authors cited in the Suhbâshîdîwâli (edited by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1886), is found Chandragomín. The editor of this remarkable anthology (on p. 36 of the preface) makes the following suggestion:—"May be the Chandragomín to whom the Chandra Grammar is ascribed." The first part of the suggestion seems to me utterly improbable. The part of the verses ascribed to Chandragomín are taken from Sishyatekka, the work of Chandragomín.

The writer then cites the verses under No. 3342, and also says that those under No. 3443 are taken from the Sishyatekka. He does not quote them in full, because he hopes in a short time to publish the entire work of Chandragomín. Chandragomín, as is well known, was one of the celebrated Buddhist teachers. Târanâtha often makes mention of him.

(8.) On the name 'Balavari,' by Baron Rosen.—In the review of the book by Zotenberg, Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Josaph the writer expressed the supposition that in the name (of the book) Balavari, translated by Saint Eutymius from Georgian into Greek, was concealed the same Indian name or word which in the form b-l-r-k-r... लोहर stands in the place of the name Vârasam in the Mulsânman version of the romance. The name Balavari, and all the information about the translation of the book of that name, the writer took from Professor Tagarelli's work on The Documents of Georgian Literature, Part I. St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 53-54, who in his turn copied

\[ \text{bailamorohtu} 'l-mâl, a term always used among Muslamans for treasury.} 

* It is like the French droit d'assemblée.
it from the life of SS. John and Euthymius, preserved in a manuscript of the year 1074. Of this ancient manuscript, as Professor Tsangarelli says, two copies exist. On referring to these copies the Professor finds that the form Balavari is incorrect; in one of the copies before v stands k, in another, and so we must read the name Balaavari, or Balaghvar. The word balavari signifies 'foundation,' which agrees with what the writer previously supposed. He concludes with a hope that the Greek original will be found, and thus it will be seen how far the life has been paraphrased by the Georgian translator.

(i) Criticisms and Bibliography.

(1). A Description of the Territory of Sir-darge, compiled from official documents by E. Smirnov, St. Petersburg, 1887.—The district contains about 1,200,000 inhabitants. The book is very useful and will do something to dispel the illusions prevalent about the richness of the country (which has already cost the Imperial treasury a great deal), especially Chapter VII. on the industries of the territory. The cotton and silk industries are languishing. Chapter III. is weak where the author discusses the population, because he goes too much into history, about which he knows but little. The work concludes with sixteen statistical tables of very various character. It is to be hoped that other districts will be described, those of Foragna and Zanavan (if possible—without any history).

(2). The Travels of the Shâh Naṣrud-dîn in Maxandarân. (Diary kept by his Highness.) Translated from the Persian by E. Koriander, Mining Engineer.—The Journals of the Shah Naṣrud-dîn, compiled by himself at the time of his travels in Persia (in Maxandarân, Kerbel and Khurâsân), in spite of occasional monotony and dryness in style, possess considerable interest in many particulars. The Shah is full of curiosity, and introduces ethnographical, social and archæological observations, but the chief interest of the book is geographical and topographical. The Shah often visits the most out-of-the-way places, and so whoever undertakes to translate his diary ought to give the geographical names very accurately (an alphabetical list of them would not be without its use), but M. Koriander gives neither. He has done his work very carelessly, suppressing some things, adding others, and confusing the narrative. The book is of little value. The original appeared at Teherân in 1294 a. H.

(3). Contemporary Persia.—A good book and well translated.

(4). M. Maschánov. A Sketch of Arab Life in the time of Muhammad, as an introduction to the Study of Islam. Part I. Sketch of the Religious Life of the Heathen Arabs at the time of Muhammad. (Missionary Miscellany against Musalmân doctrines Part XVII.)—A Review by V. R. [osen], consisting of many pages, in the main unfavourable. The reviewer recognises in the author laboriousness and a good knowledge of Arabic, but as he confesses that he had not the opportunity of consulting some of the most important Arabic works, does not think that he ought to have undertaken to write the book. The only course open for the real student of history of whatever country he treats is the careful study of the original authorities. The reviewer then recapitulates some of the early authorities on Arabian history, but we must not copy their mistakes, eminent though they were. Oriental history and philology have latterly made great strides. The reviewer gives three requirements which are fundamental in the case of every one who treats of Oriental history.

(i) The writer must have recourse to the most important authorities which have been published.

(ii) A criticism of the authorities, as careful and many-sided as possible, and, as a natural result, a correct estimation of the importance and meaning of each separate fact.

(iii) As much accuracy as possible in details. But M. Maschánov fails in these. His authorities are at second hand; he knows nothing of the great advances in Arabic epigraphy. He shows no critical use of authorities, and his details are inaccurate, being from translations, etc. An example is given in his treatment of Al-Uzza, an ancient Arabian deity mentioned in the Qurâân. The work has no scientific value, but the reviewer hopes for something better from the author on account of his knowledge of Arabic and his enthusiasm in the study.

(5). Dictionnaire des noms propres palmyréniens, par E. Ledrain.—The object of the work is to collect into a corpus the proper names, scattered over collections of every kind, learned travels and monographs which are found in Palmyrean Inscriptions, and in this way to furnish as complete material as possible for the future investigator of Palmyrean onomatology. The author makes no comments on the names, which are more than four hundred in number, and are transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet. Of the names introduced by M. Ledrain a large number do not belong to the dialect spoken at Palmyra. Owing to the city being on one of the highways of commerce, there lived there a multitude of strangers.
and especially Greeks, Romans, Persians, Parthians and other Aryans. There are 14 Greek proper names in this list, the orthography of which is very capricious. The same remark applies to the Latin. Many valuable hints are given on pronunciation of these trunscriptions. With the exception of Parthian and Persian all the other names are of Semitic origin and are mythological, personal, and geographical. Some of the former show the existence of deities of the Semitic pantheon not otherwise known. Many of the theophoric personal names are compounded of Baal with some other word—thus Yaribel. The book is a very valuable one.

(8) Palmyra sive Tadmur urbis fata qua fuerint tempore Muslimico. Scripta H. Grimm. Monast. Guestfalorum 1886. The History of Palmyra has been often specially treated, but only in its more ancient and glorious period and not after 273 A.D., when Aurelian took the city and united it with the Roman Empire. M. Grimm discusses its history from the time of the conquest of Aurelian till the time when it falls out of mention in history. The work is in five chapters. In the first the author gives a sketch of the history of Palmyra in 273 till the subjugation of the Arabs in 634 in the time of the Khalifa Abu Bakr. The chief authorities here are the Byzantine historians. As far as can be gathered Palmyra at that time took no part in the political events which frequently shook the very foundations of the Byzantine Empire in the time of Justinian and other monarchs. That Emperor paid particular attention to Palmyra, then almost in ruins, and ordered that it should be rebuilt and surrounded with walls, spending for this purpose, according to the testimony of Theophanes and Malala, large sums of money. After the loss of its commercial prosperity Palmyra acquired strategical importance, and when during the war of the Arabs it was filled with a large population professing Islam, it played an important part in the quarrels of the Ummayyids and the Abbassids. On the taking of the town by Mervan II., its walls were demolished, and as they were never rebuilt it lost its strategical importance, and sank to the dimensions of a small provincial town but rarely afterwards mentioned by historians. M. Grimm brings his history of Palmyra down to the year 1401, namely to the conquests of Timur in the East, when Tadmor is again mentioned by the Arabian historians, and with this the second chapter of the work concludes.

The third chapter is occupied with a discussion of the information given about Palmyra by the Arabian Geographers. The ruins in their time were much more extensive. Yakut tells us that among them were found a group representing two women embracing, which served as a subject for some verses of the Arabian poets; this has completely disappeared. In the same writer we meet with an account of the grave of a woman, made of gypsum, found in the time of Merwan II., which contained an embalmed body, covered with various ornaments, &c.

The author devotes the fourth chapter to the discussion of the caravan-routes, leading from various places to Palmyra mentioned by the Arabian Geographers, and finally in the fifth chapter considers the legendary stories of the Arabs about the fate of Palmyra, which all treat of two important epochs in its history,—its foundation by Solomon and destruction in the time of Zenobia or Az-Zabba. It is remarkable that the personality of Aurelian is completely ignored in these traditions and he is changed by the Arabian historians into a certain Amir, Emperor of Hizia, and even the legend about the ruin of Zenobia has nothing in common with the historical narrative.

(7) James Legge. A record of Buddhistic Kings, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fu-Hian of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-144), in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline. Translated and annotated with a Corean Recension of the Chinese text. Oxford, 1886. The review does not deal with the translation from the Chinese, but is rather a general discussion on Fa-Hian’s travels. Two questions are treated: (1) Where did Fa-Hian go? (2) What sort of Buddhism did he see? The work of Fa-Hian is that of a naive character, and the sole object of the pilgrim is religious. He occupies himself with no matters concerning the people he visited; it was only to see the Buddhist temples and sacred things. The sketch of the life of Fa-Hian given in the article is mainly taken from Dr. Legge’s book, as also is the scope of his travels.

(8) Chaṇakya. Réédition de cinq recueils de stances morales (Chaṇakya) Nitiśātaka, (Chaṇakya) Nitiśāstra, Laghu-Chaṇakya Adhīnīśāstra, Vṛddhā Chaṇakya Rاجनिषीtāstra, Chaṇakya śāhā, par Eugene Monroe, Paris, 1887. The careful study of the whole series of manuscripts of the celebrated collection of ethical sayings, made by M. Morseur, appears an excellent addition to the Indische Sprache of Böthlingk. The author divides the manuscripts known to him into five recensions, and their number is continually being increased. Chaṇakya was a favourite book for elementary instruction, and the texts passing through so many hands became corrupted. In the preface the character of the
collection is discussed, and the manuscripts of which the author has made use. The text of the Sayings gives 218 new ones, which are not in Bôthîngk. The reviewer calls attention to a small collection of sayings, the manuscript of which is in Paris* Vidura-miti-adra; fols. 9, 1, 8. The collection is divided into 8 adhyâyas in 70 âkasas (29, 13, 11, 6, 7, 23); many of them have not yet been published, as far as could be ascertained by a hasty inspection.

* Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de Monsieur Marie-Felicite Brosset, Membre de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de S. Petersbourg, 1824-1879. S. Petersbourg, 1887. The study of the Georgian language may be said to have been founded by M. Brosset. His writings are so numerous and scattered over so many publications that it would be impossible to realise their bulk unless we had a list. The work is by his son, L. M. Brosset, who has given every production of his father. The great scholar was adopted by Russia, and devoted himself to her.

Calculation of Hindu Dates.

No. 22.

In the Ānurâl-Châhrâl copper-plate grant of a Râshtrakûta king Kâkka¹ of Gujarât, from the Surat District, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Bhaçwanâl Indraji, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff., it is recorded that he made a grant of the village of Sthâvarâpalikâ - (line 29) visuvasa-sâmkârânta, - "at the sâmkârânti of the equinoxia." And at the end we have the date (from the published lithograph; line 36 ff.) - Sâkâ-nâpâ-kâl-adhâ-sâkârânta-sâkârânta-sâkârânta. Sthâvarâpalikâ - (read sâmkârânti of the equinox.

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, D. 240.

1 The exact position of this Kâkka in the Râshtrakûta genealogy has not yet been determined; and consequently he cannot be distinguished by a dynastic number from other kings of the same name.

2 Dr. Bhaçwanâl Indraji seems to have been at first rather in doubt as to whether the number of the given tithi was 7 or 9; and, in fact, in col. 4 of his Table (ante, Vol. VI. p. 44) the numerical symbol that is used here has been given as representing 9. But, as pointed out by him in editing the inscription, a distinctly different symbol for 9 is used in the number of the year. And, coupled with this, the coincidence of the ending of the seventh tithi on the proper day for the ceremonies of the sâmkârânti, shows that he was certainly right in finally deciding to interpret the symbol as 7 here.

In six centuries, increased by eighty less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Sâka king; in the bright fortnight of the month Asvânuja; or, in figures, the year place in Saka is 600 (and) 70 (and) 9, the tithi 7.

This last record might perhaps be taken as referring only to the immediately following words with which the charter ends, and (this charter), which has the Râja Âdityavarmânas its Dûkha, has been written by me, the illustrious Bhôjâlala, the son of the Balâtâdhârâ the illustrious Tattâ." The mention, however, of the month Asvânuja suffices to show that the equinox mentioned in line 29 is the autumnal equinox, which must occur during the lunar month Asvânuja, and is to be taken as represented by the Tula-Sâmkârânti or entrance of the sun into Libra. And the result will show that this record gives the day on which, in celebration of the sâmkârânti, the grant was made; whether we are also to understand that the charter was actually written on the same day, or not.

As in some previous instances, whether the given Sâka year 679 is literally indicated as current, or as expired, is not quite certain. But a satisfactory result is obtained only by taking it as an expired year.

Thus, in Saka-Saûvat 679 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables,³ the given tithi, Asvânuja sâkâ 7, ended on Sunday, 5th September, A.D. 756, at about 49 ghafe, 37 pallas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); four, eighteen days before the Tula-Sâmkârânti, which did not occur till Thursday, 23rd September, at about 32 ghafe, 25 p.

But, in Saka-Saûvat 680 current (679 expired), the Tula-Sâmkârânti occurred on Friday, 23rd September, A.D. 757, at about 48 ghafe, or 1:12 A.M. in the night between the

¹ See my remarks, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f., on the use of dita in the compound which gives the number of the century.

² With the modified Table for the abasaka, &c., given ante, Vol. XVII. p. 285 ff., which will be followed for the future.

³ The times are for Bombay all through. The exact place for which they should be reduced is not certain; as the same at which the king was, when he made the grant, is not given in the record. But Sthâvarâpalikâ seems to be evidently the modern Châhrâl itself, as suggested by Dr. Bhaçwanâl Indraji. And, for any place in Gujarât, the times would differ only by a few palls from the times for Bombay; without any difference in the results days.
Friday and the Saturday. This actual moment would be coupled with the tithi śukla 6, which ended on the Friday, at about 59 gh. 37 p. But, owing to the late hour at which it occurred, any rites and ceremonies connected with the samkranti would be performed on the next day; and the tithi ending on that day would be coupled with them. And the given tithi, Āsvayuja śukla 7, did end on the next day, Saturday, 24th September, at about 53 gh. 54 p. This, therefore, is evidently the English equivalent of the given date.

This date is of interest, in giving, as far as I can find, the earliest reliable instance of the use of the Śaka era in Gujarāt, in a date that affords details for calculation.¹

No. 23.

In the Bagumā copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta Mahāsāmantadhipati Dhrāvarāja-Dhravaṇa-Jyēṣṭha 789 15 of Gujarāt, from the Nausāri State in the Baroda State, published by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 179 ff., the date (from the published text; Plate ii. b. line 16 f.) is—Śaka-śrīpa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-satšaha saptasau ek-ōma-navaṛtya-adhikēṣha-saṅkataḥ, 789 Jyēṣṭha-āmāvāsyāyām addita-grahaṇa-parvaṇī,—“in seven centuries, increased by ninety less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; (or) in figures, 789 (years); on the new-moon tithi (of the month) Jyēṣṭha; at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun.” And the charter records the grant of a village by Dhravaṇa-Jyēṣṭha, on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmada at the Mūlaštāna-tirtha at Hṛṣīkeshorah or Brench.

Here a satisfactory result is obtained, whether the given Śaka year 789 is current or as expired. Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 789 current, the pūrṇimānta Jyēṣṭha kriṣṇa 15 ended at about 2 ghāṭas, 2 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 18th May, A.D. 866; on which date there was no eclipse of the sun. But the amanta Jyēṣṭha kriṣṇa 15 ended on Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866, at about 20 gh. 18 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, visible in India.

Again, in Śaka-Saṁvat 790 current (789 expired), the pūrṇimānta Jyēṣṭha kriṣṇa 15 ended at about 46 gh. 23 p. on Wednesday, 7th May, A.D. 867; on which date there was no solar eclipse. But the amanta Jyēṣṭha kriṣṇa 15 ended on Friday, 6th June, A.D. 867, at about 2 gh. 48 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, which was perhaps visible in the most northern parts of India.

This last result, obtained by applying the given Śaka year as an expired year, is the one that was given, on the authority of Prof. Jacobi and Dr. Burgess, by the editors of the inscription. And, on the analogy of the results for No. 22 above, it is in all probability the correct one. But the point to which attention is to be paid, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses is selected, this record proves that, by A.D. 866 or 867, the amanta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had been applied to the years of the Śaka era in Gujarāt.

J. F. Fleet.

THE DATES OF THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

In the Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LVI. Part I. pp. 106-123, Dr. Führer has published, with photolithographs, three new copper-plate grants of Govindachandradēva of Kanauj. That Dr. Führer has adopted, without a word of acknowledgment, my translations of the grants of Jayachandra, published ante, Vol. XV. pp. 6-13, as well as certain suggestions and conjectures of mine, is a matter which concerns only himself. Of more general interest are the dates of these grants.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. I. was made on Monday, the full-moon day of the month Mārgaśīrha, in the (Vikrama) year 1180, answering it appears to Monday, the 21st November, 1123 A.D.”—In reality, (1) the 21st November, A.D. 1123, was a Wednesday; (2) in A.D. 1123, the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrha was Tuesday, 4th December; (3) Dr. Führer’s photolithograph, if it is worth anything, shows that the grant was made in 1137, not in 1180; and (4) Dr. Führer takes no notice whatever of the sankṛdanti, mentioned apparently in connection with the date.

199, and Plate 99.—This eclipse is also mentioned in the Sirrū record, see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 142.

¹ See a separate note on the spurious Gjurra grants of the Śaka years 490, 415, and 417.
² Von Oppolzer’s Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 195,
According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. II. "is dated Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1181, answering it appears to Thursday, the 9th September 1124 A.D."—Here again, (1) the 9th September, A.D. 1124, was a Tuesday; and (2) in A.D. 1124, the 4th of the bright half of Bhādrapada "apparently" corresponds to Friday, 15th August.

And, according to Dr. Führer, the grant No. III. "is dated Friday, the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1185, answering it appears to Friday, the 29th March 1128 A.D."—And here again, (1) the 29th March, A.D. 1128, was a Tuesday; (2) in A.D. 1128, the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra was Sunday, 18th March; and (3) Dr. Führer has made no reference to the term samkrāntau, mentioned apparently in connection with the date; a term which, indeed, Dr. Führer takes to denote "the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight."

Each of the three dates does present certain difficulties, which, using only the photolithographs for which we are indebted to Dr. Führer, I shall try to point out in the following remarks:

No. I.

The date is contained in the following passage:

(I. 18.) saṁvat 1187 Mārgga su di (L. 19.) pauruṣāṁsayaṁ tīthau Śomadīnā tu adyaśa śrimad-Vārāṇasyā[ah] suṁkrāntau...

What first strikes us here is, that the term su di is followed by the expression pauruṣāṁsayaṁ tīthau, "on the full-moon tithi," an expression ordinarily made use of when a date is given in words, while, when the date is given in figures, su di is employed, followed by a numeral for the day, which, in the present case, might have been expected to be 15. Of this exceptional usage I shall treat on a future occasion. As regards the present inscription, there can be no doubt that the meaning intended to be conveyed is, that the grant was made "in the year 1187, on the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Mārgasaṁha, on a Monday." On this day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having, we are told, bathed in the Ganges "on the occasion of a samkrānti, or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac." Since, under ordinary circumstances, the samkrānti here spoken of should coincide with the date mentioned before, we obtain for calculation—the year 1187 of an unspecified era, the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśira, being a Monday and also the day of a samkrānti (or, possibly, the day immediately following or preceding a samkrānti).

Taking, as for reasons which need not be mentioned here we must do, 1187 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśira would be:

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, current,—

Wednesday, 27th November, A.D. 1129,
when there was full-moon about 16 h. after mean sunrise; and

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, expired,—

Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130,
when there was full-moon about 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

The second of these two dates does furnish the week-day required, but on neither date was there a samkrānti; for the nearest samkrānti took place—

in A.D. 1129, on Monday, 25th November, which was the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśira; and

in A.D. 1130, on Tuesday, 25th November, which was the 8th of the dark half of a month; while the preceding samkrānti had taken place on Monday, 27th October, which was the 9th of the dark half of a month.

Unless there be some rule concerning samkrāntis which is unknown to me, there appears therefore to be some error in the recorded details of the date; and the possibilities seem to me, either that the grant was made on a Monday, the day of a samkrānti, the 13th (not the 15th) lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśira,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 25th November, A.D. 1129; or, that the word samkrāntau has been wrongly inserted in the grant,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130. In the former case the figures 1187 would denote the current year; in the latter, the year expired. In my opinion the probabilities are that the full-moon tithi is rightly quoted in the grant, and that the true date therefore is Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130; and I may point to the grant of Chandrādāwa and Mālanāpadāva of the year 1154, as a clear instance in which (similarly to what I suppose to have been done in the present grant) an uttarāyana-samkrānti has been wrongly quoted, coupled as it is with the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha, a day on which the uttarāyana-samkrānti can never take place.

I may add that of all the years from Vikrama 1183, current, up to Vikrama 1190, expired, the
full-moon day of Mārgaśīraha was a Monday, only in Vikrama 1187, expired; for that day was equivalent,—

in V. 1190, current, to Wednesday, 15 Nov., A.D. 1129;
... 1181, ... Tuesday, 4 Dec., A.D. 1128;
... 1182, ... Sunday, 23 Nov., A.D. 1124;
... 1183, ... Thursday, 12 Nov., A.D. 1125;
... 1184, ... Wednesday, 1 Dec., A.D. 1129;
... 1185, ... Sunday, 20 Nov., A.D. 1127;
... 1186, ... Saturday, 8 Dec., A.D. 1128;
... 1187, ... Monday, 17 Nov., A.D. 1130;
... 1188, ... Sunday, 6 Dec., A.D. 1131;
... 1190, ... Thursday, 24 Nov., A.D. 1132;
... 1191, ... Tuesday, 14 Nov., A.D. 1133.

And in all the years enumerated there was a su-kārati on 25th November, which was a Monday only in A.D. 1129.

No. II.

The date is given as follows:—

(L. 16.) ...... samvat 1181 Bhādrapada su di [4?] Gurau.

In the photolithograph, the figure following upon su di looks as if, in the original grant, a 3 had been altered into 4, or a 4 into 3; and all that can be said with certainty, is that the grant was made on a Thursday, which was either the 3rd or 4th day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada, of the year 1181; on the occasion, as we are told in line 21, of making the great gift of the paśa-kā-ũgāla or 'five ploughs.'

Referring the date, again, to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 3rd and 4th days of the bright half of Bhādrapada would be—

for the northern year 1181, current,—

Sunday, 26th August, A.D. 1128;
and Monday, 27th August, A.D. 1128.

for the southern year 1181, expired, or the southern year current,—

Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124;
and Friday, 15th August, A.D. 1124.

and for the southern year 1181, expired,—

Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1125.
and Tuesday, 4th August, A.D. 1125.

Of these, Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, which was the 3rd of the bright half of Bhādrapada, would exactly suit us, if we could be quite sure that the figure following upon the term su di of the inscription were 3; but that figure may be 4, and it must be borne in mind that the

Bhādrapada-iskal-tritya is one of the manaddi-tithi, being the anniversary of the fourth Manu Tamas, and that this would probably have been stated in the inscription (as it has actually been stated in No. III.), if the grant had been really made on the 3rd.—At the same time, it must be observed that, under certain circumstances, the same particular Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, though civilly the 3rd day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, might also have been coupled with the fourth tithi, if namely (in the absence of any distinct statement on the subject) we were allowed to assume that the donation spoken of in the grant had been made in connection with the Siddhāvindūyagarva, prescribed for the Gaṅga-chaturti, i.e. the fourth tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada. That tithi, in the present case, began at Benares 43 m. after midday of the Thursday in question, and it ended 3 m. after midday of Friday, i.e. it covered, so to say, a portion of the madhyadakāda (which lasts 72 m. before and 72 m. after noon) of either day; and, such being the case, any ceremony in honour of Gaṅga would necessarily have had to be performed on the Thursday, not on the Friday, and the Thursday would, for the purpose of the attending religious ceremonies, have been correctly coupled with the 4th (running) tithi.

Under any circumstances, I consider it certain that the date is Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, and that the figures for the year, 1181, accordingly denote the current southern Vikrama year.

No. III.

The passage containing the date runs thus:—

(L. 15.) - paṅcākāśa(t)ty-adhik-aṅkāda-as - sa(sa)ta - saṁvatsarasthu Chaitra māsi su(eu)kla-pakshē pauruṇaśingta tithau Su(eu)krā-dinā anik-pi saṁvat 1186 Chaitra su di 16 Su(eu)kṛē [ady=eha] śrīmad.-Vārīj. (L. 16.) ṇasyāh manvādau Gaṅgāyān evaṁvā.

The inscription, accordingly, is clearly dated—‘in the year 1185, on the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on Friday.’ On that day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having bathed in the Gaṅga on a manvādi, i.e., apparently, on that particular manaddi-tithi which coincides

1 On this gift see, e.g., Hāmkīra’s Chaturasvarṣapra-khačāntāmāni, Dānakhaṇḍa, p. 257.—The published grant has paralāgada-mahālād “at the occasion of giving the valuable present of a plough to the highest (i.e., Brāhmaṇa),” which is of course a mistake. Another more serious error which the editor has fallen into is that, according to him, the grant was made by the king Gōvīdadehaṁda, 1 with the consent of the illustrious rājas, feudatory princes (edamsa), and the great lady, the queen, the illustrious Dīkṣitādevī” (śrīmad-rāja-śēmanta-mahāśri-śrī-Dīkṣita-dvadhika); whereas it is quite clear that, in reality, it was made by the queen (whose name Mr. Flett, I believe rightly, suggests to be Abhāpadēvī) with the consent of the king (śrīmad-rāja-sūmasamātī).”

1 Compare, e.g., Kālamāhāra, p. 110: madhyākṣa-trimukhārtha eva.
with the full-moon tithi of the month Chaitra, which is the anniversary of the thirteenth Manu Ranchya.

Taking 1185, again, to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 15 would be:

for the current northern year—
Tuesday, 29th March, A.D. 1127;
for the expired northern or current southern year—
Sunday, 18th March, A.D. 1128;
and for the expired southern year—
Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129.

Of these, Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129, comes nearest the week-day we are in search of, and the question is whether the preceding day, Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, though civilly the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra, could by any possibility have been coupled with the 15th or full-moon tithi of the month. That tithi, at Benares, commenced about 40 m. before sunset of the Friday in question, and it ended about 60 m. before sunset of the next day; and if we could show that the religious ceremony with which the grant was connected had been performed very late in the afternoon of Friday, or at any time up to sunrise of Saturday, every difficulty would be removed.

The grant having been made on a manededi-tithi, the ceremony performed on the occasion probably was a śraddha. So far as I understand the somewhat intricate rules accessible to me, a ceremony of this kind may be performed late in the afternoon; and assuming this to have been done in the present case, it was right to say that the donation was made on Friday, during the (running) full-moon tithi of Chaitra. For the present, I therefore consider Friday, 6th April, A.D. 1129, to be the true equivalent of the date; and I accordingly take the figures 1185 to denote the southern expired year.

Lest the above should be objected to on the ground that the results in the case of Nos. I. and III. are for expired southern years, while in the case of No. II. the result is for the southern current year, I may add that, similarly, out of four grants of Jaya Chandra lately sent to me by Mr. Fleet, three are dated in expired southern years, while one is dated in the current southern year.

Göttingen.

F. Kielland.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The next stage is called mambang birüláng, when the spirit returns; and now the roots of kambúmatu and jáshú jáshú ranting are boiled with those of the five ingredients already mentioned and the decoction is drunk, while the ointment prepared for the first stage has added to it the charcoal obtained from the burnt shell of the lābu kāmbung.

Third stage, mambang sérāv. If the preceding treatment fails to stop the progress of the illness, and the third stage comes on, a decoction from the roots of akar tāpak gájah and pāvar mārāh is added to that used in the preceding stages while the leaf and wood of the kāras tree are added to the ointment.

Fourth stage, mambang sérāv. When this super-

1 Gmelina Asiatica.
2 Leaf like the betel-leaf, charisca spheerodachya.
3 Variously given as caffia cajam and caffia indicum. This refers to the large curved pod, thought to resemble the Malay woodman's knife called pérang, which grows on the tree probably lekan cultivates.
4 Morinda sp. probably M. persicafoxia, of which the root is used to produce a red dye.
5 Edar, joints as in sugar-cane, and bamboo; there is a timber tree called biráda.
6 Ranting, twig, jáshú jáshú, opposing, possibly indicating the way in which the twigs grow.
7 Sort of gourd, Sank. albis kāmbong, swollen, big, round; lagunis sp. f nat. fan. cucurbitaceae.
8 I have failed to gather the meaning of sérāv here; there are several plants so named.

10 Akar, lit. root, but here meaning creeper or liana; tāpak sole of foot; gájah elephant, leaf thought to resemble that animal's footprint.
11 The red pāvar (ommam sp.); pāvar is a term applied to several varieties of ommam and also to different plants; the ommam varieties spring up like weeds on deserted clearings.
12 The heart of this tree furnishes the Malay variety of eagle-wood, probably aquilaria apalbina, called gaharu (cf. Sanskrit spur or sapra) by the Malays who recognize four qualities of it; viz. gaharu lampam very black 1st quality; 2nd quality, gaharu tambak or g. rick; 3rd quality, g. pongkang or g. bulaya; 4th g. māsāng unmarketable refuse of last, but used privately. Cambodian variety is alantion apalicum. For ceremonious use in collecting gaharu see Indian Notes and Queries, Vol. IV. note 151.
Let God be gracious, be gracious Muhammad,
The blessed Apostle of God.
There is no God but God.

(2) Cure for Abscess.

Pīṃṭākiḥ bārah (abscess). The shoots of kāyu bdāhuḥ-bdāhuḥ, i.e., the bamboo tree, are ground and applied to the site of the abscess.

The presence of an internal abscess is ascertained by gazing into a mixture of water, lime, gambier, and betel-nut. After using it for this purpose the mixture is tsward' or charmed, and then smeared over the place.

The tsward' is as follows:

Bismillahi irraḥmuḥ irraḥīm; bārah di hālu bārah di hilīr, kitāga tampang klaki, bārah di hālu, bārah di hilīr, kwi tswar, ta' mēnjādi. Silang silīn, dōpat bāldang gōlong, biat mēnjānu jimbldang tērēnak tērēni tērdēna, tinggal di rimbā, tēghoh tēghoh tēmās-tēmās, chērēmin ayēr, chērēmin bīmi, sīnṣīnu māri lhu, sīngdām māri bōpa, sēlākum yang punya bōa, Che, Pāṭīh yang punya tswar. Akū tahu aśāl ēŋkau bārah ēŋkau ēŋkau bārah, bīkunāya aki yang punya tswar, Mālin Kēlīmuṁ yang punya tswar. Kēbūl Allah, kēbūl Mūhammad, kēbūl baginda radsī lhu Allah.

In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful! Beginning of the abscess, and end of the abscess and third comes, the kladi' shoot. Beginning of the abscess, end of the abscess, when charmed develops not. Here and there we find the coiled grass-hoppers and prepare a feast for the jimbldang softly and quickly; he dwells in the jungle; firmly we make ready the mirror, the mirror of earth. Sīnṣīnu is thy mother's name, Sīnḍām (the hammerer) thy father's.

Aricarces and the other of the Euphorbias, but I cannot say which this is.

Uncaria gambir or Wancara sindae.

Chavesia cayennae.

Lit. abscess at the source, abscess at the mouth, as though speaking of a river.

Colocasia antiquorum. The first four lines (excluding the invocation) form a sort of pantun, of which kind of verse the first two lines have seldom any coherent meaning, but here there is said to be some figurative intention: when the kladi stalk is cut close to the ground the shoot is said to be visible, and this reference is said to indicate the discovery of the abscess.

Silang silīn, mystic for sīnī sēna.

Mystic term for the root of the abscess.

The spirit who causes the sickness.

Tērēnak tērēni, soothing words, such as are addressed to children.

Tērēju in the ordinary vocabulary is a word derived from Persian, meaning to weigh in the scales, but here a mystic word for leju, swift.

Tēmās-tēmās mystic for kludi-kluđa.

Referring to the combined ingredients mentioned in the second paragraph of this charm.

Si is a personal prefix, mēnum to drink, meaning together, the drinker.
Notes and Queries.

February, 1889.

Siddhāmē's was the poison, Che’ Pāthē devised the remedy; I know thy origin, abscissa; blood was thy origin, abscissa; not mine is the charm, it is the charm of Mālin Kēllumē. May God be gracious, and Muhammad; may the mighty Apostle of God be gracious.

D. F. A. Harvey.

Note on Names connected with the Telugu Country.

The tract of country commonly spoken of by Europeans in the Madras Presidency as the Telugu Country is by the people themselves called Tēnugurājīyamē or Tēnugurāsāma, but to the world at large it is, I think, best known as Telingānē, and for that reason only I use the last term in my notes. Tamil people, and more especially those of Madras, often speak of Telugu land as Gollētēsimē, the Tamil pronunciation of Kollētēsimā, i.e., the country of the Kollēru (Colaị Lake, the largest fresh-water lake in India, lying between the Krishnā and the Gōdavāri Districts). That at Masulipatam being one of the earliest English factories, the neighbouring people naturally attracted more attention than those that were subsequently come in contact with, and amongst them the Bestā Bōyis (fisherman bearers) of the Kollētēsimā on the borders of the Kollēru were found peculiarly trustworthy servants. When their English masters went on promotion to Madras, they were accompanied by their trusty Bōyis, and from that day to this Bestā Bōyis have been employed as attendants in public and mercantile offices in Madras and have continued to maintain their good reputation. Being the most prominent Telugu people in Madras at the time of their immigration, the name they gave their own little tract was naturally assumed to be that of the whole country. From Gollētēsimā has been derived from Gollētē, a Telugu man, used as a term of contempt, signifying unsophisticated. The ordinary Tamil name for a Telugu man is Vaduvān, Northerner.

Sir William Hunter, when he was inclined to believe that all South Indian languages were Kolarīan, adduced as evidence in favour of his theory the frequency of names containing the syllable Kōl, including the Kolār Lake (sic). But the name is not Kolār, but Kolīrū. Kolīrū is a contraction of colam or golasu, a natural pond or lake, and is found in Pālakkollu, Gundugolli, Kollāri, Kollipara, etc. Erē means river. Kolīrū, therefore, is the lake-river, which receives the innumerable streams between the Krishnā and the Gōdavāri that do not discharge into those rivers and disembogues itself into the sea by the Upputēru, not far south of the western mouth of the Gōdavāri.

Sima is the most popular word for country on the banks of the Krishnā and the Gōdavāri rivers. Every little tract with any peculiarity is a sima, e.g., Reddisimā, Jhaliśimā, Divissimā, Kāyassimā. Sometimes a tract, surrounded by simas thus named, but with no peculiarity of its own, is called after its principal village or town, e.g., Gudīvadasimā. The people of these simas, from which came the weavers who supplied the East India Company with their famous salumpores, roomaules, madappolams, etc., seldom use any other word for country, no matter how extensive. In speaking to the early European traders of their country, they would call it "mī sima," for to this day they cannot get their tongues round Portugal, Holland, France, and England, and never attempt to, if they can possibly avoid it. The removal of the emphasis from the possessive pronoun mī, your, to the common noun sima would convert the latter into a proper noun, the use of the possessive pronouns with proper nouns being common; and thus Sima would come to mean Europe. Whether the Tamil simē is a transliteration of the Telugu sima or separately derived, I do not know.

Masulipatam.

H. G. Prendergast.

Tests of Virginity Amongst the Malays.

Among the Malay tokens of virginity, such as are mentioned in Deuteronomy xxxii. are examined by the parents of the bride the morning after consummation of a marriage. In the State of Perak on the occasion of a marriage among the higher classes when the bridgroom is introduced into the bride’s chamber, four or five old women are there and remain there. His mos apud novas nostalgias, ante sextum vel septimum dieum, ne virorum notitiam habuisset tenentur (quod virgini dedecori maximis habentur) mariti amplexus pati nolint. Marito instante toties refugientem, toties anus nutriciosque lecti custodes captum reducunt. Inde, quum dies prescripti praeterierint, a custodibus admonita in lecto palvins rite suppositoris collocatur. Viro gaudia jamdumum optata tandem rapere licet. At simulâ primum raptum sit hymen, nappaæ albae, in lecto super patinam argenteam ad id paraphæ, notas tres transversus pene retractor, imperme necesse est. Nappam, die proximo insipicient parentes cognataeque labe rubrissima infici fas est.

The bride and bridgroom salute the bride’s parents on the day after the consummation of the marriage.

23 Lēkumē is the name of more than one creeper.

24 This may be a slip for Che’ Pāthē, or it may be an alias of Mālin Kēllumē.
marriage. If the bridegroom has reason to be dissatisfied with his bride, he indicates this by leaving the handle of his kris uncovered or omitting to put on a jacket.

In a Malay household where a virgin is about to be married a domestic ceremony called putus kārajat is sometimes performed. The girl is laid on her back and a silk cloth placed over her bosom. Seven hairs are selected at the back of the head and are brought down across her face straight across the forehead and along the nose down to the chin. The ends are cut off just below the chin. If when the scissors snap the released hair springs back and parts right and left it is a sign that the girl is not a virgin. If the hair remains straight in its position the omen is satisfactory. Some anxious fathers have been known to forestall fate by stiffening a girl’s hair with wax. This is only a test (per-ātādān). W. E. M.

BOOK NOTICES.


This magnificent volume, illustrated by numerous woodcuts and sixty-nine full-page autotype, collotype, and engraved plates, is the first production, in a finished shape, of the archæological Survey of Southern India, and is fully equal in execution and value to any of the five sumptuous volumes of reports of the Archæological Survey of Western India, which it resembles in external appearance.

The sculptures from the stūpa of Amarāvatī have been made famous by the late Mr. J. Ferguson’s work on Tree and Serpent Worship. The half of which is devoted to the illustration and discussion of the marbles then accessible, some of which are exhibited on the walls of the grand staircase of the British Museum. Since Mr. Ferguson wrote, the site has been explored by Mr. R. Sowell, M.C.S., and by Dr. Burgess, and hundreds of additional sculptures have been exhumed.

In the work under review, Dr. Burgess describes the principal specimens of the new discoveries, and reproduces numerous beautiful drawings of slabs now lost, which were prepared over seventy years ago under the direction of Colonel Mackenzie. Dr. Burgess’ work is consequently to be regarded as a supplement to the Amarāvatī section of Tree and Serpent Worship. The two books, taken together, give a very full and splendidly illustrated account of the fragmentary remains of the great monument at Amarāvatī, which appears to have equaled or surpassed in magnificence any building erected by the Indian Buddhists.

The stūpa itself has been utterly destroyed, and the marbles which now are so closely studied are the disjointed fragments of the casing of the central monument, and pieces of the two highly sculptured railings which surrounded it.

The significance of the Amarāvatī sculptures in the history of Indian art and religion has been fully recognized ever since the publication of the first edition of Tree and Serpent Worship twenty years ago, but their value cannot be correctly appreciated until their date is fixed. Mr. Ferguson, arguing correctly from certain erroneous premises, fixed their date in the middle of the fourth century A.D. Dr. Burgess now clearly proves that this date is too late, and that the great rail was erected shortly before A.D. 200. The original stūpa was built much earlier, and the inner rail a little later.

In the work under review, the arguments determining the chronology, being mixed up with a multitude of topographical and other details are difficult to follow, and therefore, considering the importance of the dates now determined, it seems advisable to state briefly the outline of the arguments used.

Inscriptions of two kings of the Andhra dynasty, namely, Puṇṇāk-tāy-Vāśishṭhiputra and Sṛ-yaṇṭā-yātakarni-Vāśishṭhiputra, have been discovered at Amarāvatī, and the correct date of the monument has been elicited by the discussion of these documents. But it does not rest upon their interpretation only, and is established by several arguments of cumulative force.

Mr. Ferguson judged that the style of the Amarāvatī marbles is intermediate between that of the sculptures in the Sātakarni-Gautamiputra cave at Nāšik, and of those in the Kāhneri chaitya cave. This judgment has not been disputed, and fixes correctly the relative age of the great rail at Amarāvatī. For the determination of its absolute age by the style-test, it is necessary to know the dates of Sātakarni-Gautamiputra and the other Andhra kings. It is impossible, within the limits of a short review, to state fully the arguments which are used to determine the Andhra chronology, but I shall try to indicate them briefly. The date of Sātakarni-Gautamiputra depends on that of the Satrap Nahapāṇa Kaśyaparāja of Gujārat, whom he defeated, and whose son-in-law has left.
inscriptions, dated 40, 42, and 46 (of the Śaka era). Nahapāṇa was contemporary with the Satrap Chahštuana of Ujjain, the Tisanes of Ptolemy, who therefore, lived a little anterior to A.D. 150, and whose date is further confirmed by the known date of his grandson Rudradāman in the year 73 (Śaka era). Ptolemy’s evidence further shows that Chahštuana was approximately contemporary with Sirin Polemaioi, i.e., the Andhra king, Pulumáyi-vasishthiputra. Chahštuana’s date is thus fixed in three different ways, and Nahapāṇa’s date agrees with his, within very narrow limits of possible variation. The date of the Andhra kings, with the help of the information given in their inscriptions, is thus determined, and we obtain for Pulumáyi-vasishthiputra’s reigns the approximate date, A.D. 155-163; and for Śrī-Yajña-Sītakarni-Gautamiputra’s reign the approximate date, A.D. 170-200.

The date of the great rail at Amaravati is thus determined by the combined evidence of style and inscriptions of the Andhra kings.

An independent argument to establish it is obtained from the statement of the Tibetan historian Taranātha, that the famous Buddhist patriarch Nāgarjuna, “surrounded the great shrine of Dhānyakataka (= Amaravati) with a railing.” Nāgarjuna’s date rests on that of the Indo-Scythian king Kanishka, whose Buddhist council was presided over by Pārāvika, to whom Nāgarjuna was fourth in succession. Assuming, as is generally admitted, that Kanishka reigned circa A.D. 75-100, Nāgarjuna must have built his railing before A.D. 200. The accounts in various Buddhist writings, expressing Nāgarjuna’s date in terms of the śrīvanta, may be interpreted in nearly the same sense, but are not as good evidence. The same date for Nāgarjuna is supported by the fact that Dr. Eitel, the student of Chinese Buddhism, independently arrived at the conclusion that the patriarch ruled the Buddhist Church between A.D. 137 and 194.

The paleography of the Amaravati inscriptions confirms the inferences based on the arguments of which a summary has been given above. Consideration of the paleographical argument, supported by numismatic evidence derived from coins of the Andhra kings found at Amaravati, long ago led Sir A. Cunningham to adopt substantially the dates for the Andhra kings and the Amaravati rail, which Dr. Burgess supports by the distinct arguments that I have endeavored to summarize. Sir A. Cunningham referred “all the inscriptions of the King Gotamiputra Sātakarni and his successors Pudumayi and Yādnya Śrī to the first and second centuries A.D.,” and concluded that the Amaravati inscriptions in exactly the same character must belong to the same period. He also pointed out that Mr. Ferguson had exaggerated the difference in the style of the sculptures at Amaravati and of those on the Sānchi gates, which are known to belong to the first century A.D. 1

We may consequently take the year A.D. 190, as practically the correct date for the great rail at Amaravati, “the richest and most elaborate piece of screen-work in the world.”

I have devoted so much space to the examination of the chronological argument that it is impossible to further notice Dr. Burgess’s careful and interesting account of the ruins and sculptures of Amaravati. The inscriptions from that place, given in the volume, are for the most part edited by Dr. Hultzsch.

A few pages are devoted to the description of the scanty remains of an early stūpa at Jaggayapeta or Bēṭāvolu, thirty miles north-west from Amaravati. This monument appears to have been erected not later than B.C. 100.

Dr. Bühler’s edition of the Āśoka inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaungada, which forms the concluding section of the volume, has, of course, no connection with the discussion of the ruins at Amaravati and Jaggayapeta.

The facsimiles of the inscriptions are photolithographed from excellent paper-impressions prepared by Dr. Burgess, and establish the text beyond all possibility of dispute, except in a few most minute details. M. Senart had already edited the separate edicts, addressed to the officials at Taxail and Sāmāgha, from Dr. Burgess’s impressions, and Dr. Bühler’s readings and versions of these documents naturally differ little from those of the French scholar.

Dr. Bühler points out that the revised text proves the error of the supposition that the Dhauli version was ill-engraved and carelessly executed. It is really quite as well engraved as the other texts. The Dhauli and Jaungada versions of the fourteen edicts (Nos. XI. to XIII. being omitted in both) are copies from one and the same original, and differ from each other only in the quantity of one vowel, and the character of another. Dr. Bühler promises an essay on the paleography of the Āśoka inscriptions, to appear in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. The discovery of the fact that the Dhauli version of the edicts is really as well engraved as the other versions, has elicited from him an emphatic warning that the interpreter of the Āśoka inscriptions “is not entitled to make many and great conjectural changes in the text.”

text is itself good, and errors are to be looked for in the copy rather than in the original.

Dr. Burgess has recently prepared a facsimile of the Kháli text of the edicts, and the world is already indebted to him for a trustworthy reproduction of the Gánára version. Before long we may expect to see the text of all the versions authoritatively settled.

25th August 1889.

V. A. SMITH.

A MANUAL OF THE ANDAMANNOSE LANGUAGE. By M. V. PORTMAN, M.R.H.S., etc., Extra Assistant Superintendent, Andamana and Nicobara.

This is one of those works full of pretentious rubbish which deserves plain language. It "has been compiled at the request of Colonel T. Cadell, V.C., Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands." Colonel Cadell has been unfortunate in choosing, as the exponent of the languages of the islands over which he has been placed, an officer whose ignorance of language and grammar in general and of the Andamanese language and grammar in particular, is only equalled by his extraordinary presumption. He commences by saying that there is "no work extant on the various dialects of the Andamanese." Well, there is the Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, 1882, by no less a personage than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., then President of the Philological Society. As a matter of fact Mr. Portman must have known of this very valuable Report and the work on which it was based, for the simple reason that he has adopted the same spelling, so far as his general ignorance of his subject would let him.

The grammar is given in five duodecimo pages, spaced long primer type!! Of course there is no grammar worthy of the name. The vowel system is hopelessly incomplete—the most interesting sounds being altogether omitted, and others given wrongly. There is something charming in the naivety that allows the author to say that his system is Hunterian, and then to go on to say "a has the sound of o in hot" (sic) and "as has the sound of aw in awful" (sic) as specimens of it. The description of an agglutinative language in the following words is quite sublime:—"The roots of the Andamanese speech receive additions by means of prefixes and suffixes, but the roots themselves maintain an independent existence as words." He then gives three prefixes—all quite wrong—as are all his examples, oblivious of Mr. Ellis's fine explanation of this very difficult point in the Andamanese language. The prefixes in Andamanese as a matter of fact are found in almost every word, and grammatically affect every sentence. They have been elaborately and accurately explained by Mr. E. H. Man, and without a comprehension of them no man can ever hope to talk Andamanese in any dialect. Mr. Portman is however apparently ignorant of all this. We can see how he views them. "The Andamanese frequently use particles which are without meaning, and appear principally to serve the purpose of euphony!" Of course, they really serve the purpose of grammar, as Mr. Portman would have known, had he really made grammar a study.

As a specimen of the thoroughly superficial treatment that Mr. Portman's subject has received at his hands, we would commend his six paragraphs on the Pronoun. It is all the more aggravating that he should have been guilty of these, as this point has been so well illustrated by the predecessors he has ignored. The author seems to have had a notion that his grammar would not teach much, and pinned his faith to his dictionary and dialogues, by the use of which he "ventures to think that any person brought into contact with the Andamanese in any part of the Islands will be able to make himself understood on all ordinary subjects." Will he? Let us see.

The first sentence given is "How hot it is today,"—in Aka Biada (sic), Badikó, uye, káda. Query: what does badikó mean? What uye and what káda? The Dictionary is English-Andamanese without reverse. So we must try the English. How is páchí káha, hot is uya-da: to-day is not given, so let us try day which is also not given, but daylight is bódó-lem, and this is ká-da and it is also káda! Really an examination of the first sentence makes us wonder at the impudence of the author.

"The sun is very hot" is the next sentence. Perhaps we shall be more fortunate. In Aka Biada it is given as ká bódó uye dógada. It is ká-da; sun is bódóda; hot is uya-da: very is not given, but is dógada. It is given as the equivalent of much in the dictionary. The sentence is really, "This sun hot much."

Let us take another sentence at random. "I will go if it is fine," is given as dōbongo bédig bódo lédá. Four words are given in the Dictionary for "to go" but none in the least like any of the above, viz., hálik kê, on kê, móko kê, jud kê; if is not given at all; fine is our old friend bódo-da, which seems to do duty for a good deal. So out of the four Andamanese words we can only even guess at one. Like the Christy Minstrel we 'give it up.'

Mr. Portman has had a very fine opportunity of adding to the world's knowledge, rendered all the better from having been carefully shown the way he should travel by Mr. A. J. Ellis. He might have produced something unique in its lasting value. Instead, he has exhibited an amount of self-assurance which can hardly result from anything but inordinate conceit.

This is really a word + postposition, and means properly "in the sun"; vide Mr. Portman's own book!

1 Ka-dó here would really be 'this' or 'to-day.'
EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

No. 1.—Extracts from the First Taramga.

The Rājataramgini, or River of Kings, of Kalhana, has always attracted a great deal of attention, partly because it is the only historical work of its kind in the Sanskrit language, but more especially because it claims to give a consecutive account of the Kings of Kasmir from almost the very earliest times.

Until recent years, however, the text of it has been available to us only in the not very accurate editions published—at Calcutta, in 1835, by the Pāṇḍits of the Bengal Asiatic Society, containing the whole eight Taramgas; with the Devīyād Rājataramgini of Jōnarāja; the Trīṣṭīyād Jaina-Rājataramgini of Śrīvarṇaṅgita, a pupil of Jōnarāja; the Rājataraṅgini of Śrīvarṇaṅgita, a pupil of Jōnarāja; the Rājataraṅgini of Chaturīkī, a pupil of Jōnarāja; and the Rājataramgini-Saṅgraha:—and at Paris, in 1840, by M. Troyer, containing the first six Taramgas of the Rājataramgini itself.


Prof. Lassen has given an analysis of the entire work in his Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. II. And in 1879 and 1887, Jogesh Chunder Dutt published at Calcutta an English translation of Kalhana's work, which is at least useful in helping to facilitate references to the original text.

And, in the matter of the adjustment of Kalhana's chronology, Prof. H. H. Wilson considered the subject in the remarks attached to his abstract account; and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham has dealt with it in 1843, in his paper on "The Ancient Coinage of Kaśmir," in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VI. pp. 1 to 38. But no very satisfactory results, at least for the earlier period, have as yet been attained. As good an illustration of this as can be wished for, is to be found in connection with king Mihirakula. His initial date, as deduced from the Rājataramgini itself, is Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 2397 expired, or B. C. 704; and the end of his reign, seventy years later. Prof. H. H. Wilson brought him down to B. C. 200 (loc. cit. p. 81). And Gen. Sir A. Cunningham arrived at the conclusion that he should be placed in A.D. 163 (loc. cit. p. 18). With the help, however, of newly discovered inscriptions, which are the only really safe guide, Mr. Fleet (ante, Vol. XV. p. 252) has now shown that his true date was in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.; that as nearly as possible the commencement of his career was in A.D. 515; and that A.D. 330, or very soon after, was the year in which his power in India was overthrown, after which he proceeded to Kaśmir and established himself there. This illustrates very pointedly the extent of the adjustments that will have to be made in Kalhana's earlier details; and furnishes us with a definite point from which the chronology may be regulated backwards and forwards for a considerable time. A similar earlier point is provided by Kalhana's mention, in Taramga i. verse 168, of the Turushka king Kanishka, who, according to his account, was anterior by two reigns to B. C. 1182,—the date of the accession of Gōndanda III.,—but who is undoubtedly the king Kanishka from the commencement of whose reign in all probability runs the Śaka era, commencing in A.D. 77. And a still earlier point is furnished by the mention of king Abōka in Taramga i. verse 101. According to Kalhana, he stood five reigns before B. C. 1182. But it can hardly be doubted that he is intended for the great Buddhist king Abōka, whose accession has now been shown by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham to have been in B. C. 260 (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.). This question of adjustment is one that I shall not at present enter upon. And I will here only remark that the earliest lists evidently include, as consecutive kings, many persons who, if they existed at all, were only ancestors or other relatives of actual kings of Kaśmir, and did not themselves occupy the throne; that the introduction of the names of such persons after a break in the direct succession, of course
necessitated forcing back the date of the immediately preceding actual king in each instance to a period long before the true one; and that no completely satisfactory solution can be arrived at, until we are able to determine which of the names have to be eliminated on these grounds.

The first step towards the acquisition of a reliable text of the poem was made by Dr. Bühler, who visited Kashmir in 1875, and obtained there a complete Śārada MS. of the Rājataranginī itself, which is now in the Bombay Government Collection; a collation of another MS., which he has kindly placed at my disposal; some explanatory treatises and abstracts; and some MSS. of the Nilamata-Purāṇa and other connected works. His valuable report was published in 1877, as an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. And an extract from it, pp. 52 to 60, referring specially to the Rājataranginī, and including a translation of verses 1 to 107 of the first Taranāga, pp. xxvi. to xxxii., has been printed in this Journal, Vol. VI. pp. 264 to 274. From the materials collected by him, with some others obtained by myself during my own visit to Kashmir in 1885, I am preparing a new edition of the text. But the completion of it, of course, is a work of time. And meanwhile, with the desire and with the support of Mr. Fleet, I propose giving in this Journal translations of some of the earlier portions of the book.1

Kalhana's narrative opens with a fragmentary account of 52 kings, who were supposed to have reigned for 1266 years. The earliest definite starting-point taken by him is the coronation of Yudhishtīra; his authority for which (verse 56) is a verse given by Varahamihira in the Brhat-Saṁhitā, xiii. 3, as being according to the opinion of Vṛddha-Garga:—

"When king Yudhishtīra ruled the earth, the (seven) seers (i.e. the constellation Ursa Major) were in (the nakshatra) Magha; the Śāka era (is) 2526 (years) (after the commencement) of his reign."  Accordingly, the coronation of Yudhishtīra took place 2526 years before the commencement of the Śāka era, or at the expiration of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 653 (verse 51), and in B.C. 2448. Kalhana himself was writing (verse 52; ante, Vol. XVII. p. 213) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1071 current, i.e. in A.D. 1148-49:—"At this present moment, in the twenty-fourth Laukika year (of the popular Kashmiri reckoning by cycles of a hundred years), there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śāka era." And, as an intermediate point, but how arrived at he does not explain, he had the accession of the fifty-third king, Gōnanda III., which took place "on the whole," i.e. roughly, 2330 years before his own time, i.e. in B.C. 1182.

He then proceeded thus:

Coronation of Yudhishtīra before the Śāka era .......................................................... 2526 years; verse 56.
Add the years of the Śāka era expired up to the time when Kalhana was writing .......................... 1070 " " 52.

\[\text{Deduct the years expired from the accession of Gōnanda III. up to the same time} = 3596 \]  

Remainder, the duration of the period of the first fifty-two kings ... 1266 " " 54.

He thus obtained 1266 years for the 52 kings in question; his own words (verse 54) being—

"Hence I am of opinion that 1266 years are comprised in the sum of the reigns of the 52 kings."

And he wrote the first of these fifty-two kings, Gōnanda I., a contemporary of Yudhishtīra.

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1 I shall use the following abbreviations in my notes:

P = the Śārada MS., No. 170 of Dr. Bühler's Kashmir Collection, preserved in the Deccan College, Poona.

C = the Calcutta edition.

T = Troyer's edition.


1 See also Dr. Bühler's Report (quoted hereafter as K. B., p. xxxvii.), in the note to which the details are explained in a different manner, but with the same result. Verse 54 seems to contain the conclusion which Kalhana drew from verses 51 to 53. I take fat in the sense of tamat, 'hence'; and I supply mpyd with macc, which is the reading of the Śārada MS.
The fifty-two rulers in question are as follows:

LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

I. Four rulers whose names are taken from the Nīlamatra-Purāṇa .......... verse 16
   1. Gōndara I .................................................. 57
      He is made by Kāllaṇa a contemporary of Yudhishtīra in B.C.
      2448. At the call of his relative, Jarasandha, he besieged Mathurā,
      the city of Kṛṣṇa on the banks of the Kālindī, i.e. the Jamnā,
      and vanquished the descendants of Yadu (59, 60). But subse-
      quently he himself was slain by the Yādava leader Lāṅgaladhava,
      i.e. Balarāma (61 to 63).
   2. Dāmōdara I, son of the preceding ........................................ 64
      He, in order to revenge his father’s death, attacked the Vṛṣṇi (or
      Yādava), who had been invited to a svayamvara by the Gāndhāras
      (65 to 68), and was killed in battle by Kṛṣṇa (69).
   3. Yaśōvati, widow of the preceding ........................................ 70
      Dāmōdara I. died before a son was born to him; and Yaśōvati,
      being pregnant, was installed at the advice of Kṛṣṇa (70), and in
due course of time bore a son (74).
   4. Gōndara II, son of Dāmōdara I. and Yaśōvati ........................... 76
      He was named after his grandfather (76). He was the contemporary
of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas; but, on account of his infancy, he
took no part in the war between them (82).

II. 5 to 39. Thirty-five kings whose names are lost ............................... 83

III. Eight kings recorded by Padmanābha on the authority of Hāṭhāraja’s
      Pārthīvāda  .................................................................. 17f.

   40. Lava ................................................................. 84
      He founded the town of Lōlāra (86),—still existent in the Lōlāb
      Pargāṇā (K. R. p. lxxix. note),—and gave to Brāhmans the
      agraḥāra of Lōlāra on the river Lōdārī (87), i.e. the modern Līlār,
      the principal northern tributary of the Vītāṭa, which it joins
      near Bījbhāra (loc. cit.)

   41. Kuṣa, son of the preceding .................................................. 88
      He presented the agraḥāra of Kuṣhara (88), which is supposed to
      be the modern Kūlara in the Dachhinpara Pargāṇā (loc. cit.)

   42. Khagendra, son of the preceding ............................................ 89
      He established the two principal agraḥāras, Khāgī and Kōnāmusha
      (90), i.e. the modern Kākapur and Khunmōh (loc. cit.)

   43. Surēndra, son of the preceding ............................................ 91
      He founded, on the frontier of the Darāra country (or Dardistān),
      a city named Sōraka and a vihāra named Narāndrabhavana
      (93); also, in his own territory, a vihāra named Sōsaka (94). He
died without leaving issue (95).

   44. Gōdhrāra, of another family ..................................................... 95
      He presented to Brāhmans the agraḥāra of Hastiśāla (96), which seems
to be now known as Asthīhil (loc. cit.)

   45. Suvarṇa, son of the preceding ............................................. 97
      He diverted the Suvarṇamālmāśikūla, — the modern brook Sunnamāyā
      in the Aḍhvān Pargāṇā (loc. cit.), — and caused it to flow in (the

* P reads शीर्षक and शीर्षक, instead of शीर्षक in C and T.
district of) Karāla (97), which seems intended for the Āghvan Pargaṇā (loc. cit.)

46. Janaka, son of the preceding ........................................... verse 98
   He founded the vāra and agrahāra named Jālūra (98), — identified
   by the Kaśmirīs with the modern Zāvur, near Zēvan (loc. cit.)

47. Sačihna, son of the preceding ........................................... 99
   He founded the two agrahāras of Samānagara and Āsanāra, which are
   supposed to be respectively the modern Śrāgas in the Kōṭahāra
   Pargaṇā, and Chrār (loc. cit.). He died without leaving any issue
   (100).

IV. Five kings mentioned by the author of the Śrīkāvillā ............ 19f.

48. Asōka, son of the son’s son of Šakuni, and son of the paternal
   grand-uncle of Sačihna ........................................... 101
   He adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha), and covered Saškālētra
   and Viṭastātra, — the modern Hōkīttr and Vēthvōtr in the Dēvasar
   Pargaṇā (loc. cit.), — with numerous stūpas (102). He built a
   chaitya at the city of Viṭastātrapura, within the precincts of the
   Dharmaśaya-vihāra (103). He founded the city of Śrīnagara (104),
   — apparently not quite identical with the present capital of Kaśmir
   (loc. cit. p. 1 xxxi. note). Also he removed the old brick enclosure
   of the temple of Viṣṇu (at Blijēhāra), and built a new one of
   stone (105); and within the precincts of that temple, and near it,
   he built two other temples named Asōkēvara (106). Then the
   country was overrun by the Miēchhahas; and he obtained from
   Bhūtēśa the son, the Jalaunaka of the next verse, in order to destroy
   them (107).

49. Jalaunaka I., son of the preceding .................................... 108
   He was a constant worshipper at Viṣṇu (at Blijēhāra), the modern
   Blijēhāra (A. G. 98f.), at Nandiśakhaṭra, elsewhere called Nandiśkaṭra,
   in the Īr Pargaṇā (K. R. lxxii. note), and at Jyēśhīṭeśa (113).
   He expelled the Miēchhahas, breaking their power at a place named
   Ujjhaśādina (116). He conquered Kāṇaṇubha, i.e. Kanauj
   (117). He reformed the administration of Kaśmir, by establishing
   regular courts of law (118 to 120). He founded Vārakala and
   other agrahāras (121). At Dvārā,—i.e. the Pass of Vartāmula,
   the modern Bāramula,—and at other places, his queen Šāsadēvi
   established shrines of the Divine Mothers (122). He paid wor-
   ship to Nandiśa at the spring of Šōdara (123); consecrated
   the temple of Jyēśhīharudra at Śrīnagara (124); built a stone
   temple at Nandiśkaṭra and worshipped Bhūtēśa (148); diverted
   the river Kanakavahini (150); and died at the īṭhā of Chram-
   mōchana (151). In connection with him there are allusions to
   the Nāgas (111, 114). Also to the Bāndhas or Buddhists.
   The latter, described as being very powerful at that time, were
   vanquished in his reign by the magician Avadhūta (112). They
   were subsequently oppressed by the king himself (136), who
   wantonly destroyed one of their vihāras (140). The Bōdhisattvas
   then deputed the goddess Kṛityā, one of the (six) Kṛttikās or
   Pleiades, who induced him to make reparation by building a

* P reads छम्बमा, like C and T.
Buddhist vihāra, which he named Kṛityāśrama, and in which he set up a statue of Kṛitya (131 to 147).

50. Dāmodara II. verse 153
It is not known whether he belonged to the house of Aśoka, or to another family (153). He was a worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Siva) (154). He built a long causeway named Gudasātu across the swamp called Sūda Dāmodariya (156, 157) or Dāmodaraśūda (167), and other stone causeways, to stop inundations (159).

Then there intervened the reigns of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka 168
These kings were of the Turushka race; nevertheless they built mathas, chaityas, &c., at Sushkalētra and other places (170). During their long reigns, Kaśmir was for the most part in possession of the Bauddhas (171). Each of them built a town, named after himself (168); i.e. Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kanishkapura,—identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern Usiskar, Zulkur, and Kampur (A. G. 39 ff.); also Jushka, who founded Jushkapura with its vihāra, built the town of Jayasvāmipura (169).

51. Nāgarjuna, Boddhisattva 173
His connection with any of his predecessors is not explained. His accession was when one hundred and fifty years had expired from the parisûruta of Buddha (172); this, however, would really be in B. C. 328, long after the time to which Kalhaṭa refers him, and before the real time of his supposed predecessor, Aśoka. He resided at Shaḍārachḍava, 'the grove of the six Arhats' (173). He encouraged the Bauddhas (177).

52. Abhimanyu 174
He granted the agnahāra of Kaśnakotasa (174), and founded the town of Abhimanyupura, at which he built a temple of Siva, named after himself (175). In his time, Chandráchārya and others brought the Mahābhāṣya into use, and composed their own grammar (176). In his reign the Bauddhas became powerful, and stopped the rites ordained by the Nīla-Purāṇa (177, 178). Then the Nāgas attacked the Bauddhas, and distressed them by causing every year a heavy fall of snow; until at length a Brāhmaṇa, Chandradēva, practised austerities, the result of which was that Nīla appeared to him, stopped the plague of snow, and re-established his own rites (179 to 184).

As regards the third part of the above list, a few words may be added, in order to show its entire worthlessness for historical purposes. Padmamihira, or Hēlàrija, seems to have tried to connect the name of each of these eight kings with the name of some locality in Kaśmir that happened to begin with the same initial. Thus, Lava is said to have founded the town of Lōlōra, and to have granted the agraḥāra of Lēvāra; and Kuśa is mentioned as bestowing the agraḥāra of Kuruhāra; and so on. The question of popular etymology at once suggests itself. And we cannot help suspecting that the names of the kings are nothing but pure inventions, taken from, and intended to account for, the names of real localities which otherwise could not be easily explained.

With these preliminary remarks, I will now take up the translation at the point where Dr. Bühler left off:—
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 108) Then this (son of Aśoka) Jalauka (I.) (by name), a (very) Indra on earth, who purified the world with the whitewash of his fame, became king. — (109) Verily, even the gods are taught (for the first time) to be astonished, when the tales of his divine power reach their ears. — (110) For surely, he would have been able to fill the void of the mundane egg with his gifts of gold, as the magic fluid (which he possessed) traced (i.e. enabled him to discover) crores (of hidden treasures). — (111) Having charmed the water (i.e. having attained the magic power of living under water), he entered the lakes of the Nāgas, and seduced the youthful daughters of the hooded serpents. — (112) A magician (named) Avadhūta, who vanquished the crowd of the votaries of the Baudhā (doctrine) who were very powerful at that time taught him the knowledge (of magic). — (113) This veracious king had made a vow that he would always worship (at) Vijayāvāra, Nandisakheṭra, and Jyeṣṭhābhaṭa. — (114) A Nāga, who was his friend, would not allow (him) to travel by (relays of) horses which were kept ready in every village, but used to convey him always himself. — (115) After this hero had expelled the Mlechchhas, who obstructed the earth, he conquered the earth whose girdle is the ocean, by victorious expeditions. — (116) Even now the place where those Mlechchhas, who had overrun the country, were deranged (uṣṭhita) by him, is called Ujjhastaḍimba by the people. — (117) Having conquered Kānyakubja and other (parts of the) earth, he introduced thence into his own country (people of) the four castes and legal practitioners. — (118, 119) Like a common country, the kingdom (of Kashmir) had not reaped the due benefit of judicial administration, property, &c. For hitherto there had been (only) seven departments in this country,—the overseer of justice, the overseer of property, the overseer of the treasure, the commander of the army, the messenger, the domestic priest, and the astrologer. — (120) Establishing eighteen courts of law, the king introduced from that time a state of affairs that was worthy of Yudhishtira. — (121) With the wealth which he had acquired by valour and might, this liberal (prince) founded Varavāla and other agraḥārās. — (122) At Dvāra and other places, his noble queen Īśanādevī established powerful circles of the (divine) Mothers.—(123) Having heard the Nandi-Purāna from a pupil of Vyāsa, the king paid worship to Sōdara, &c., out of devotion to Nandiṣa. — (124) (Even) when he consecrated (the temple of) Jyeṣṭhābhaṭra at Sṛnagari, he did not think (it possible to show) devotion to Nandiṣa without (worshipping) Sōdara.— (125, 126) Once upon a time, when the pressure of work had made him forget his daily rites, and while he was distressed by the impossibility of bathing in the distant waters of Sōdara, he

128 कोष मृगजलीको प. ज्योतिष प. T.
129 भाषाविद्या प. 110 हृदिन प. हरस्वर प. C.
112 "विजयेर" P.
113 Vījayaśeśā is the modern Bījihāra; see A. G. p. 98f. Nandisakheṭra is elsewhere called Nandikheṭra; on its site, see Dr. Böhler's note on verse 36, where P reads हृदिन instead of सुकस्यपनासारिः. On Jyeṣṭhābhaṭa, see note on verse 124, below.
114 लेखायतने P.
115 Kālaṅga places the arrival of the Mlechchhas in the reign of Aśoka; see verse 107.
117 श्रीगङ्गा P.
120 The original titles are Dharmādyaksha, Dhanādyaksha, Kālādyaksha, Chamupati, Dēta, Purakās, and Dviṣṇu.
121 karmasthāna seems to mean elsewhere 'a public building,' see iv. 587, 588; v. 166; vii. 210, 569 (57) of the Calcutta Edition. The eighteen law-courts (karmasthānāny dharmyās), which Jalauka is supposed to have founded, are probably derived from the eighteen kinds of law-suits mentioned by Manu, viii. 3 to 7.
122 ग्रामीण P.
123 द्वार, 'the Gate,' is the pass of Varanamāla, the modern Bārāmūla; see K. R. p. 12 and note on verse 31. The circles or rings of the Mothers (mātrīchakras) are elsewhere mentioned by Kālaṅga in connection with temples of Siva; see Böllingk and Both, u. v. mātrīchakrā. The synonyma dveṣṭākṣara occurs at i. 833.
124 From the subsequent passage it appears that Sōdara was the name of the holy spring at Nandikheṭra, the shrine of Nandiṣa or Nandirudra (verse 127).
125 Jyeṣṭhābhaṭra is called Jyeṣṭhābhaṭa in verse 113. General Cunningham, A. G. p. 96, identifies it with the temple on the Takht; but see K. R. p. 17.
126 "मनुष्य P.
127 वनास P.
perceived that from a waterless place water was suddenly rising, which agreed with (the water of) Sōdara in colour, taste, and other qualities.—(127) Then the proud (king) was able to satisfy his devotion to Nandirudra, by bathing in that spring which had (thus) appeared. — (128, 129) When an empty gold vase, with a lid on its mouth, which he threw into Sōdara for the purpose of a test, emerged two and half days later from the water which rose at Brīṅgārī, the doubts of the king were removed. — (130) Surely, it was Nandisa himself who had come down in order to enjoy the offerings (of the king). Otherwise, such an event, which had, never been seen (before), would not have taken place before (his) eyes. — (131) One day, when the king went to Viṣṇyāvāra, a woman, who was walking on the road, asked him for food. — (132) After he had promised to give her whatever food she wished, she changed her appearance (so as to assume the form of a female ghooul), and expressed a desire for human flesh. — (133) When he, who had ceased to hurt living beings, gave her permission to eat flesh from his own body, she spoke thus: — (134) "You, O magnanimous king, are a Boddhisattva, whose vows are strong on account of virtue (sattva), as your compassion with living beings is so great." — (135) The king, who, being a worshipper of Siva, did not know the language of the Baudhāyas, said to her, "Who, sweet mistress, is the Boddhisattva, for whom you take me?" — (136) She answered the king: "Hear my message; I am sent by the Baudhāyas, whom, out of anger, you have oppressed. — (137) "We are the (six) Pleiades (Kṛīttikāḥ), who live on the flank of the Lokālakṣa mountain, who are full of sin (tamās), and who have made the Boddhisattvas their only refuge, in order to be freed from sin. — (138) "You must know that Boddhisattvas are certain beings, who, since (the time of) the blessed lord of the world (Buddha), have got rid of lust (kiśā) in (this) world. — (139) "Eager to rescue the universe, they are not angry even with an offender, but benefit him patiently and will guide him to the knowledge (bodhi) of his own self." — (140 to 144) "When, lately, disturbed in your sleep by the noise of the instruments of a vihāra, and instigated by wicked persons, you destroyed (that) vihāra out of anger, I, (attracted by the power of) the meditations of the angry Baudhāyas, had set out to kill you. (But) then the Boddhisattvas, having called me, gave me the following instructions: — You are unable to hurt that virtuous prince; but at his sight, O happy woman, your sins will be destroyed. In our name ask him, who was led into sin by the wicked, to build a vihāra, providing all requisites from his gold. If this were built, no further slaughter at the destruction of vihāras would take place; and he and his instigators would have made atonement." — (145) "Therefore, in this disguise, I have put your great virtue to the test. Now my sins are destroyed. Farewell! I take my departure." — (146) After the king had promised to build a vihāra, the goddess Kṛṣṇā, whose eyes were beaming with joy, disappeared. — (147) Then, having built a vihāra (called) Kṛṣṇyārāma, the prince caused (a statue of) the goddess Kṛṣṇā, whose sins were removed, to be erected on that same spot (where he had met her). — (148) Having built a temple of stone at Nandikṣētra, the prince paid to Bhūtēsa worship in the shape of jewels together with (other) treasures. — (149, 150) Practising austerities for a series of nights at the tiṣṭha of Chiramāchana, sitting in the (posture called) brahmāsana, his body motionless in meditation, the king accomplished at last his desire of reaching Nandisa by the pious work (of conducting the river) Kanakavāhinī. — (151) One hundred of the ladies of his harem, who had risen to dance out of joy, he gave to Jyāśhāhurda at the (very) moment of dancing and singing. — (152) Having enjoyed supernatural power, and having finally entered Chiramāchana, the king, together with his wife, attained union with Siva.
(153) Then a prince called Đamodara (II.), who was either a descendant of the race of Ashoka, or was born of another family, protected the earth. — (154) Even now tales are told of the miraculous power of this (king), who was highly resplendent with superhuman faculties, and was the crest-jewel of the worshippers of Śiva. — (155) (The god) Kuśera himself concluded friendship with that happy and virtuous favourite of Śiva. — (156) Being the foremost of kings, like Kuśera, he ordered the Guhyakas, who obeyed his commands, to build the long causeway called Gudjasētu. — (157) By this causeway he sought to bridge the water at the town which he had built in the (swamp called) Śūda Đamodārīya. — (158) Since the good deeds of men (in former births) are limited, obstacles arise — alas! — to a man of lofty mind, who wishes to produce some uncommon beneficial work. — (159) For he strove to cause the Yakshas to build in his country long causeways of stone, in order to stop inundations. — (160) Inconceivable is the power of the austeries of mighty Brahmās, who will reverse the power even of such (kings). — (161) One has seen the fortune of kings rising again, after it had been destroyed by the power of an heir or of others; but if (lost) through contempt of Brahmās it will never return. — (162) Once the king, who was going to bathe on account of a śrāddha, was asked by some hungry Brahmās (to give them) food before bathing. — (163) When he, who wished to enter the (river) Vitasta, refused (to give them food until he had entered it), they placed that river before him by their (religious) power. — (164) Although they told him— "Here is the Vitasta; touch her, and feed us!" yet he believed that the river had been brought by (sinful) witchcraft (and not by the righteous power of austerity). — (165) When he said to them— "I will not give food without having bathed (in the real river); depart (śarpas), you Brahmās, at once!" they cursed him— "Become a serpent (śarpas)!" — (166) After he had implored them for mercy, they spoke— "Your curse will cease after you have heard the whole Bāmśyana in a single day, (and not till then )." — (167) Even now, when, out of thirst, he is rushing far into the (swamp called) Đamodārīya-śūda, people recognize him by the smoke of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse.

(168) Then there were three princes in that same (country), called Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, who built three towns that were designated by their names. — (169) The pure-minded Jushka, the founder of Jushkapura with its vihāra, also built Jayaśvāmpura. — (170) Though they were descendants of a Turushka race, these pious princes built mahās, chaityas, & c., at Sushkalētra and other places. — (171) During the long period of their reigns, the country of Kāśmir was, for the most part, in the possession of the Baudhās, who had acquired great power by renouncing the world (pravrajyā).

(172, 173) At that time, one hundred and fifty years had passed in this earthly sphere since the complete extinction (parinirvāṇa) of the divine Śākyasūtha (Buddha); and a Boddhisattva became sole king in this country; this was the glorious Nāgārjuna, who resided at Shadradhavanā.

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153 प्राचीन प.
154 One of Kuśera's names is Rājarāja, 'the king of kings'; he is the lord of the Yakshas or Guhyakas.
155 दोषितिष्ठ प. त.
156 Tathāgata P.
157 दशैश P.
158 च for tē P.
159 Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura have been identified by General Cunningham with Ushkar, Zukan, and Kumpur; see A. G. p 300.
160 दशैश P. On Sushkalētra, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 102.
161 दशैश P. For च P.
162 तत्त P. ते P. अर्हते P.
163 कुश्की प. च P. यहदेन P. T. According to Schiefner's Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Śākyamuni's, p. 310, Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school, was born in the time of Kanishka. Kalhaara agrees with this tradition in placing Nāgārjuna just after Kanishka. On the other hand, his report that Nāgārjuna became king of Kāśmir, seems to be as fanciful as his assertion that he lived only 150 years after Buddha's parinirvāṇa.
(174) Then the fearless Abhimanyu, who was the donor of the agrahāra of Kaṭṭakōtsa became a paramount sovereign and thus appeared to be a second Indra. — (175) After this illustrious king had caused a temple of Śiva, which bore his name, to be built, he founded the extremely rich town of Abhimanyupura. — (176) Chandrāchārya and others brought into use the Mahābhāhāya, having obtained its traditional interpretation from another country, and composed their own grammar. — (177) At this juncture, the Baudhāyas, who had been protected by the wise Bōhissattva Nāgarjuna, became powerful in the country. — (178) Having defeated in controversy all wise disputants, these enemies of tradition stopped the rites proclaimed in the Nīla-Purāṇa. — (179) The Nāgas, whose oblations had being stopped, caused a heavy fall of snow, and a destruction of the people in the country where the rules of conduct were disregarded. — (180) As the snow fell every year for the distress of the Baudhāyas, the king dwelt in the cold season, for six months, at Dāravāhīśa and similar places. — (181) At that time, the performers of oblations possessed a miraculous power, by virtue of which the Brāhmaṇas did not perish, while the Baudhāyas entered death. — (182) Then a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa (gōtra), Chandradēva, by name, underwent austerities, in order to please Nīla, the lord of the serpents and protector of the country. — (183) Having appeared to him, Nīla stopped the plague of snow, and pronounced again the rites of his Purāṇa. — (184) As the first Chandradēva removed the plague of Yakhas, thus the second removed the intolerable plague of Bhikhus (or Baudhāyas) in this country.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY M. E. SEVAN, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 9).

FIFTH EDICT.


TEXT.

1 Dēvānaṃpiyē Piyadasi līja hēvaḥ ahā [...] sañcīṣatītāsa
2 abhisitēna mē imāni jātānī avadhiyāni kāṣāni sāyāthā
3 suke śālikā alnē* chakavāke haṃśe naṃṣumukhē gēlātē
4 jatūka aṁbākapilīka daśī anāśikamakhec vēdavēyakē
5 gaṅgāpūṭakē samkūrāmakē kaphātasyakē paṃnasāsē simālē
6 saṃdēkē okapindē palastē sēkānāsē gāmakānētē
7 save chatupadē yē patibrōgan nō ēti* na chā khaḍiyati [...] ajakāna-l*
8 ēdēkā chā sūkali chā gahinē va pāyamnhē va avadhiyā pātaka(?)
9 nā chā kāni śāmarāsē [...] vadhikhukutē nō kaṭaviyē [...] tuse(?) sajīvē*
10 nō jhāpēṭaviyē [...] dāve anāthāya yā vihīnāyē tā nō jhāpēṭaviyē [...]
1. The neuter jātānā can only be taken here in the meaning of jāti, ‘race,’ ‘species,’ of animals. I have drawn attention elsewhere to another example of this use of the word (Mahāvastu, I. 593). Avadhiyāna hatāni, ‘have been established, specified’ as not to be slain.

2. This enumeration of names of animals constitutes one of the principal difficulties of the present edict. Several words for which lexicographers provide us with Sanskrit equivalents, remain obscure, and, as we are dealing with technical terms, etymology, even when it does appear with probable clearness, cannot lend us assistance. Fortunately this ignorance, much though it may be regretted, does not interfere with the general comprehension of the passage; the more exact identification of some of the animals to which we cannot assign names, would be of small importance to us. The future, as it extends the range of our knowledge, will doubtless fill up many of these lacunae. What we are now certain of is that the enumeration which commences with sēyāṭhe includes the words savē chatupādi—khâdiyātī. It is there only that the general prohibition ceases. What follow are temporary or special interdicts, and accordingly the first word of the next sentence can only be ajakā. We thus find classed under the general heading not only aquatic animals and birds, but also terrestrial animals, quadrupeds. The śūka and śrīka are well known; and it is with aluma, i.e. aruna, that our doubts commence. I do not know what connection Prinsep (p. 965) claims to exist between aruṇa, the mythical half-bird charioteer of the Aurora, and the species of crane known to Anglo-Indians as the adjutant bird; but I am willingly disposed to admit that his Paśčīts saw correctly in identifying our aluma with this bird to. The St. Petersburg Dictionary only so far recognizes aruṇa as an animal, by describing it (after Suṣrūṭa) as ‘a little poisonous animal.’ The names on each side of aluma here scarcely allow us to imagine such a meaning, but refer us to some kind of bird. Nandimukha, according to Suṣrūṭa, appears to be applied to an aquatic bird; I have no means for determining the real same. Ġōdāṭa is altogether uncertain, the identification with grīthra, allowed by Prinsep’s paścīts, cannot be upheld. The origin of the word, however, does not appear to be particularly obscure. Sanskrit has many names of birds into the formation of which aia appears as a second member. Such are viṣāḷīṭa, dhāmyāṭa; and we have in this word probably a new example, which I would transcribe as gīrīṭa, from gīri, ‘a mountain.’ Jatūkā ‘a bat,’ offers no difficulties. This word appears to wind up for the present the enumeration of birds; not because the word ambākapiṅkā (kipīṅkā, at Allāhābād) is clear, but because the Pāli kipīṅkā, the Sanskrit pippīṅkā, seems to give us the key to the second member of the compound. With regard to the first member, I cannot agree with Prinsep either in recognising the Sanskrit ambā, or in adopting, for the whole compound, the meaning ‘mother-ant,’ i.e. ‘Queen-ant;’ The legislative specification would become, through its minuteness, too difficult to grasp. I am hence driven to choose between āma, ‘a mango-tree,’ (which we shall, by the way, meet subsequently under the feminine form ambā), and āmū, ‘water.’ In the latter case, the termination would be a cause of surprise, but the inexactitude of the vocalic notation in our texts gives us some margin, and, subject to correction, I imagine that what is here alluded to is some animal designated by the periphrase ‘water-ant.’ From one point of view the conjecture is satisfactory, for the name appropriately heads a series of aquatic animals. Thus, the word which immediately follows, and
of which the correct form (cf. M. and A.) is dudi, means "a small species of tortoise." We next have certainly to deal with a fish, mricha, t.e. matriya; as for the former part of the compound I would not take it, with Prinsep, as corresponding to anarthika, but as the equivalent of anaarthika. The fish in question is named as "the boneless one," perhaps figuratively, and on account, for example, of its extreme suppleness. The cerebral th appears to me to recommend this etymology. I learn from Mr. Grierson that, at the present day, in Magadha, the pronoun is said to have no bones. It is not eaten by Vaishnavas. I can imagine only one possible transcription for vedavayaka, -vadavayaka. Darvi means the expanded hood of a snake, and we can suppose that sidrvi, or, which comes to the same thing, its patronymic form vadavayaga, might allude to some fish as resembling a snake "less the hood." It could thus, for example, mean "an eel;" but this is a pure hypothesis, for I do not meet the word in the Sanskrit dictionaries. From the sense of 'swelling' given for pupppata, it is natural to think that gandayupputaka is applied to a particular fish of the Ganges, remarkable for some protuberance. The sanukujemachcha should be the same as the sanukuchi, or 'skate-fish' of Sanskrit lexicographers. There is only between them; a shade of pronunciation which is sufficiently explained by the Prakrit weakening of ch into j. The next word leads the list of terrestrial animals,—at least it does so in its second half, ivyaka, which is, I think, in Sanskrit savyaka, 'the porcupine.' The first member is doubtful. We, however, meet in Yajñavalkya, 1. 177, the porcupine (under the form sallaka) associated with the tortoise (kachchhapa), and one is strongly tempted to search for a similar association here, and to take kaphata as equivalent to the Sanskrit kumajja. I admit that the phonetic transition is the reverse of regular, but the objection would not be absolute, especially for a kind of proper name, which was in frequent use, and which, even under its classical form, bears all the characteristics of a popular origin. Moreover, these two animals are mentioned in the verse of the Dharmaśāstra above quoted, as being allowed to be eaten, and it is therefore natural that they should not be included here in the final category of savē chatupadē, etc. The same verse speaks of the hare, kasa, which we also meet in our paśuvaśe, whether the latter word is a mere equivalent of kasa, or whether the addition of pura marks a particular species. For simala, I cannot discover any Sanskrit equivalent, the correspondence of which would be either phonetically regular, or at least justifiable. Sanukajjaka is the Sanskrit shawla, and means a bull living at liberty. For ekapindana I cannot offer a certain translation. At least the form and the existence of the word are vouched for, for we meet it elsewhere in Pāli. In Mahāvagga, vi. 17. 6, it is narrated how the Bhikshus leave outside the monasteries the provisions which have been brought to them, and ukkaṇḍakaṇḍi khaḍdanti chorāpi harantii; the ukkaṇḍakaṇḍas eat them, the thieves carry them off.' The two last items in the list, sēkapālī and gāmakapālī, which admit of no hesitation, and evidently referring to two species of pigeons, appear to authorise the restoration of palasatē to palapatē. i.e. 'turtle-dove.' The correction of ă into ā is very easy, and, no matter how well these inscriptions are engraved, in our reproductions there is no want of clear instances in which corrections are necessary. If the new revisions definitely guaranteed the reading palasatē, we should be driven to recognize the Pāli parasatē, and to translate it by 'rhinoceros' (cf. Trenchner, Pāli Miscell., I. 50), which would look very singular here.

3. Prinsep, while construing the sentence wrongly, correctly recognized the meaning of the expression patibhaga ăti, 'to enter into, to serve for consumption.' The king, who wished to restrain as much as possible the slaughter of animals, naturally forbade in general terms the killing of all those which did not serve for urgent needs, and of which therefore the slaughter was not indispensable. I suppose that patibhaga does not refer exclusively to nourishment, but in general to all the needs which need animals could serve to satisfy. If it were otherwise, na cha khaḍiyati would only repeat the idea without adding anything new.

4. After the general and absolute prohibitions come those which are accidental and temporary. Ajakānātī gives no sense. We require a feminine singular, and there is no place here for a nenter plural. The slight correction of ă to ā gives the reading ājakā kānī
equivalent to ajakā khus, which is completely satisfactory (cf. I. 161). The particle kānī reappears in the next phrase. The pañcits of Prinsep, warned by the neighbouring gabhini, hit upon the true meaning of the following adjective. We cannot, however, transcribe it as payarwī, but prefer to read pīyaṃdā, which easily gives the meaning of ‘in milk, suckling.’ We should also read avadhiyā and not avadhiyā, and, with R. and M., pūkā instead of pākā. Anahāsī is necessarily formed from ā-sa-hāsa; and it is therefore, in short, forbidden to slaughter the mothers (goats, ewes, and sows) when they are with young, or when they are suckling, and their young when they are less than six months old.

5. Vadhri means ‘a eunuch,’ and vadhri-kukkūta can only be taken as a compound signifying, ‘eunuch.’

6. Tusa sañcet has an exact counterpart in the expression asāla-sa prāvahā of Mahāvastu, I. 22, 5, ‘one may not roast alive any living thing.’

7. This vīhsad refers to the destruction of game, brought about by burning down the forest in which it lives.

8. We have here, at the conclusion of the edict, three series of dates, the accurate explanation of which offers more than one difficulty. We shall consider them together. We must first compare them with two parallel indications taken from the detached edicts of Dhanli and Jangada. Shown in a tabular form these series are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tisau chāṭutmāsāsau</td>
<td>aṭhamiośūryā</td>
<td>tisāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisau pēnnaṃnāsānau</td>
<td>chāḍunāsāyā</td>
<td>punāyasvāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisāyā dīvasānau</td>
<td>paṃnnaṃnāsāyā</td>
<td>chāṭutmāsīdīvāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chāḍunāsānau</td>
<td>tisāyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṃnnaṃnāsānau</td>
<td>punāyasvāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāṭipadāyā</td>
<td>tisau chāṭutmāsāsau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhaṃvāyā chāं anupāsānau</td>
<td>sudāyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With which compare the following in the Detached Edicts:

I.  
- anucchāṭutmāsānau tisāna nakhatriṇa (Dh.)
- anucchāṭutmāsānau tisānau (J.)

II.  
- tisamakhatriṇa (Dh.)
- anuttisānau (J.)

I must first warn my readers that, in spite of the analogy of the words, the passages in the Detached Edicts do not appear to me to have an exact similarity with those in the above Table. I do not consider that in the two cases the meanings are the same, and moreover, the forms used, differ. But if we begin by comparing between each other the expressions of the two Detached Edicts, we shall find that the second omits the word anucchāṭutmāsānau. As both instances refer to the public recitation of the edicts themselves, it is impossible to imagine any reason for suggesting an intentional difference between the two passages. It appears to me to be indisputable that the tisamakhatriṇa or anuttisānau of the second means exactly the same as the more developed phrase of the first. I first, therefore, conclude that anucchāṭutmāsānau does not restrict the sense, but merely calls attention to the particulars defined by the simple expression tisāna nakhatriṇa. The relation between the two expressions cannot be the same as that which ought to exist here between the first two in our list A., for, as a matter of fact, if the thematic elements are the same in each case, the grammatical forms used are very different. The feminine chāṭutmāsā and tisā can only, conformably to usage, mean ‘the full-moon corresponding to each of the festivals called chāṭutmāyas (four-monthly)’ and ‘the full-moon in conjunction with the nakhatriṇa Tisya’ (cf. the formation of Sravasā, according to Pāṇini, IV. 2, 5); while, on the other hand, tisāna nakhatriṇa cannot mean ‘the full moon of Tisya,’ but signifies literally ‘under the nakhatriṇa Tisya.’ Again, anucchāṭutmāsānau cannot be analysed as anucchāṭutmāsānau, and translated ‘every four months’ for the ā, in this hypothesis, would be unexplainable. The only possible transcription is anucchāṭutmāyas, ‘at each of the festivals called chāṭutmāyas,’ and so in fact we find the same anu actually combined with the name of
an undoubted festival in *anupōsathā,* 'at each upōsatha.' After this analogy, and being given the fact that *antarṣa (J.)* and *isesahakatāna* are equivalent terms, we must render all these expressions, *tiśa nakhatāna, tiśa, &c., as 'at the festival of Tishya.' The addition of *anuchātvamāda* proves, in short, that a festival, corresponding in date to that of the three annual sacrifices of the Brāhmaṇa is referred to; and it is clear that the dates of these sacrifices, being fixed by the occurrences of three definite full-moons, could not regularly, in accordance with astronomical rules, correspond with one and the same *nakhatāra.* My two-fold conclusion is therefore: (1) that the quotations from the Detached Edicts must be translated 'at the festival of Tishya' and 'at the festival of Tishya, which is celebrated at each of the *chāturmāsya festivals*'; and (2) that these data are without importance in regard to our present passage, in the interpretation of which they cannot help us. It is this interpretation which principally interests us at present.

In the series A., a group at first separates itself off by its syntactic form. This is the words *tiśa divasāni, &c., that is to say 'three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth (of the month), and the pratipad (or first day of the following half month).'* It is evident that this indication must depend on what precedes for the necessary specification of what particular month or months is or are referred to; and regarding this the only doubt which can be raised is whether it depends only on *tiśa yam punanamādiyāna* (I accept this reading provisionally) or whether also on *ṭeśu chātvamāda.* If we depended merely on grammar, we might hesitate, but the data following, *dhanyagre chā anupōsathāna,* settle the question. These words can only be translated by 'and on the fixed day, each upōsatha,' or in other words, 'and, generally, on each day of upōsatha.' The use of *dhrusena* in the first of the fourteen (rock) Edicts may be compared with this. Now, as each day of the full-moon is necessarily a day of upōsatha, to separately mention the three full-moons of the months in which the festival called *chātvamāda* is celebrated, would be merely superfluous, and we must therefore look upon the whole of the first part of the sentence down to *dhanyagre* as a single compound, and translate 'Besides the full-moons of the months in which the festival *chātvamāda* is celebrated, and the full-moon of Tishya, the fourteenth and fifteenth days, and the day following.' I admit that hitherto the reading *punanamādiya* has been considered as certain, but I must confess that I am very far myself from thinking it to be so. I shall have more to say about this, after having explained the two last series.

Of these, the third presents scarcely any uncertainty. It includes 'the full-moon in conjunction with Tishya, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvāsā, and the full-moon which corresponds to each of the *chātvamāda sacrifices.*' As for the last term, *chātvamāsripākṣa, chātvamāsripākṣa* means, according to custom, the half-lunation which follows the full-moon (each full-moon) called *chātvamās;* and, as here one day in particular is referred to, the feminine *chātvamāsripākṣa* (which, of course, is to be construed with *tiśa* understood) certainly represents the first day of this half-lunation. It is thus exactly equivalent to the *pratipadagre* of the first list, inasmuch as this word depends on *ṭeśu chātvamāda.* I may add that the difference of form between the singular *chātvamāsiyā,* which we have here to designate each of the *chātvamās* full moons, and the plural *ṭeśu chātvamāda* of series A., would naturally (if it were necessary) add confirmation to the explanation which I have just given of the latter phrase. It establishes an intentional distinction between the two cases, and, the sense being certain in the present enumeration, we are left no alternative except to adopt for the phrase in series A. the interpretation, which for independent reasons we have already adopted.

The three first terms of series B. give no room for doubt. *Asthāpākē* is the equivalent, in a slightly irregular form of construction, of *pākhāsāmāt, 'the eighth day of the half lunation' (cf. e.g. *Dhammapā.,* p. 404: *chātuddāśa pāchadasa yve pakkhasa asthami), that is to say, of each lunation. To this the Sinhalese expression *atawa (ashtapakēh) (Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.,* p. 236) exactly corresponds. But it is doubtful if the 14 and the 15 refer only to the 14th and 15th of the month, i.e. of the first half, thus corresponding to the full-moon, or whether they apply also to the second fortnight of each month. To judge from modern customs
one would be inclined to the first solution; but, as the idea of a triple upōṣatha in each half lunation is expressly borne witness to by the Mahāvagga (II. 4, 2), I have no hesitation in considering that such is also the intention of the king in this passage. It is true that great uncertainty appears to have prevailed in the tradition about the upōṣatha. The same work, a little further on (II. 14, 1) only admits "two upōsathas, those of the 14th and of the 15th," but, on the other hand, another passage (II. 34, 3—4) speaks expressly of the pāṭipada upōṣatha, that is to say, that which corresponds to the first day of the month (the amavasaka of Sinhalese terminology). I do not doubt, however, that Piyadasi considered this day as hallowed by a religious consecration. It is on this one day that the difference between the generic expression, dhūvāya anupōṣaḥah, of series A., and our series B., depends; if this more concise expression is not repeated here, it must necessarily be so in order to exclude some element which it contains, and that element can only be the pāṭipada. With regard to the rest of the list, I would refer to what has been said about series A. and the plural tīsā chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa, here again, all the full-moons being comprised in the dates chāvudasaśyā and puṇāmadaśyā, the terms tīsā and chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa have no sense except as determinatives of the last word, sudviraśaśyā. I regret that this last term is obscure to me, for I know of no parallel examples of the technical use of the word. We evidently want here something different from a vague astrological expression corresponding, I suppose, to the Vedic sudāntat evахuḥ (cf. Weber, Die Véd. Nachrichten von den Nākhā. II. 315). A comparison with the other lists ought to guide us. We shall subsequently see that the acts successively forbidden by the king necessarily constitute a series of decreasing gravity. It is therefore a priori more than probable that the lists of reserved days, admitting the fact that there is a distinction) should be reduced in parallel lines: the second should contain less than the first; and the third less again than the second; but all the days excepted in the two last should be included in the first. In a general fashion, this is at first sight justified. Between list B. and list C. it is verified in detail, provided that chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśipakā can be included under the last terms of B.—tīsā chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa sudviraśa, for the full-moons of Tisahya, Punarvasū and the chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa are included under the two first terms chāvudasaśa and punāmadaśa. On the other hand, to establish an analogy between A. and B., the last portion of B., tīsā to sudviraśa must be included in A., either in the last term, dhūvāya chā anupōṣaḥah, or in the last but one, tīsā—pāṭipadaśa. In the first case, the three first terms of B. include all the days of upōṣaṭha except the pāṭipada upōṣaṭha, and sudviraśa ought to designate the first of the month, the first of the light half (of the month of which the full-moon is in conjunction with Tisahya, or Punarvasū, or one of the three months of chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa). In the second case, it would designate the first of the dark half which follows (the full-moons in question). To sum up, therefore, C. appears to require that sudviraśa should designate the 16th of the months above referred, and A. permits this interpretation. The conclusion follows that we are driven to admit that B. practically had in view the days which come after the full moons in conjunction with Tisahya and with Punarvasū, and after the full moons of the months of chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa. It may seem, perhaps, somewhat surprising that the name sudviraśa, 'lucky day' should be applied to the first of the dark half for in general it is the light half, which is considered as particularly auspicious; but the scruple must necessarily vanish before the positive fact, witnessed by the perfectly clear testimony of our first list, that the day in question, at least in the lunations specified, was considered as having a religious consecration.

This necessary agreement between our three lists upon which I have just insisted, leads us to one last remark. The expression tīsādā pruṇaṃdasīyaḥ of A. should surprise the reader: tīsādā alone would be sufficient, as all the following lists attest. We should rather expect to find pruṇaṃdasīya added to tīsā chāṭuṃmaṇḍāśa, the first full-moons indicated, if it were added anywhere. On the other hand, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasū plays so important a part in the subsequent lists that it is out of the question that it should not be here also. How could it be permissible to slaughter animals on a day on which it was not permissible even to mark them? I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that, instead of pruṇaṃdasīyaḥ, punādvasuṣyaḥ should stand here. I do not deny that such a correction may appear bold, in the
face of the agreement, which, at least apparently, exists between different versions dispersed in different places; but nevertheless, whatever the difficulties may be; whether this agreement actually exists; or whether it is less real than the eyes of explorers, led away by a first reading, in appearance very simple, of the Dehli pillar, believed; to whatever medium, to whatever accident it may be due, I cannot prevent myself from seeing in puṇāmaṇḍāyān a certain error for puṇāvasyaṁ. This last word, it may be added, has itself had a very unlucky fate. In the two following lists, our facsimiles give vasunē. The first reproduction in the Asiatic Researches is the only one which indicates, at least in the second instance, the true reading, and gives puṇāvasuyē for puṇāvasyaṁ. If need be, the form puṇāvasunē could be explained, but it would be with difficulty; and considering the close resemblance which exists between the signs \( \underline{1} \) and \( \underline{\underline{1}} \), I have little doubt but that we ought to restore the only normal form, -vasuyē.

9. The two words nāgavāna and kṛvaṭabhāya offer some difficulty. The derivation is clear (kaivaratabhāya), but neither appears to be used in the literature known to us. They might without violence be treated as proper names, but why should the king mention particularly two specified localities, in the vicinity, for instance, of his capital, in edicts intended to be published over his whole empire? This conjecture is therefore improbable. What does appear to me to be certain is that of these two terms the former relates to hunting, and the latter to fishing. A passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, in the Mahāvastu (I. 24 and notes) leads me to think of the kinds of parks in which game was preserved either to protect it from theft or for gradual consumption: nāgavāna "elephant park," might refer to an enclosure of this description; and kṛvaṭabhāya might mean a fish-pond, such as exists in all countries. The king would prohibit the slaughter, on certain specified days, of any kind of animal whatever, whether quadrupeds or fishes, even those which their dwelling-place destines to an early death.

10. The only obscure word here is the verb nīlakhitvā. Prasen naturally thought of the verb rākṣaḥ, but I do not see how it is possible to explain a nīrakṣaṭi, nor, if we elude this difficulty, how to draw any reasonable sense from it. We must try the verb lakṣaḥ. There can be no doubt that the next sentence turns on the prohibition of lakṣaṇa, which is used in a well-known śūtra of Pāṇini (VI. 3, 115) to mean the marks, sevaṭika, maṇi, &c., which, as the scholiast explains, they make on the ears of cattle to distinguish the owner of each. This meaning exactly suits our word lakṣaṇa, for bullocks and horses are, in fact, domestic animals, and consequently fitted for receiving marks of this kind. But what are we to do with nīlakṣatvā in the present sentence? It is natural to look again for the Sanskrit lakṣaḥ in the root lakṣ; but, on the other hand, it is evident that there is a considerable difference between the two operations successively enumerated. This follows not only from the difference in the terms used, in the prefix added in the first case, and omitted in the second, but also from the circumstance that in both, partly at least, the same animals, bullocks (gōnas) are dealt with. The long \( \dot{t} \), which occurs almost consistently throughout all the versions, of nīlakhiṇī, shows that the true transcription can only be nīrlakṣaḥ, and this analysis does, in fact, admit of a very simple translation. If we refer to a recognised meaning of lakṣaṇa, "the sexual parts," a denotative nīrlakṣaḥ would mean 'to cut,' 'to castrate,' and, as a matter of fact, all the animals mentioned, being domestic ones, are of that class which could be so mutilated. I believe that I can identify the same meaning in nīrlakṣaṇa as opposed to lakṣaṇavat in a passage in the Bāmdyaṇa (Gorr., II. 118, 5) which is quoted by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, but interpreted, wrongly as I think, in a much vaguer fashion. It will now be seen why I spoke above of a decreasing gradation in the series of cases dealt with by our edict. The first prohibitions deal with the slaughter of animals; the second series interdicts their castration; and the third, the infliction upon them of a much lighter suffering, which might consist, for example, in silting the ear.

11. The meaning of the last sentence has, I think, been well defined by Lassen (II. 272, n.), although I do not adopt the meaning of 'execution' which he claims directly for bandhāna. Bandhānamādhikā means literally 'deliverance from bonds,' 'setting at liberty,' but if the king only spoke of setting at liberty twenty-five prisoners in twenty-five years, the royal
clemency would appear but moderate, while, on the other hand, the repetition of twenty-five general amnesties in as many years would be equivalent to the suppression of all punishment. I consider, therefore, remembering the connection in the fourth edict between the words bandha-nabaddha and patavudha while they are nevertheless not synonyms, that Piyadasi here speaks only of important prisoners, and that, as in the last edict, this qualification is here applied exclusively to those condemned to death. This is indeed, also, the only interpretation which would justify the presence of this declaration in this place, at the end of an edict consecrated to recommending a general respect of life.

The following translation results from the preceding observations:

**TRANSLATION.**

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas:—In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation have I forbidden the slaughter of any of the animals belonging to the following tribes; that is to say,—parrots, mainas, aravas, chakrawhás, flamingos, sándhmvhás, gairásas, bats, water-ants (?), the tortoises called dudu, the fishes called anauhíkas, vaidrvéyákás, ppiyjás of the Ganges, the fishes called sikhya, turtles and porcupines, parvánás (?), sivalás (?), bulls which wander at liberty, foxes (?), turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons, and all kinds of quadrupeds which do not enter into consumption and which are not articles of food. As for she-goats, ewes, and sows, they may not be slaughtered when they are with young or are in milk, nor their offspring when less than six months old. Capping fowls is prohibited, nor is it allowed to roast alive any living being. It is forbidden to set fire to a forest either in malice or in order to kill the animals which dwell therein. It is forbidden to make use of living beings in order to feed living beings. At the three full-moons of the cháturmásyas, at the full-moon which is in conjunction with the nakshatra Tishya, at that which is in conjunction with the nakshatra Punarvasú, on the 14th and the 15th and on the day which follows the full-moon, and generally on each day of upésatha, it is forbidden either to kill fish or to offer them for sale. On the same days it is forbidden to kill either animals confined in gameparks or in fishponds or any other kind of living being. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th of each lunar fortnight, and on the days which follow the full-moons of Tishya, of Punarvasú and of the three cháturmásyas, it is forbidden to castrate ox, he-goat, ram, boar, or any other animal, which is usually castrated. On the day of the full-moon of Tishya, of Punarvasú, of the cháturmásyas, and on the first day of the fortnight which follows the full-moon of a cháturmásya, it is forbidden to mark either ox or horse. In the course of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my coronation, I have set at liberty twenty-five [men condemned to death].

(To be continued.)

**SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS,**

**BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.**


I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in April, 1883, from the Bombay Secretariat. I have no information as to where they were found, or as to the owner of them.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 14 by 9 inches. The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is well preserved and very legible throughout.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings; but only one ring is now forthcoming. It is a plain copper ring, about 1/2" thick and 2 1/2 inches in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice; but there are no indications of a seal having been attached to this ring and abstracted from it. In the first plate, the ring-holes were originally
made at the top; but they were filled in again with circular pieces of copper. The seal, if there was one attached to either of the rings, is not now forthcoming. In the lower proper left corner of the second plate, however, after the end of the inscription, there are engraved the sun and moon, and the figure of a god, seated, and facing full-front. As the god is four-faced, as well as four-armed, and seems to be seated on a water-lily, it must be a representation of Brahmā.—The weight of the two plates is 10 lbs. 1 oz., and of the ring, 3 oz.; total, 10 lbs. 4 oz. — The characters are Nāgarī, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 31, the decimal figures 1, 2, and 3. The engraving is good; the interiors of the letters are so filled in with rust, that any marks of the working of the tool cannot be observed. The plates are thick and substantial; and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all.—The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout; except for two invocatory verses at the commencement, and nine benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 14 to 16 and 23 to 31. The text contains some technical fiscal terms which require explanation; talabhādhyāghakhakamalakavundhaka, in lines 19-20: and sare-āhyantara-eiddhi, in line 20. And in line 19 we have the word kaukkāra, which has been met with in other passages in the sense of 'boundary,' in which it is used here. — In respect of orthography the only points that call for notice are—(1) the preferential use of the anuēddra instead of the proper nasal, e. g. in parīpakthayati, line 7; dakhāṇandayaka, line 9; and anugālītya, line 17; though the proper nasal is used in manḍalam, line 8, and vīndu, line 15, and elsewhere; and (2) the use of v for b throughout, e. g. in vikharṣṭi, line 1; vrāṁchāpaṭakā, line 2; and lavāka, line 5; except once, in line 23, where a distinct form for b seems to be used in the word bahubhikā.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla of Anhilvāḍa. But the grant recorded in it was made by one of his feudatories, the Mahāmāṇḍalāśvara Vajjaladēva, who, as we learn from line 17, belonged to the Chāhumāṇa lineage,—or, as the name is actually written here, Chāhuyāṇa,—and who had the government of the mandala or province on the banks of the river Narmada; and the charter was issued from the city of Brāhmaṇapāṭakā. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of a village to a satrāḍāra or charitable alms-house, for the purpose of feeding Brāhmaṇa.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Aṣṭhilapāṭaka, the capital of Ajayapāla and his ancestors; Brāhmaṇapāṭakā, the town from which Vajjaladēva issued the charter; Ālavaḍaṅgaṃva, the village granted, which is defined as being in the group of villages known as the Māṭhulagāma Forty-two villages, belonging to the Pūrṇa pathaka; and Khandōhāka, the village in which was situated the satrāḍāra to which the grant was made. Aṇahilapāṭaka, or, as the name was sometimes written, Anahillapāṭaka, is perhaps better known under the somewhat later and slightly corrupted name of Anhilvāḍ or Anhilwāḍapāṭan. It is said, in the Jain chronicles, and elsewhere, to have been founded in Vikrama-Saṅvat 892 by the Paramāra king Vanarāja; and it appears to have passed from the possession of the Paramāras into that of the Chāvaḍa kings; and to have been acquired from the latter by the first Chaulukya king, Mūlarāja, in Vikrama-Saṅvat 997. It was subsequently laid waste; but the date of this event appears not yet to have been properly fixed; for, whereas Col. J. W. Watson seems to attribute the destruction of the city to the armies of Alā-ul-din in Vikrama-Saṅvat 1297, we find it still mentioned, as the capital of Vīsālahāda, in Vikrama-Saṅvat 1317. It is now represented by the modern town of Pāṭan, the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Gaikwār’s Dominions, about sixty-five miles in a north-westerly direction from Ahmadābād. The other places remain to be identified.

The record contains two dates. In line 11ff., in connection with the making of the grant, we have the details of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1231, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly

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1 e. g. ante, Vol. XVI. p. 255, line 23. The only meaning given in Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary are "maul, defensive armour; an iron hook to goad an elephant." It is said to be derived from the root kaśā, "to go."
3 ante, Vol. IV. p. 147f.
4 ante, Vol. VI. p. 212.
5 The 'Patan, Pāṭan, Pāttna, Anhilwāda, Anhilwar Pātan, and Anhilvār Pāttan," of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 21. Lat. 23° 51' N.; Long. 73° 10'E.
specified either as current or as expired, the month Kārttiika, the bright fortnight, the eleventh tithi, and Śomadina or Monday; and we are told that, when Vaijalladēva made the grant, he had fasted on this day, and had done worship to the gods Siva and Vishnu at the Kārttiik-ōdāpana festival. And in line 31 we have the details, for either the writing or the assignment of the charter, of the same month, fortnight, and year, here expressed in decimal figures; and of the thirteenth civil day (and, with it, the thirteenth tithi), coupled with Budh, i.e. Budhavāra or Wednesday. The English equivalents ought to be found in A.D. 1173 or 1174, according as the given year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. And we have to note that the first of the given tithis is the well-known prabhūthi or utthāna.ēkādasi, when Vishnu wakes up from his four-months’ slumber; and that the text distinctly intimates that the grant was made to celebrate this tithi and its festival. The results, however, are not altogether satisfactory. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, I find that—

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1231 current, Kārttiika śukla 11 ended on Thursday, 18th October, A.D. 1173, at about 51 ghafis after mean sunrise, for Āphihila€j; and Kārttiika śukla 13 ended on Saturday, 20th October, at about 43 gh. 2 p.

And in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1232 current (1231 expired), Kārttiika śukla 11 ended on Tuesday, 6th October, A.D. 1174, at about 32 ghafis; and Kārttiika śukla 13 ended on Thursday, 10th October, at about 19 gh. 25 p. The tithis began respectively on Monday, 7th October, at about 38 gh. 8 p., and on Wednesday, 9th October, at about 25 gh. 39 p. And these dates would do, if we could apply the tithis as current tithis. But there is no justification for the quotation of the current tithi, in recording the writing or the assignment of the charter. And both Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit and Prof. Kielhorn have informed me that there is no rule by which the fasting and ceremonies, connected with the prabhūthi-ēkādasi, can have been performed in this case on the Monday. Accordingly, even the eleventh tithi cannot have been quoted here as a current tithi. And the dates thus obtained for the commencement of the two tithis are not admissible.

But, in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1233 current (1232 expired), Kārttiika śukla 11, as required, on Monday, 27th October, A.D. 1175, at about 37gh. 23 p.; and Kārttiika śukla 13 ended on Wednesday, 29th October, at about 25 gh. 30 p. These results satisfy the requirements of the case, viz. that both the given tithis should have been quoted, and must be applied, as ended tithis; and these seem certainly to be the real days that were intended. Accordingly, as there is nothing to raise a suspicion that the grant is other than an authentic one, we must conclude that, in spite of the distinct record in words as well as in figures, we have here a genuine mistake in respect of the given year; and that 1231 was wrongly written for 1232, which is to be applied as an expired year, and, in consideration of the locality to which the record belongs, is to be referred to the southern reckoning of the era.

TEXT.

First Plate.


3 nahilapatajkaśhaṣṭhita-samastarāj-vallaviraja-mahārājāhiraja-paramēva-śva-ra-para-ma-

bhaṣṭaraka-Varvaṛaka;jhaṇa-śrī-Jayasimhadēva-

4 pādānudhyāna-Umpatrivaralavdhabahdhāpraśaka-pranḍuspratāpa-nijabhujakravaramaṇa–gaṇ-

vinirjitaSākambharibhūpāla-paramabhājatā.
GRANT OF AJAYAPALA.—VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1231.

Second Plate.

18 गराः-भ्रह्मायुधित्वम्

19 विद्याधर समाधिः

20 वृंदावन भक्तिः

21 चाचि-चक्र यवम्

22 गड़िका-कर्ण भक्तिः

23 जारिय-सपीः

24 राज-दिक्षित

As shown by other grants of this family, e.g. ante, Vol. VI. p. 194, No. 3, line 8, read महादेवुष्कीस्वम्-निषेधम्.

9 Here, and in line 8, śrāvat is used, instead of śrī, in conformity with the custom of preferring the use of śrāvat before a name commencing with a vowel (see Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III. p. 10, note 4). But śrī occurs, and with hiatus instead of juncture by saddhi, in the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1290, ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 13; and in some other places in the same series; and also at the end of line 3 in the present grant.

10 Read दिल्लिंकाद्विहितं-ग्राम-निषेधम्.

11 Read जोभिः.

12 After the use of जयिः in line 11, the introduction of this instrumental singular is unnecessary.

13 Read जयिः.

14 Read वयोगी.

15 Metre, व्यस्तिष्ठात्तिका.

16 Metre, नाथका.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After two verses in praise of the god Śiva, under the names of Vyomakēśa (line 1) and Smaraction (l. 2), the inscription gives the following genealogy:—The Maharājādhirāja, Paramātvāra, and Paramahājñāna, the glorious Jayasimha-daeva (l. 3), who was established at the famous city of Anahilapātaka (l. 2), and who was victorious over the Varvarakas. His successor (l. 4, 'he who meditated on his feet;' pād-ānudhyāta) was the M. P. P., the glorious Kumārapāla-daeva (l. 5), who acquired the favour of a boon from the god Umāpati (Śiva), and who conquered in battle the king of Sakambhari. And his successor is the M. P. P., the glorious Ajayapāla-daeva (l. 6), a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēvara (Śiva) (l. 5).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 6), and while his feudatory (l. 7, 'he who subsists like a bee on the water-lilies that are his feet;' pādāpati-āpāvijn), the Mahāmātya, the illustrious Somēvara (l. 6), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (ārikaraṇa) and other departments:—

From the famous city of Brāhmaṇapātaka (l. 2), the Mahāmaṇḍala-śvara, the illustrious Vaijāla-dēva (l. 7), who has attained the pañchamahāśāmba, and who through the favour of the glorious Ajayapāla-daeva, is governing the province on the banks of the river Narmāda (l. 8), informs the Daṇḍanaṇyaka, Dēṣāthakakura, Adhikṣhṭānaka, Karanapuruṣa, Nagappaḷa, Bhṛṭaputra, and all the other royal officials at the village of Ālavīdāvāma (l. 9) in the middle of the group of kings known as the Makhulagāmva Forty-two-villages, belonging to the Pūrṇa pathaka (l. 8), and the neighbouring Vaiṣayikas, Paṭṭakilas, and other people, headed by the Brāhmaṇas:—

"Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, while stationed at Brāhmaṇapātaka (l. 11),—having fasted on Monday, the eleventh titthi in the bright fortnight in the month Kārttika, in the year twelve hundred, increased by thirty-one, after the time of king Vikrama; and having done worship, at the festival of the Kārttik-ōdyāpana, to (Śiva) the divine lord of Bhavān, the father of all things animate and inanimate, and to Purushottama (Vaiṣṇa), the lord of Lakshmi (l. 13),—for the increase of the religious merit and

23 Metro, Vasantatilakas.—The metre is faulty here; and we must correct apa into āhāra.
24 Metro, Śālini.
25 Metro, Mālini.
26 Read buddhāḥ.
27 Metro, Śālikā (Anubhūtika).
28 i.e. dātakaḥ.
29 and 30. What offices are denoted by these two abbreviations, is not apparent. Possibly the two words are a mistake for one word, sparikā, which would stand for sparikā.
the fame of Our parents and of Ourself (l. 17), (by Us, viz.) by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the illustrious Vaijalladhēva (l. 18), who belongs to the Chāhuyāṇa lineage (l. 17), for the purpose of feeding fifty new Brāhmaṇs in the southern division in (the village of) Khauḍōhaka (l. 18), the above-mentioned village of Ālavīdaṃga, with certain rights and privileges that are specified, but exclusive of the rights of enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇs, is given by this charter to the charitable alms-house (saṭṭrāgāra) at Khauḍōhaka (l. 21).

"[In lines 21 to 31 the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers to continue the grant; and quotes seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And his speech ends with the word iti, in line 31.]

Line 31 contains the date of the year 1231, the month Kārttika, the bright fortnight, the civil day 13, on Wednesday; which must denote the day on which the charter was written or assigned.

And the inscription ends with the record that the Dūtaka is the Pratīkāra Sōbhahnadēva; followed by the words "this is the sign-manual (sa-kaśa) of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the illustrious Vaijalladhēva; and by the mention of an official named Vānadhēva, whose post and connection with the grant are not quite clear.

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SUDI AND VADI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GOTTINGEN.

As regards the true signification of the expressions suḍi and va. di., and their use in ancient records, I, of course, entirely concur in the views expressed by Mr. Fleet, in a note on p. 147 of Vol. XVI of this Journal. But there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that, in more modern times, the Hindus have looked upon sudi or sudi, and vadi or vadi, as words, and have taken the former to be equivalent to suklā-pakṣē ‘in the bright half,’ and the latter to kṛṣṇa-pakṣē ‘in the dark half’ of a month.

In grammar, one would naturally look for these terms, if they should have been regarded as independent words, in the gaṇa svarādī; and it is instructive to note that, while in the Kāśīka-Vṛtti, composed about A.D. 650, there occurs neither sudi nor vadi among the svarādī, the Gaṇaratnamahōdadhī, which we know to have been compiled about A.D. 1140, does contain sudi, explained by suklā-pakṣē, in that gaṇa; and the quite modern Gaṇaratnamāvālī enumerates among the svarādī both sudi and vadi, explained by suklā-pakṣē and kṛṣṇa-pakṣē respectively.

And I am even able to quote several dates in which the terms sudi and vadi have actually been coupled with a tithi or lunar day; a proceeding which may be utterly illogical, but which shows that the writers had altogether forgotten the original meaning of sudi and vadi, and that, to them, these terms were synonymous with suklā-pakṣē and kṛṣṇa-pakṣē, and nothing else.

1.—From a photolithograph in Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. XX. plate xxii., we learn that on the pillar of a temple at 'Dubkund,' about 76 miles south-west of Gwalior, there is a short inscription, dated—

Saṁvat 1152 Vaiśākha(kha)-sudi-pañchamayānī.—

i.e. on the fifth (lunar-day) of sudi (i.e. the bright half) of Vaiśākha, of the year 1152.

2.—In Professor Peterson’s valuable Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 156, the date of the completion of a commentary on the Bhavabhavavādā is given in the following verse,—

Saptatadikā-vaṭhīās varhuvāsāraṃ-Vikramaśatikrāntaśa
nishpanna vṛttir-iyau Śrāvaṇa-vara-pañchaḥ-yānām-śivasit

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28 See note 17 above.

29 The exact force of spūres is not evident. But it seems to indicate fifty fresh Brāhmaṇs, who had not been fed on any previous occasion, and who perhaps had just come to establish themselves in the village, or at the saṭṭrāgāra.
i.e. 'this commentary was completed on the day (on which ended) the fifth (lunar day) of vadi (i.e. the dark half) of Śrāvaṇa, when eleven hundred years increased by seventy had gone by since Vikrama.'

3.—From my own Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, p. 46, it will be seen that a copy of Hāmapāla-Sabānūnāsana-laghuvrītī was completed, at Śataghatiśara,—

Sainīvat 1313 varsiḥ Chaitrā-vadi-chaturthi-dinē Vṛyuṇa-bhū-vāraḥ,

i.e. 'in the year 1315, on the day (on which ended) the fourth (lunar day) of vadi (i.e. the dark half) of Chaitra, on a Wednesday.'

4.—From Silapatikārī's commentary on Mṛukiṇa's Māyākāma, an extract of which is given in Professor Peterson's Report for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 249, we learn (verse 4) that the author completed his work, at Ānugāhapaṭaka,—

Varśaḥ chaṁda-nidhāna-pūrya-1491-kaliti śīr-Vikramārka-kāṭ-tathā Chaitrā-tāntarvadi-pamchami-Buddhamāna śrēśhā-Ānarādhā-yutē ।

i.e. 'in the year (reckoned) from the glorious Vikramārka, (which is) made up of the moon (1), the treasures (9), and the Pāras (14, i.e. in) 1491; in (the month) Chaitra, on a Wednesday, the fifth (lunar day) of vadi (i.e. the dark half), coupled with the excellent (vahāhita) Ānurādhā.'

5.—In Professor Peterson's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1882-83, p. 94, we read—

Sainīvat=grahāśa-munī-bhū-jāthī māṣe Madhau sudiḥ

trayaḍasyaḥ Soma-vāraḥ samāpāṭyaḥ Sukh-ōdahhiḥ

i.e. 'this ocean of pleasure was completed on a Monday, on the thirteenth (lunar day in) suli (i.e. the bright half) in the month Madhu (i.e. Chaitra), in the year known by the planets (9), the horses (7), the sages (7), and the earth (1; i.e. in 1779).'

These dates, the wording of three of which, at any rate, is proved by the metre to be indisputable (and the number of which might easily be increased), will suffice to show that from about A.D. 1100 sudi and vadi were really interchangeable with śukla-pakṣa and krishṇa-pakṣa, and that they were used in these senses both by themselves and also in composition with preceeding or following words. And such being the case, we cannot be surprised to find suli and vadi also coupled with the new-moon and full-moon tithis, and with the tithi called pratipad or pratipada, as, e.g., in the following dates:

6.—A copper-plate grant of Vīrasiṅhā, published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the Jour. Americ. Or. Soc., Vol. VI. p. 542, is dated—

Sainīvat 1177 Kārttikā-vadi aṁvāsyaḥ Ravi-dinē,

i.e. 'on Sunday, on the new-moon (tithi) or lunar day, in vadi (i.e. the dark half) of Kārttika, of the year 1177.'

7.—The 'Raiwān' plate of Gōrindachandraśura, published by Dr. Führer in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. LXI. Part I. p. 109, is dated, in line 18,—

Sainīvat 1187 Mārga-sudi purṇaṇi(re) māśyaḥ tithau Soma-dinē,

i.e. 'on Monday, on the full-moon tithi (or lunar day, in) sudi (i.e. the bright half) of Mārgaśiraḥ, of the year 1187.'

8.—The Alha-Ghai inscription of Narasimhadēva, of which a phololithograph is given in Arch. Coll. Survey of India, Vol. XXI. plate xxviii., and of which I owe a rubbing to Mr. Fleet, is dated—

Sainīvat 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipada Ravau,

i.e. 'the first lunar day of sudi (i.e. the bright half) of Bhāḍrapada of the year 1216, on a Sunday.'

Although dates like these prove that the later grammarians certainly did not invent the meanings which they have assigned to sudi and vadi, in actual usage the connection of these terms with a tithi must nevertheless be regarded as exceptional; for, in the majority of cases sudi and vadi are even in later dates followed by a numeral figure, while the word denoting a...
tithi is as regularly preceded by sukla-paksha, krishna-paksha, sukla, krishna, suta, asita, or some similar expression. And judging from the large number of dates before me, I feel little hesitation in saying that the two terms retained their original signification, and were felt to be what they really are, abbreviations of two separate words, up to about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. At any rate, I may be permitted to point out that, if an expression like suđī-paṅchamyaś, which we have met with in the date No. 1 above, had been habitually employed in earlier times, we might certainly expect to read suđī-paṅchamyaś, instead of sīṭa-paṅchamyaś, in the following verse, which occurs in my Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, p. 9, and in Professor Peterson's Report for 1894-96, Appendix, p. 149:

Sāmaṇḍeśa sīṭa-nakṣate drnvaraḥ sahaśīśa-dīvarīśaḥ ch-āśāh

Jaśṭiṣṭha3 sīṭa-paṅchamyaś Punarvasu Guru-dīna [samāpti-abhūta]
i.e. 'and this (work) was completed when nine hundred and sixty-two years had gone by, in (the month) Jyaistha, on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright (half), on a Thursday, (the moon being) in (the nakṣatra) Punarvasa.'

In conclusion, I may add that some of the dates quoted above are of considerable interest, for various reasons, which I shall have occasion to state fully in a separate paper.

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FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

THE JESSAMINE KING.

In a certain country there lived a petty king called the Jessamine King (Mallikarjuna), because when he laughed the country, for ten kśiras round, became fragrant with the scent of Jessamines; provided his laughter was not forced, but came naturally to him. His fame soon spread throughout the world, and many came to see him, and to wait for a chance of enjoying the scent he gave out. The Emperor, however, to whom the Jessamine King paid his tribute, sent for him in the pride of his superiority, and in obedience to the mandate, the Jessamine King went to his master, who tried in several ways to make him laugh, but in vain. After trying all he could the Emperor grew hopeless of success, and thinking that his vassal was impertinent, sent him to prison. So the poor Jessamine King, for no fault of his own, was imprisoned.

Now just opposite the prison there lived a deformed cripple with whom the Emperor's wife had an unlawful intimacy. She was in the habit of going to him at the tenth ghāṭikā of every night with pudding and sweetmeats, and remaining with him the whole night. Several people knew of this, and the Jessamine King was informed of it by the jailor, but he never seemed to take any notice of it.

One night the emperor's wife came rather later than usual, at which the cripple became highly enraged, and kicked and struck her with his deformed legs and hands. She bore it all patiently and without a murmer, and gave him the sweetmeats and other things as before. After eating his fill, the cripple thought within himself: — "What have I been doing to-day! I have severely punished a woman who is my protectress. Notwithstanding my intimacy with her, she is a woman of high rank. Perhaps she will discontinue her visits to me."

Thinking thus he spoke to her: — "My dear! you must excuse my kicks! Were they very severe?"

"No, my love!" said she. "I am as happy after them, as one who has travelled over the fourteen worlds."

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3 Not Jaśṭiṣṭha-asita-paṅchamyaś, as given in Professor Peterson's Report. The corresponding day, for the bright half of Jyaistha, of the southern Vikrama year 962, expired, in Thursday, 1st May, A.D. 906, when the fifth rāhi of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Punarvasu up to about 8 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.
Now below the verandah in which this conversation was held, there was wandering about a washerman, who had lost an ass some days before. He had searched everywhere, but was not able to find it. After spending the earlier part of the night in looking for it, he rested himself under the verandah for a short time, and there he heard a woman saying that she was as happy as one who had travelled over the fourteen worlds, and he mistook her for a great traveller.

"Surely she must have met my ass somewhere or other," thought he, and getting up as once, he fell at her feet with tears in his eyes, saying "Mother! have you seen my lost ass?"

The Jessamine King had been watching all this, and as soon as the washerman fell at the wicked Empress's feet saying "Mother, have you seen my lost ass?" he could not contain his laughter. He laughed till his sides were like to split, and lo! all around the sweet jessamine scent began to play.

The servants of the emperor, who were ordered by his Majesty to rouse him at the first sign of the jessamine scent at whatever time it might appear, now aroused him from his sleep. The emperor got up and thought to himself, "I tried my best to make my vassal laugh, and used all the means I could, but I failed altogether. What can be the reason for his laughter at this hour of the night? I will send for him."

As soon as the Jessamine King was sent for, he made his appearance in due obedience to the Emperor's mandate, and did his best to conceal the reason of his laughter from him. But finding at last that his life was at stake he told the whole story. So the end of it all was that the Emperor sent his wife and the cripple to the gallows, and the Jessamine King to his own country.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XIV.

Journal-Asiatique for 1887 (Vols. IX. and X).

(1) January 1887.—M. Urbain Bouriant describes an interesting find of three leaves of a Coptic Romance of Alexander. These were discovered amongst a number of Theban MSS. purchased at Akhmim by M. Maspero for the Bibliothèque Nationale. They are three detached fragments, and the rest of the work cannot be found. This is the first work of fiction of Coptic origin which has been discovered. M. Bouriant gives the text and translation of the fragments. The MS. is doubly interesting because the Romance of Alexander appears to have had its origin in Egypt, whence it was at least partly borrowed and translated into Greek by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, from which the various western versions of the legend have sprung. An Oriental version of the story of Alexander had its origin in Persia, and has been recorded by many authors, from Firdawsi downwards. This version is, however, almost certainly, to be referred ultimately to the western version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes for its origin. The present Coptic MS. appears to be probably a modernized edition of the ancient Egyptian original of both these versions.

The next paper consists of translated extracts by M. De Harlez of the Tchou-tze-tsieh-yao-tehuen, or summary of the essential principles of the philosophy of Tchou-tze. It was written in the year 1602 by a disciple of that philosopher, named K'ao-pen-long. The extracts translated are Chapter III., on the perfecting of instruction, and Chapter V., on the obligation to subdue and correct oneself.

The number concludes with an examination of the text of the Moabite Stone, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, with special reference to a recent work on the same subject by MM. Smend and Socin. The paper being one of textual controversy cannot be summarised.

(2) February-March, 1887.—opens with an account of another Coptic MS. by M. E. Amélineau, of the French Archaeological Mission in Egypt. The document is historical, written in the 13th century, and deals with the martyr John of Phanijéit. The author was a priest named Mark, a disciple of Michael, Bishop of Bubastis (or Zagazig) and Belléa. The martyr John was a Christian, who turned Muslim in order to marry a woman of that faith. On her death he returned to Christianity, and, filled with remorse, endeavoured to persuade the king at Cairo to return him the documents relating to his first apostasy. He was at first treated as a

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3 I spell these words as they are transliterated in French. I have not ventured to spell them in the English fashion.—G. A. G.
madman, but finally made himself so obnoxious, that he was put to death. The king referred to is Muhammad Abul-Fath, surnamed Al-Malik al-Kamili. The paper contains notices of contemporary history and geography, together with the text and translation of the whole work.

Next follows a continuation of M. Abel Bergaigne's Researches into the history of the Rig-Veda. These have been already referred to more than once. His main theory may briefly be described as follows:—He takes the well known adhyāya division of the Rig-Veda. There are 64 of these divisions, all of which should be of about equal length. Some adhyāyas, however, exceed the proper length in a degree which cannot be explained in any satisfactory way, and it hence follows that they contain interpolations of later date. By a series of elaborate and ingenious calculations, he is able to point out the passages which he suspects to be interpolated. It would be impossible to give a satisfactory account of his full theory in a summary like the present. I may add here that his conclusions are combated by Dr. H. Oldenberg in the 41st Vol. of the Zeitsch. des Morgenland. Gesell. (p. 508 and ff.); and that on p. 498 of Vol. X. of the Journal Asiatique, M. Bergaigne replies to Dr. Oldenberg, and also denies that he is indebted for any portion of his theory to Mr. Pincott.

(3) Volume X.—commences with an interesting paper by M. J. Darmesteter, on Points of Contact between the Shah Nama and the Mahabharata. He takes for his text the Mahāprāthānaparasa of the later work, and the account of the Renunciation of Kai Khwariz in the former. There is a great resemblance between the final scenes of the life of Yudishthira, and of the Persian hero, and M. Darmesteter, after dealing with them in some detail, comes to the conclusion that the portion of the Mahābhārata in which the episode is described is a later addition, and that the original version is the Persian one contained in the Shah Nāma. The legend probably filtered into India between the 6th or 7th century of our era, but nearer to the earlier than the later epoch. The story of the renunciation and the ascent into heaven of Kai Khwariz has not only travelled eastwards from Persia, but has also been adopted in the East. We find it, in the 12th century, attached to the patriarch Enoch, in a Jewish work, the Book of the Just (Sefer Hayyashar), which collects all the legends formed round the Book of Genesis.

The next article, by M. Victor Lorent, deals with the Sacred Perfume of the ancient Egyptians, called kyphi. The Greek authors Dioscorides, Plutarch, and Galen, have transmitted to us recipes for its composition; and similar formulas have also of late been discovered in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, dating from the reign of Ptolemy VII. The author utilizes these two sets of directions for the identification of a number of Egyptian names of plants and drugs.

A note by M. Clément Huart on the Musalmán religious movement called Bābism, and another by M. de Rochemontex on the identification of some Egyptian place-names, conclude the number.

(4) The second number of Vol. X. commences with a study on the Arabic dialect of Damascus, by Mgr. David, Syrian archbishop of that city. The article is supplementary to one written on the same subject by M. Huart in 1833. It includes notes on pronunciation, orthography, inflexion, and vocabulary.

The next article is a summarizing up by M.H. Sauvage of his series of papers on the numismatics and metrology of the Musalmáns. The article principally consists of valuable lists of prices of necessaries from the 7th to the 17th centuries A.D.

This is followed by the text and translation of the History of King Na'amān of Khurasān, an Arab tale in the vulgar dialect of Syria. It is communicated by M. A. Barthélemy. It is a story worthy of the Arabian Nights.

M. Urbain Bouriant next gives us some further fragments of the Theban Romance of Alexander already mentioned. Three more leaves of the MS. have been discovered at Akhmim, by the author, who gives text, translation, and notes.

Two reviews conclude the number. One refers to Dr. W. Radloff's examples of the popular literature of the North Turkish tribes, and the other deals with two grammars of the dialect of Algeria.

(5) Part III. of Vol. X.—commences with three vocabularies of Dialects of Berber by M. René Basset. They were collected in the course of two missions on which the author was sent by the Governor-General of Algeria. The first dialect is that spoken in Gourara and Touat. The second is the argot of Mazab, and the third the dialect of the Youareg Andemimèch.

This is followed by notes by M. Barthélemy, principally on Grammar, on the Arabic Story of Na'amān deals with by him in the previous number.

In the next paper, as already mentioned, M. Abel Bergaigne, writes a postscript to his paper on the division of the Rig-Veda into adhyāyas.
in which he replies to the criticisms of Prof. Oldenberg, and rejects the claims to the discovery put forward by Mr. Pincott in J. R. A. S., Vols. XVI. and XIX.

M. Clermont-Ganneau gives a fourth instalment of his notes on Arab Epigraphy and History. The present paper contains a critique of Dr. Gildemeister’s article on an Arabic inscription found at Bānūs, the ancient Panas, in Galilee, which appeared in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Vol. X., pp. 183 and ff., and a note on the bridge constructed at Lydda by Sultan Baibars.

A transcription and translation by M. Oppert, of a Babylonian contract concerning a slave, is the most interesting portion of the miscellaneous notes which conclude the volume.

G. A. GHRIESEN.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 24.

In the Bagamrreh copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta Mahāsāmanātādhēpatai Krishnārāja II. of Gujarāt, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff., the date (from the published text and lithograph; Plate ii. b, line 11 f.) is Śaka-nṛjapā-kāl-ātha-savatīchāra (read śaṁvatāra)-satēsāv-ashtāsū dash-ôtarēshū (read daś-ōtārēshū) Chaitrē amāvāsyā (read Chaitrē-āmāvāsā) sūryagrahāśa-parvāni, — “in eight centuries, increased by ten, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon tithi of (the month) Chaitrā.” And the charter records a grant of the village of Kavathasādī, which has been identified1 with the modern Kāsādī in the Opād Tālnāk of the Surat District, — by Krishnārāja II., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadal at the Bhagavat-ṛthra.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year 810 as an expired year.

Thus in Śaka-Saṅvat 810 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, the pārṇimānā Chaitra kṛṣṇa 15 ended on Sunday, 26th February, A.D. 887, at about 40 ghāta, 4 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the amāṅta tithi, on Tuesday, 28th March, at about 22 gh. 30 p. And on neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun.

But, in Śaka-Saṅvat 811 current (810 expired), while the pārṇimānā tithi ended at about 24 gh. 11 p. on Saturday, 16th March, A.D. 888, on which day there was no solar eclipse, the amāṅta Chaitra kṛṣṇa 15 ended on Monday, 15th April, A.D. 888, at about 5 gh.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

This result corroborates that obtained under No. 22 of these Calculations; and shews that by this period the amāṅta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had permanently superseded the pārṇimānā arrangement with the years of the Śaka era in Gujarāt.

No. 25.

In the Haḍḍalā copperplate grant of the Chāpa Mahāsāmanātādhēpati Dharaṇīvarāha, the feudatory of a king named Mahāpālādeva, from the eastern part of Kāthiawād, published by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. XII. page 190 ff., it is recorded that Dharaṇīvarāha, who was residing (Plate ii. line 1 f.) at Varadhamana, which has been identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Waḍhwān in the Jhālāwād Prānt in Kāthiawād, granted the village of Viṅkala to a Brāhmaṇ, — (Plate ii. line 12) udāgāyana-mahāparvāni, — “at the great festival or conjunction of the udāgāyana,” i.e. at the winter solstice, which is to be taken as represented by the Makara-sankṛantryi or entrance of the Sun into Capricornus. And towards the end, we have the full details (Plate ii. line 21) of Śaka-Saṅvat 836 Paṇaḥ sa di 4 uttarāraṇa, — “the Śaka year 836; (the month) Paṇaḥ; the bright fortnight; (the civil) day 4. (and, with it, the fourth tithi); at the uttarāraṇa,” i.e., again, at (the festival of) the winter solstice.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year as an expired year.

Thus, in Śaka-Saṅvat 836 current, Paṇaḥ śukla 4 ended at about 45 ghāta, 45 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 4th December, A.D. 913; eighteen days before the Makara-sankṛantryi, which occurred at about 52 gh. 31 p. on Wednesday, 22nd December.

1 ante, Vol. XVI. p. 100 f. 2 Von Oppolzer’s Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 200, 201, and Plate 100.
But, in Śaka-Saṅvat 837 current (836 expired), Pausha śukla 4 ended on Friday, 23rd December, A.D. 914, at about 36 gh. 58 p.; and the Makara-saṅkṛanti occurred on the same day, at about 8 gh. 4 p.; and any rites and ceremonies connected with it would be performed on that same day.

Dr. Bühler’s published text gives the year 839; which is also quoted in his introductory remarks; though in his translation the year is given as 836. For the year 839, however, whether it is taken as current or as expired, correct results cannot be obtained. Thus, in Śaka-Saṅvat 839 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 34 gh. 22 p. on Saturday, 30th November, A.D. 916; twenty-two days before the Makara-saṅkṛanti, which occurred at about 39 gh. 7 p. on Sunday, 22nd December. And in Śaka-Saṅvat 840 current (838 expired), Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 41 gh. 59 p. on Saturday, 20th December, A.D. 917; two days before the Makara-saṅkṛanti, which occurred at about 54 gh. 39 p. on Monday, 21st December, and the rites and ceremonies of which, moreover, would not be celebrated till the following day, Tuesday. The published text fortunately includes a reproduction of the original figures; of which the last seemed to me, at first sight, clearly to mean 6, and to be a transitional form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure. And the results show that the real reading undoubtedly is the year 836.

No. 26.

In the Surat copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya prince Trilochanapāla of Lātdēsa, published with a Plate, by Mr. H. H. Dhrava in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 196 ff., the date (from the published lithograph; Plate iii. line 3 f.) is — Saṅkē nava-śatāir yuktē dvī-saptaty-adhikē tathā Vikrīta vatsarē Paushē māsē pakaṣē cha tāmasē amāवāya-tithān śrīya-parvarṇy-Aṅgāravārakē, — “in the Śaka (year) that is possessed of (the number of) nine centuries and is increased by seventy-two; in the year Vikrīta; in the month Pausha, and in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon tithi; at the conjunction (of an eclipse) of the sun; on Aṅgāravāraka, or Tuesday.” And the charter records a grant of the village of Erathāna, — identical, as pointed out by Mr. H. H. Dhrava, with the modern Erathān in the Oḷpād Tālukā of the Surat District, — to a Brāhmaṇa, on this occasion, by Trilochanapāla, who was then at the Agastya-tīrtha on the shore of the western ocean.

That the given Śaka year 972 is to be applied as an expired year, is shown by the mention of the Vikrīta saṅvatsara of the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter, which by the mean-sig system of the cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 971 current, but by the southern lunisolar system was coincident with Śaka-Saṅvat 973 current (A.D. 1050-51). In this year, the pūrṇimānta Pausha krishna 15 ended, not on a Tuesday, but on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1050, at about 52 ghāṭas, 49 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. But, in accordance with what we have now found to be the regular arrangement of the lunar fortnights for the years of the Śaka era in Gujarāt, in this period, the amānta Pausha krishna 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 15th January, A.D. 1051, at about 24 gh. 28 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

In publishing this inscription, Mr. H. H. Dhrava translated the words amānta-tithau śrīya-parvarṇi by “on the day of the new-moon, that of the solstitial festival.” But, that this is not correct, and that śrīya-parvarṇi is only used, under metrical necessities, for the more complete and more customary expression śrīya-grahana-parvarṇi, is shown by the fact that in the same year the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-saṅkṛanti or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, occurred at about 19 gh. 31 p. on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1050; which day is not in agreement with the given titi by either the amānta or the pūrṇimānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

J. F. Fleet.


At page 58 above, I have stamped the Antrōli-Chhārōli grant of Śaka-Saṅvat 679 (expired) as giving the earliest reliable instance, that I can...

3 Von Oppolzer’s Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 216, 217 and Plate 108.
find, of the use of the Śaka era in Gujarāt, in a
date that affords details for calculation.

In doing so, I excluded intentionally the
Bagumrā grant of Dadda-Prasāntarāgā, which
purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 415 (ante,
Vol. XVII. p. 183 ff.), and the Ilāo grant of the
same person, which purports to be dated in
Śaka-Saṅvat 417 (ante, Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff.). For,
even after full consideration of the arguments put
forward by Dr. Bühler in his article on the
Bagumrā grant, I cannot see my way clear to
admitting the genuineness of these records; and
of the Umātā grant of the same person (ante,
Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.), which purports to be dated in
Śaka-Saṅvat 400, but with no details that can
be tested.

I have, however, no leisure to consider this matter
from all the points of view that are concerned.
And therefore, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji being now
deceased, I hope that someone else will take up
the general question. Meanwhile, I would draw
attention to the following points:—

1. There was no solar eclipse at all, visible or
invisible, on the date, Jyēshṭha, krishṇa 15, men-
tioned in the Bagumrā grant of Śaka-Saṅvat
416, whether the year is applied as current, or as
expired.

In the year 415 current, the given titki
...
If the year 417 of the Ilâo grant is taken as expired, we have either the eclipse of the 10th May, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the pûrûmânta Jyâshâa krisna 15; or that of the 8th June, A.D. 493, which day corresponds quite regularly to the umânta Jyâshâa krisna 15. But, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumra grant as expired, we have only one eclipse, that of the 29th June, A.D. 493. And if, by the introduction of an erroneous intercalation, the new-moon of Jyâshâa is brought to this date, this can only be effected by using the umânta month.

Again, if the year 417 of the Ilâo grant is taken as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 19th June, A.D. 494. If, by assuming an erroneous intercalation, or by adopting the more ancient rule of the Brahma-Siddhâa for naming the intercalated fortnights, the new-moon of Jyâshâa is brought to this date, this again can only be effected by using the umânta month. And, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumra grant as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 9th July, A.D. 492. And, if the new-moon of Jyâshâa is brought to this date, this can only be effected again by introducing an erroneous intercalation, and again by using the umânta month.

(4) Thus, whether the years are taken as current or as expired, the possibility of obtaining uniform results rests entirely upon the use of the umânta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, for a period in which it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Śaka era, even in Gujârat: supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible.

(5) On the other hand, the umânta arrangement is the one that, irrespective of the scheme of the year for the civil reckoning in any particular part of the country, was habitually used by Hindu astronomers for purposes of calculation. This is the arrangement that would, as a matter of course, be applied by the calculator, employed by the forger of a grant, to reckon back for a real, or possibly real, eclipse. And so, if we only refer the fabrication of these grants to the period when the umânta arrangement had permanently superseded the pûrûmânta arrangement for the Śaka years, everywhere except in Northern India and in those parts of Central India in which the pûrûmânta arrangement is still preserved, —in consequence of which fact, even if he had any means of ascertaining that the arrangement had been different in the period, and in the particular part of the country, for which he was calculating, the calculator might easily forget to substitute the pûrûmânta for the umânta months in his results,—then, admitting, in respect of the Bagumra grant, an erroneous intercalation, or even a mistake of a month, either of which would be quite possible in calculating back for so long a time, we have a very simple explanation of the circumstances under which these grants were fabricated with a plausible approach to accuracy.

J. F. Fleet.

THE YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

Some time ago, I heard from Mr. Vajeshan-kar Gaurishankar, of Bhamnagar, that, in the western part of Kâthiâwâd, there is current a year commencing with the Ashâda sukla 1 that precedes the Kârâika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences; and that this year is called the Hâlâr year, as belonging especially to the Hâlâr Prânt or Sub-Division of Kâthiâwâd.

Since then, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has ascertained from a merchant of the Hâlâr Prânt, now resident at Bârâ, that, in addition to that part of the country, this year is at present in use at Anrâî, Dâmmanagar, and Jâitpur or Jâîptor, in Kâthiâwâd. And he has seen letters from Kâthiâwâd, addressed to the same merchant, in which, before the month of Ashâda of Śaka-Saṅvat 1810 (expired) [A.D. 1888-90], the Vikrama year is quoted as 1944 (expired); and after Ashâda sukla 1, as 1945 (expired). He has also ascertained that the same year is in use at Iâdar in the Mahâ-Kântâh Agâncy, about sixty-four miles north-east of Ahmâdâbâd, and within a radius of about fifty miles round that place; but that there the year commences, according to one informant, with the amânta Ashâda krisna 2, and according to another, with Ashâda sukla 2. And in a Paûchâng for A.D. 1888-89, printed at the Union Press, Ahmâdâbâd, he has found in the saṅvatsara-pha la the passage — saṅvat 1944 Ashâda-Adi-saṅvat 1845 Śaka 1810 asinan vârshi Śârvari-nâma-saṅvatsaraah agrâ . . . . . . Kârâika-sû-12-Guruvâsarârâ Plava-saṅvatsara-prâvâsâh,— "the (southern Vikrama) year 1944 (expired), the (Vikrama) year, beginning with Ashâda, 1945 (expired); Śaka 1810 (expired); in this year (i.e. on Chaitra sukla 1), (there is) the saṅvatsara named Śârvari [by the mean- sign system]; later on . . . . . . . on Thursday, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kârâika, there commences the Plava saṅvatsara."

These notes are now issued in the hope that they may lead to the collection of additional

information regarding the origin and use of this curious year; its initial day in different parts of the country, and the reason for any differences in that respect; and whether the purāṇic arrangement of the lunar fortnights is anywhere used in connection with it.

J. F. Fleet.

THE AMBARNATH INSCRIPTION OF MAMVANI.

In the stone inscription of the Mahāmanḍaṇḍi-Vara Māmavānirājadeva, at the temple of Ambarnath near Kalyāṇ in the Thāna District, the details of the date, according to Dr. Bhau Daji's published text (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, line 1) are—Saka-Samvat 782 (in decimal figures), not specified either as current or as expired; Jyēṣṭha śukla 9; on Sukra, i.e. Sukravara or Friday. And according to his translation, altering only the name of the other Mahāmanḍaṇḍi-Vara mentioned in line 6, which he misread, the inscription records that, on this day, certain officials of Māmavānirājadeva constructed a house of the Mahāmanḍaṇḍi-Vara Chittārājadeva; the concluding words being mahāmanḍaṇḍi-Vara - śrīna [ch] - Chittārājadeva bhavānavat samādītānap.

While, according to Dr. Bhagwanal Indraji's published text (id. Vol. XII. p. 329), the details are—Saka-Samvat 382 (in decimal figures); Śrāvana śukla 9; on Sukra, i.e. Sukravara or Friday. And, according to his translation, with the reading in line 6 which I have given above, on the day in question there was constructed a temple of the god of the Mahāmanḍaṇḍi-Vara Chittārājadeva.

Thus, while agreeing in respect of the lunar fortnight, the tilki, and the weekday, Friday, all of which items were quite certain,—the two versions of this record differ in respect of the month, and, by two centuries, in respect of the year.

By calculation, from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In Saka-Samvat 782 current, the tilki Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 14th May, A.D. 859, at about 35 ghats, and 1 pala, after mean sunrise, for Kalyāṇ; and Śrāvana śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 12th July, at about 25 gh. 12 p.

In Saka-Samvat 782 current (782 expired), Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended, as required, on Fri-

day, 3rd May, A.D. 860, at about 16 gh. 34 p.; with the month Aṣṭāḍha intercalary, as entered in the Tables, Śrāvana śukla 9 ended on Tuesday, 30th July, at about 15 gh. 42 p.; and, with Śrāvana itself intercalary, or any subsequent month, instead of Aṣṭāḍha, Śrāvana śukla 9, of the intercalated or of the ordinary month as the case may be, ended on Sunday, 30th June, at about 52 gh. 8 p.

In Śaka-Samvat 382 current, Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 25th May, A.D. 1058, at about 45 gh. 29 p.; and Śrāvana śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 21st July, at about 52 gh. 43 p.

And in Śaka-Samvat 383 current (382 expired), Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended on Thursday, 11th May, A.D. 1059, at about 45 gh. 27 p.; and Śrāvana śukla 9 ended on Monday, 10th July, at about 3 gh. 33 p.

Now, as regards the merit of the published readings of this date, each of which is accompanied by a lithograph,—Dr. Bhau Daji read the name of the month as Jēṭha, i.e. Jyēṣṭha; and, in reading it as Śrāvana, Dr. Bhagwanal Indraji marked the second and third syllables as doubtful. But both the lithographs shew distinctly that, where the former read tha and the latter Śrāvaṇa, there is only one aksara, and that it is aṣṭha. And it follows that the preceding aksara can only be jyē or jyēi; formed rather carelessly or anomalously in the original, or else not represented properly in the lithographs. As to the given year, the second and third figures are undoubtedly 8 and 2. The first figure is represented in both of the lithographs without any essential difference; except that in Dr. Bhagwanal Indraji's it is rather more square and upright than in Dr. Bhau Daji's. And, in altering the interpretation of it from 7 to 9, Dr. Bhagwanal Indraji, while admitting that it closely resembles the modern Nāgarī 7, relied on the arguments (1) that a similar "figure" occurs in the Valabhi grants and in them represents 9; and (2) that a very similar figure is to be found in the record of the year in an inscription of Bhōjādēva of Gwātlī, dated in the (Vikrama) year 933, in which its value is distinctly given in words as 9. To these he might have added (3) that, in lines 4 and 5 of the same inscription of Bhōjādēva, in the details of the lands that were granted, we have forms of from every point of view, we require a proper mechanical facsimile, and a critical edition, of this inscription.

4 The times here are for Kalyāṇ all through.

5 The whole inscription is in Nāgarī characters, and it is of interest in furnishing one of the earliest instances of the use of those characters in Southern India.

6 The reference is to the Gwātlī inscription, dated (Vikrama)-Sāvat 383, Magha śukla and au di 2; Jour. Reng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 467 f. and Plate ii. No. 4 (see ante, Vol. XV. p. 108, notes 24, 25.)
the figure 7, explained in words, which cannot be
taken as closely resembling the first figure as
given in either lithograph of the date now under
discussion; though they do belong to the general
type of the Nāgari figure 7 of the period, and
resemble pretty closely the figure 7 as it occurs in
the date of the Sāmāṅgad grant of Dayanidraṣa, of
Śaka-Samvat 576 expired, ante, Vol. XI p. 112,
line 30, and Plate. But, omitting this last point,
his conclusion, on the grounds actually put for-
ward by him, was that “the date can be inferred
to be 982,” the only difficulty,—which he sought
to explain away by the supposition that, at this
time, there were two figures in use for the same
number,—being, that a totally different figure, to
which no value but that of 9 can be assigned, is used
in this record to denote the number of the tithi.

In the Valabhi grants, however, we are
concerned with numerical symbols; not with
decimal figures, as in the present record; and
no analogy can be founded on them, beyond
the general fact that the decimal figures were
developed from the numerical symbols. Fur-
ther, in the process of this development, the
decimal figures that were arrived at, were not
absolutely identical in different parts of the
country; and we are dealing with very different
parts, in respect of the Ambarnath and Gwāliār
inscriptions. Also, not one of the lithographs of
the three inscriptions is a reliable mechanical
reproduction; so that we do not know what are
the exact forms, differing perhaps very slightly,
though certainly in some detail of vital impor-
tance, which we have to compare or to contrast.
Again, even if two forms of one and the same
figure were ultimately arrived at, and were used,
in one and the same part of the country, it is still
impossible to believe that the risk of confusion
would be incurred, by employing them in one and
the same record. And finally, whatever may turn
out to be the exact form of the figure now under
discussion in the Ambarnath inscription, both the
lithographs, even as they stand, distinctly shew
that it belongs to the general type of the Nāgari
7, and not to that of the Nāgari 9.

With the calculated results before us, which
show that a Friday cannot be obtained for Śrāvaka
śukla 9 in any of the four years, even if the
tithi were used as a current tithi,—for which
application of it, however, there is in this case no
justification,—on a consideration of all the facts
of the case, it cannot be doubted that Friday, 3rd
May, A.D. 880, is the proper English date; and
that the real reading of the text is Śaka-
śamvata(?) 792 Jyeṣṭha-suḍha 9, Śrī(śu)krē.

With his own reading of the date, Dr. Bhag-
wanda Indraji,—relying also on the fact that
the Ambarnath inscription mentions a certain
Mahāpradāna Nāgārājiya as an officer of Mām-
vāni, while the other record, now to be referred
to, gives the name of a Saradāśīvarī Nāgārājiya
as an officer of Chittarāja,—proceeded to iden-
tify these two officials as one, and to suggest that,
if this reading of the date be correct, the
Mahāpradāna Chittarāja of this inscription
might be identified with the Śilāha Śilakṣa
Mahāpradāna Chittarāja who issued the Bhāndāp
grant, dated in Śaka-Samvat 948; and that
Māmavāni was probably his son or successor.
And, in publishing the Kharṛpatri grant of the
Śilāha Śilakṣeśa Chittarāja Anantadāva, dated
in Śaka-Samvat 1016, Mr. E. T. Telang identified
Māmavāni with the Mummuṭi, who is given in that
record as a younger brother of the Chittarāja
by whom the Bhāndāp charter was issued. The
similarity in the names of Māmavāni and Mum-
muṭi, coupled in each instance with the proximity
of the name of Chittarāja, was sufficiently
tempting to justify this identification; on the
facts of the case, as they were then understood.

But we must now abandon these identifi-
cations; the first two of which plainly were in
reality factors that helped to induce Dr. Bhag-
wanda Indraji’s alteration in the interpretation of
the Ambarnath date, rather than deductions from
that interpretation. And, if Māmavāni belonged
to the Śilāha family at all, he must be placed very
much earlier in the genealogy; and perhaps before
Kapardin I, with whom the list given in the
Bhāndāp grant commences, and who was eight
generations anterior to Śaka-Samvat 948.

J. F. Fleet.

Collection Scientifiques de l’Institut des Langues
Oriantales du Ministère des Affaires Etran-
gères. III. Manuscripts Persans, décrits par le Baron
Svo., pp. IV., and 339, with 3 photolithographs.

References to this work will have been met with
1 Published by Dr. Bühler, ante, Vol. V. p. 295 f.
2 ante, Vol. IX. p. 33.
3 It may be noted that Dr. Bühler (Report on Sanskrit
Collections, 1871, p. 32) preferred to read the name in
more than once in the pages of this Journal in the
notes on the Progress of European Scholarship.
The Catalogue, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is
a work of immense industry and learning, and in
every way worthy of its author. It describes
the Ambarnath inscription as simply Vaiśī; viz., by
taking śrīrūpa-Vaiśī, instead of śrīrūpa-Māmavāni. But I think
that, taking into consideration the construction in the
text, both the lithographs are sufficiently reliable to
show that the real name is undoubtedly Māmavāni.
minutely, with many an interesting occurrence, the contents of 132 MSS., several of which are of great value. Most interesting of all is a copy of the Divna of Jami, believed to be in the poet’s own handwriting, and three illuminated specimens of celebrated works remarkable for their exquisite caligraphy. Of the latter may be mentioned a copy of Nizami’s five poems, which is adorned with several frontispieces, and twenty-four vignettes. Five of the latter have the remarkable peculiarity that the rocks, stones, trees, &c., are designed so as to present at the same time pictures of men and of animals. The effect is said to be most comical. No. 130, a small collection of ghaseals by different authors, is noteworthy as being a perfect specimen of the handwriting of Mir ‘Ali Al-Husaini, one of the most celebrated scribes of the 10th century. The collection of Bijb MSS. is complete, and gives Baron Rosen an excellent opportunity for a full description (with extracts) of their contents.

Geo. A. Grierson.


The second section of the second volume of Prof. A. Weber’s Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the Berlin Library, follows the first after a short interval. It is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The present work deals with Jaina Literature falling under the head of Siddhanta: Full particulars will be found in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of the Indische Studien, and ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 279 and ff. The third section of the volume, which deals with non-Siddhanta Jaina Literature, and which will contain the Indices to the whole catalogue, is in the press, and will be looked forward to with interest as completing this great work. The section now under consideration describes 155 MSS. with all the care and minuteness which distinguishes previous volumes. The twelve angas occupy one-hundred and eighty-one pages, the twelve upasatas seventy-two, the ten painas (prakritas) fifteen, the six chheda Saras forty-nine, the nandri and the avayogaddra-suttan (avayogaddra-suttan) forty-four, the four mularas one hundred, and miscellaneous texts five pages. Notices are also given of texts which form part of the Siddhanta, but which are not in the Berlin Library, and of the Siddhanta of the Digambaras. The greater portion of the work has been read in proof by Prof. Leumann, whom the author thanks not only for the correction of several misprints, but also for many suggestions.

Geo. A. Grierson.


This twenty-third volume of the Reports of the Archeological Survey of India closes the series edited by Sir A. Cunningham. It is altogether the work of Mr. Garrick, and does not contain a line written by his late chief, and it is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that the volume is of very slight value or interest. It is, perhaps, not quite so bad as the notorious Volume XIX. by the same writer. Still, it is so bad that it is almost impossible to pick out from the text any fact or observation deserving of notice.

The following passage, however, if the facts are correctly reported, is of some interest to students of rude stone monuments:

"At Kachh, about two march between Nagraur (in Jodhpur State), I observed some stone circles which measured from 12 to 15 feet in diameter, but the peasants informed me that their occurrence was due to a favourite recreation of the Rajput youth called tihar or enare. This game—"the mention of which quickly divests these circles of a mystical, or indeed any other significance, and which may perhaps account for the origin of such circles in other parts of India—is played in the following manner:—A sufficient number of large stone boulders (some of which would take a strong man to lift) are first arranged in a circle, and this circle is called dhutari, 'a small village.' The young shepherds then heave smaller stones into this mock village, and he whose stone falls nearest the centre of the circle, where, it is said, the fattest cattle of the village are kept, gains a certain advantage over his fellows. I understand that the game is of very early origin, and it is locally said to be one of the itds, or field sports, of the pastoral incarnation, Krishna.'"

This note is curious, but it obviously affords no explanation of megalithic circles, the sepulchral character of which has been abundantly proved.

I can find nothing else in the text which is worth quoting. The Plates are of some value, and include fairly good representations of buildings, both Muhammadan and Hindu, and a few inscriptions. Plate xvi. gives a photographic reproduction of a squeeze of the rock-cut inscription at Tusham in the Hisar District, which is included in Mr. Fleet’s volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta period. An imperfect inscription of late date from Bhat Quartz, badly reproduced in Plate xxvii. is wrongly labelled as a Gupta inscription. The scale of the Chitor inscriptions, given in Plates xi., xii., and xiv., is inconveniently small.

25th August 1888. V. A. Smith.
EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA’S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCHE, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 73.)

No. 2.—Extracts from The First Tamaga; Concluded.

The remainder of the first Tamaga treats of the dynasty of Gōnanda III., and introduces us to what purports to be a much more definite history, inasmuch as from this point there is given the duration of the reign of each king, and we have also the assumed starting-point of the accession of Gōnanda III. in Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 1919 (expired), or B.C. 1182. For the period commencing with this point, Kalhana does not quote any particular previous writers as his authority; and probably we come now to the details which, as he tells us in verse 15, were put together from his examination of the charters (śāstra) of previous kings recording the consecration of temples and grants to them, the laudatory inscriptions (praiṣasti-patra), and manuscripts (śāstra).

I subjoin a list of the twenty-one kings of this dynasty, with the supposed duration of the reign of each of them, and—without at present entering on the question of adjustment,—with the year of the accession of each of them as deduced from the starting-point of the commencement of the reign of Gōnanda III.

CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMĪR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V.</th>
<th>The Dynasty of Gōnanda III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Gōnanda III.; B.C. 1182; verses 185 to 191 ........................................ 35 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vibhishaṇa I., son of the preceding; B.C. 1147; verse 192 ........................................ 53 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Indrajit; B.C. 1094; verse 193 ........................................ 35 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bāvaga, son of the preceding; B.C. 1059; verses 193 to 195 ........................................ 30 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Vibhishaṇa II., son of the preceding; B.C. 1023; verse 196 ........................................ 35 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Nara I., also called Kiśṇara, son of the preceding; B.C. 993; verses 197 to 274 ........................................ 40 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He was a wicked king, and brought much misfortune on the country (198).

In consequence of his mistress being carried away by a Śrāmaṇa, who dwelt at the village of Kiśṇara-grāma (199), he burnt thousands of vihāras, and gave to the Brāhmaṇa the villages that had belonged to them (200). He built a town, which was called after him Narapura (244) or Kiśṇarapura (274), on the bank of the Vītastā (292 and 293). This town was situated near Chakrāhara (261 and 270), a Vaishnava temple, whose name survives in the mound of Châkrdhar near Bībīhāra (K. R. 18). King Nara fell in love with Chandralēkā, the daughter of the Nāga Suśravas, and the wife of a Brāhmaṇa named Viśākha, who dwelt at the town of Narapura (203 to 253). Failing in his attempts to seduce her, he tried to take her by force from her husband (254 to 255). The Brāhmaṇa and his wife escaped and fled for protection to Suśravas, who destroyed the king and his town by thunderbolts (257 to 259). After the destruction of the city, the Khasas became powerful (317).
7. Siddha, son of the preceding; B.C. 952; verses 275 to 285
   Length of reign.  
   y. m. d.  
   60 0 0
8. Utpalaka, son of the preceding; B.C. 892; verse 286 
   30 6 0
9. Hiranyaksha, son of the preceding; B.C. 861; verse 287 
   He built a town named after himself, i.e. Hiranyakshapura (287). 
   37 7 0
10. Hiranyakula, son of the preceding; B.C. 824; verse 288 
    He founded (the town of) Hiranyotasa (288). 
    60 0 0
11. Vasukula, son of the preceding; B.C. 764; verse 288 
    60 0 0
12. Mihirakula, son of the preceding; B.C. 704; verses 289 to 324 
    70 0 0

[He was in reality the son of a king named Tora, belonging to the Huna tribe, and came to Kashmir and finally established himself there, about A.D. 530, after a career in India that was terminated by Balsdtiya of Magadha and by Yaśodharman, see ante, Vol. XV., pp. 245 to 252].

He was a cruel and vindictive king. During his reign, the country was overrun by the Māścchhas (289). He invaded Siāhala, i.e. Ceylon, and overthrew the king of that country (294 to 299). On the way back, he put to flight the Chōla, Kārata, Lāta, and other kings, and ruined their cities (300, 301). He installed the god Mihirēvara at Śrīnagarī; and in (the district of) Hōlāda he built a great city named Mihirapura (306). He gave agraḥāras to outcaste Brahmaṇas from the Gândhāra country (307). He diverted the river Chaurakulyā (318). So hateful was he, that it was only the power of the gods that prevented his subjects from rising and slaying him (324). And yet he was not altogether wicked; for, even when the country was overrun by the Dāradas and Bhauṭas, and the national religion was destroyed, he still insured the maintenance of pious observances (312); and at Vijayēvara he granted a thousand agraḥāras to the Gândhāra Brahmaṇas (314). Finally, in his old age, he became much afflicted with disease (309); and eventually he atoned for all his sins and acts of cruelty, by immolating himself in the flames, on a plank studded with razors, swords, and knives (315).

13. Baka, son of the preceding; B.C. 634; verses 325 to 335 
    He restored justice and security (325). He founded the temple of Bakēśa, 
    diverted the river Bakavati, and built the town of Lavaṇotasa (325), where 
    he reigned (320). His death was caused by the witch Ḫattā, who slew 
    him, with a hundred sons and grandsons, as a human sacrifice to the Divine 
    Mothers at Khāri (331 to 335).

14. Kahtinanda, son of the preceding; B.C. 571; verse 336 
    30 0 0
15. Vasunanda, son of the preceding; B.C. 541; verse 337 
    52 2 0

He was the author of a Kāmākṣṭra or work on the science of love (337).

16. Nara II., son of the preceding; B.C. 489; verse 338 
    60 0 0
17. Akasha, son of the preceding; B.C. 429; verse 338 
    60 0 0

He established the village of Akshavala (338).

18. Gopāditya, son of the preceding; B.C. 369; verses 339 to 345 
    He bestowed Sakhibh, Khagī, Kāhājigrama, Skandapura, Śamāgasa, and 
    other agraḥāras (340). He consecrated the temple of Jyāsthēvarā on the 
    Gopākri hill, and granted the Gopa agraḥāras (341). He banished 
    neglectful Brahmaṇa to Bhukshravāșikā and Kāhastā (342); and induced 
    others, of purer habits, to immigrate, and settled them in Vaschika and 
    other agraḥāras (343).

19. Gokarna, son of the preceding; B.C. 308; verse 346 
    He founded the temple of Gokarnēvara (346). 
    57 11 0
20. Narëndraditya I., also called Khîńkhila, son of the preceding; B.C. 250; verses 347 to 349 ................................................................. 36 3 10

He consecrated the temple of Bhûtêsvâra, and diverted the river Akahayiśi (347). His Gurus Ugra built the temple of Ugrêsa and a circle of the Divine Mothers (348).

21. Yudhishthira I., also called Andha-Yudhishthira, son of the preceding; B.C. 214; verses 350 to 373 ............................................. (Not stated)

He lost the throne and was exiled through a conspiracy of his ministers with some neighbouring kings (360 to 373).

Total...... 968y. 2m. 23d.

Thus, from the beginning of the reign of Gûnanda III, to the end of that of Narëndraditya I., the text purports to account for a period of 968 years, 2 months, 23 days. In the

explanation of Tarama 1. verses 48, 49, I venture to agree with M. Troyer against Dr. Bühler, and to translate:—“Misled by the tradition that the Bhûrata (war) took place at the end of the Dwâpara (yuga), some have considered as wrong the sum of years (contained in the statement that) in the Kaliyuga the kings, beginning with Gûnanda (I.), ruled over the Kâsimur for 2263 years.” Kâlhaça does not really doubt the correctness of this number. What he seeks to do, is, to prove, with its help, that the great war took place in Kaliyuga-Saînvat 653 (expired), or B. C. 2448. Taking this number, and deducting from it the 1266 years during which there reigned the fifty-two kings from Gûnanda I. to Abhimanyu,1 there remain 1002 years as the period of the dynasty of Gûnanda III.; and further deducting the 968 years, 2 months, 23 days, made out above, there remain 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, as the supposed length of the reign of Yudhishthira I. or Andha-Yudhishthira.

These numbers admit of being controlled in the following manner:—According to Kâlhaça’s own statement (i. 53), a rough number of 2330 years had elapsed from the accession of Gûnanda III. up to the time of the author himself. Deducting from these 2330 years the 1002 years from Gûnanda III. to Yudhishthira I., there remain 1328 years to be accounted for. An addition of the figures, which are mentioned in the seven later Taramas, gives a slightly different result:

Total of the reigns of the second Tarama, 192 0 0

third 2

fourth 3 from (i), Durlabhavardhana to

(14). Brîhaspati 4

Add the period from the death of Brîhaspati, Saîtarsa-Saînvat [38]89

(iv. 702), to the date of the Râjatarâga 6. Saîtarsa-Saînvat [42]24

(i. 52) ................................................................. 335 0 0

Total ...... 1329. 3 28

In order to reconcile this total with the result of the first calculation, we have the choice between two ways of procedure. Firstly, the reign of Yudhishthira I., which was made out above as amounting to 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, might be shortened by 1 year, 3 months,

1 See my previous paper.

2 At the end of the third Tarama P has the following verse:—१७०७६ गर्भान्ति चतुर्ग्रहाय त्रिसरस्वक: । दर भिन्न भिन्न अनेका गदी मद्य परम राजस्य।।

In order to obtain this total, read चतुर्ग्रहाय में in verse 379 and चतुर्ग्रहाय in verse 52 of the Paris edition.

3 The length of these 14 reigns is correctly given in M. Troyer’s table, Vol. II. p. 385, besides that of the 9th king, Saînghâmâlida, who ruled only for 7 days (सत सालश्री), and not for 7 years.
28 days, the difference between both totals. This would, however, necessitate an identical deduction from the 2268 years of the first Tārāṅga (verse 48), which seem to have been one of the bases of Kalhaṇa's chronology. Therefore, it will be necessary to assume the second alternative, that Kalhaṇa gained his 'rough' number of 2330 years by disregarding the odd months and days which are found in the totals of the reigns of the third and fourth Tārāṅga. If the extra 10 months and 1 day of the third, and the extra 5 months and 27 days of the fourth Tārāṅga, are left out of consideration, the result of the second series of items will be 1328 years, as it ought to be theoretically according to the first calculation. To sum up, it seems very probable that Kalhaṇa placed the end of the reign of Yudhishthīra I, and the accession of Fratāpāditya I, in Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 2921 (expired), or B. C. 180.

TRANSLATION.

(185) King Gōnanda III., who obtained the kingdom at this juncture, caused the processions, sacrifices, &c., to the Nāgas to take place just as before. — (186) After this king had restored the rites proclaimed by Nīla, the Bhīshmas and the detrimental effects of the snow passed altogether away. — (187) Whenever there is a time of need, the good deeds of subjects produce kings who re-organise the far-decayed country. — (188) Those who strive to oppress the people, perish together with their lineage; but prosperity attends the race of those who will repair the loss. — (189) Having observed this (foreboding) sign at every event (which has happened) in this country, the wise are able to foresee the good or bad luck of future kings. — (190) Pravaraśāna (I.) and other virtuous and immortal descendants of this (king) who renewed the country, enjoyed this earth for a long time. — (191) This prince (Gōnanda III.), who was the first of the race of Gōnanda, just as Raghu was the first of the race of Raghu, ruled over the earth for thirty-five years.

(192) The son of Gōnanda, called Vibhishāna (I.), protected the earth for sixty years, diminished by six years and six months.

(193) There ruled successively Indrajit and Rāvana, father and son, for thirty-five and for thirty and a half years. — (194) The liṅga (called) Vaiśāvarna, which Rāvana (founded) for the purposes of worship, is (still) resplendent; the colour of its line of dots has been observed to foretell coming events. — (195) That prince gave the whole country of Kāsāna to Vaiśāvarna, whom he had placed in a matha with four halls.

(196) The long-armed Vibhishāna II., the son of king Rāvana, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five and a half years.

(197) Then Vibhishāna's son, called Nāra, whose other name was Kīmnaṇa, and whose prowess was praised in song by the Kīmnarāca, became king. — (198) Though (at first) of good conduct, this prince produced a series of great misfortunes, through the bad luck of his subjects, and through the vice of sensuality. — (199) An ascetic (śramaṇa), who dwelt alone in a vihāra, which was situated at Kīmmaraṁga, carried off his (the king's) mistress by the power of magic. — (200) Angry on account of this (act), he (the king) burnt thousands of vihāras, and bestowed their villages on Bṛāhmaṇa, who resided in the mathas (which were situated in their) midst. — (201, 202) On the bank of the Vitāṣṭa, he built, with the riches which he had acquired by conquering the world, a town, which appeared to be a synonym of "Heaven" and surpassed the town of Kuvā. Its market was full of roads; its river resplendent with navigation; and its gardens teeming with flowers and fruits.

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185 Here, and in 191, 192, P reads गोनाद, as opposed to the गोनाद of C and T. This mistake of the Calcutta Paṇḍita was first rectified by Dr. Bühler, K. B. p. 54.
186 हिंदोहस्य P. तीस P.
187 नेत्रे P.
188 विनाशिनि T. Pravaraśāna was the name of two kings of Kāsāna; it is here mentioned as a representative of the restored line of Gōnanda III., viz., of the kings from Mīghavāhana to Ālāditya (see Tārāṅga iii.).
189 साहिन्दन P. 190 कारपाट P. 191 दोषि P. सार्वोपमि P. T. 192 तृते P.
193 द्रेष्ण P; विवास: C T; रेष्त: नायस: Instead of नायस:, which is also the reading of P, read नाया.
(303) In a garden at that (town) there was a lake filled with clear and sweet water, the dwelling-place of a Nāga, Sūravas, by name. — [(204 to 253) The Brāhmaṇa Vīśakaḥ marries Chandralākha, the younger daughter of the Nāga Sūravas, and lives with her at Narapura. King Nara falls in love with Chandralākha.] — (254) Having cast off the fetter of shame, he frightened that woman by trying to seduce her through messengers, who pleaded (his) desire. — (255) When (he found that) she was not to be persuaded by any means, the libidinous (king) asked even her husband, the Brāhmaṇa, for her. Of what are those ashamed, who are blinded by passion? — (256) After the king had been repeatedly rebuked also by that (Brāhmaṇa), he despatched soldiers, to carry her away by force. — (257) Attacked by these from the front of the house, the Brāhmaṇa escaped with his wife by another way, and fled to the palace of the Nāga for protection. — (258) When the two had arrived and reported that event, the lord of snakes, who was blind with rage, rose from the lake. — (259) Having produced dense darkness by roaring and lowering clouds, he burnt the king with his town by a shower of terrible thunder-bolts. — (260) Carrying away the oily fat and blood, which dropped from the burnt human bodies, the Vīstāṭa became, as it were, marked with the eyes of a peacock’s tail. — (261) Thousands of frightened people, who entered for refuge the presence of (the god) Chakradhara (Vīśkaḥ), were burnt in an instant. — (262) Just as formerly the fat of the thighs of (the demon) Madhu and Kaitabha, thus many bodies of burnt people then covered Chakrin (Vīśkaḥ). — (263) At that time the sister of Sūravas, a Nāgi called Ramaṇi, came from a cave in the hills, to help (her brother), carrying heaps of rocks. — (264) When more than a yojana of the way remained, and she perceived from afar that her brother had been successful, she pelted a shower of rocks on the villages. — (265) Then the ground of the villages became stony for five yojanas. This (ground), called “the forest of Ramaṇi,” is even now covered with huge rocks. — (266) Having produced a terrible destruction of people, the snake (Sūravas), filled with remorse and depressed by the censure of the world, left that place next morning and went away. — (267) A lake, white as the milk-ocean, which he created on a distant mountain, is even now seen by the people at the procession to Amaraśvara. — (268) At the same place, another lake, (viz. that) of the Brāhmaṇa, who had become a Nāga by the favour of his father-in-law, is known by the name of “the lake of the son-in-law.” — (269) Fiendish (kings), who fearlessly produce destruction under the pretext of protecting their subjects, suddenly fare thus. — (270) Even now people remember this story, when they behold, near Chakradhara that town which was burnt and that lake which became a (dry) hole. — (271) How great a vice must passion be considered in shortsighted kings! Through it there happened to him that which has never happened to another. — (272) We hear that even the three worlds were lost in every case through the anger of even a single virtuous wife, deity, or Brāhmaṇa. — (273) Having enjoyed the earth for forty-one years less by three months, that king perished through his bad conduct. — (274) That town of Kīṁaṇa, the circle of whose walls and watch-towers had been visible (only) for a very short time, became similar to the town of the Gandharvas (i.e. it faded away like a mirage).

257 सजानी: P.C.  
258 Chakradhara was the name of a temple of Vīśkaḥ near Bijaḷhāra (Vijayēśvara). Its site has been identified with the mound of Chākhdhar by Dr. Bühler, K. K. p. 18. See also Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol. XL. p. 7.  
259 गीर: P.T. Madhu and Kaitabha are the names of two demons, who were killed by Vīśkaḥ.  
260 सा P.T.  
261 चक्रद्धरा P.T. The town referred to is Narapura (243) or Kīṁnarapura (274), which king Nara or Kīṁna had built on the bank of the Vīstāṭa (292) and which was burnt by the Nāga Sūravas (253). The dried-up lake is that, in which the latter was originally living (209). The present verse shows, that Narapura was situated near the temple of Chakradhara (see note on verse 261). It appears to have been destroyed by one of the earthquakes which are frequent in Kaśmīr.  
262 नाप: P. मुनाहर P.T.  
263 मच्छोर: मुना and द्रश्यम P.T.  
264 अनन्य P.T.
(275) Through the wonderful diversity of the course of fate, his only son, who had been brought to Vijayakshatra by his nurse, did not lose his life. — (276) This king, called Siddha, refreshed the exhausted people, just as the cloud a mountain, which is parched by a forest-fire.

— (277) Thus the strange fate of his father became to this magnanimous one a beneficial instruction in the knowledge of the vanity of the world. — (278) Though in the midst of enjoyment, he could not be led into sin by it, just as the spotless image of the moon remains undefiled, though it is reflected in a quagmire. — (279) In the midst of princes, who were hot with the fever of pride, he alone recovered (from it) by meditating incessantly on Siva. — (280) Abandoning gems like trilves, this virtuous one found (the only) perfect ornament in the worship of Siva. — (281) The royal splendour of this king followed him to another world, because he cunningly combined it with unfailling virtue. — (282) Having ruled over the earth for sixty years, he, accompanied by his near attendants, ascended with his body to the worlds of Siva. — (283) Having sought refuge with (the preceding king) Nara, the servants had got into a deplorable state; but, depending on his son (Siddha) as their lord, they became worthy of praise in the world. — (284) A dependant shares the fate of his lord, be it blamed in the world or praised by all men. A rope of straw descends, if it is attached to the bucket of a well; if it is tied to flowers, it ascends on the head of a god. — (285) "Here is Siddha, (who has become) a demigod (Siddha) with his body," this announcement was proclaimed by the gods in heaven, with beating of the drum, for seven days.

(286) His son, who received the name Utpalaksha (i.e. the lotus-eyed) on account of his lovely eyes, ruled over the earth for thirty and a half years.

(287) His son Hiranyaksha, who enjoyed the earth for thirty-seven years and seven months, built a town, which was designated by his name.

(288) His son Hiranyakula, who founded Hiranyotsa, was (king) for sixty, (and) his son Vasukula (likewise) for sixty years.

(289) Then, when the country was (again) overrun by a Milchohcha tribe, his son Mihirkula, who was of cruel deeds and resembled Kala (or Death) (in destructiveness), became king. — (290) In him the northern region possessed another Antaka (or Death), thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is (the god) Antaka. — (291) His approach was always heralded by the flights of vultures, crows, &c., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain among his troops. — (292) He was a very ghoul of a king, surrounded day and night by thousands of slaughtered beings even in his pleasure-houses. — (293) This cruel murderer had no pity or respect for children or women or aged men. — (294 to 299) One day he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who wore a muslin bodice from Sinhala (or Ceylon), were marked with golden foot-prints. Burning with wrath, he questioned the chamberlain, and was told that, in the Sinhala country, it was customary to impress the maestral with the stamp of the king's foot. This explanation failed to appease him; and he set out on a campaign as far as the southern ocean, and ousted the king of Sinhala. Instead of him, he set up another king; and he brought away a woven cloth called yamushadava, stamped with an image of the sun. — (300, 301) On his way back, he put to flight the Chola, Karpata, Lata and other kings, whose ruined cities announced their

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275 श्रीराम 277 प्रथम T. "ताहाने P.
276 श्रीराम 278 बूका P. 281 श्रीराम 285 श्रीरामस्तारकण् P.
280 श्रीराम P. 285 श्रीरामस्तारकण् P. औऽ श्रीराम P.
300 श्रीराम P. गंगाेम P. श्रीराम P.
capture to their rulers when these returned into them on his departure. — (302, 303) As he came to the "Gate" of Kaśmira (Kaśmira-Dvāra), he heard the terrified cries of an elephant that had fallen into a chasm; and the sounds gave him such exquisite pleasure, that he caused a hundred other elephants to be wantonly destroyed in the same way. — (304) As the touch of the sinful defiles the body, so does a description of them defile the speech; accordingly, all his other cruel deeds are not detailed, lest they should pollute the narrator. — (305) But who can fully comprehend the behaviour of men whose minds are uncultivated, and who do evil deeds? for even he made an assumption of religion, for the sake of acquiring merit. — (306) Thus, evil-minded as he was, he installed (the god) Mihirēśvara at Srīnagarī, and in Hōlādhā he built a great city named Mihirapura. — (307) And he gave agrahāras to Brāhmans of the Gāndhāra country, the lowest of the twice-born, resembling himself in character. — (309, 310) At length when he, a very Bhairava incarnate, had reigned for seventy years, he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the flames; and a voice from the sky was heard to proclaim that, though he had slain three crores of people, yet he had attained final emancipation, in consequence of the disregard that he had shewn for his own sufferings also. — (311) Those, who report this, consider that he made amends for his cruelty, by his gifts of agrahāras, and similar deeds. — (312 to 316) For, even when the country was overrun by the Dāradās (and) Bhaunītas, (who were) Miśchchhas of impure rites, and all (the national) religion was destroyed, yet he insured the maintenance of pious observances. And he firmly established the countries of the Āryas, and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as expiation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand agrahāras at Viṣṇeśvara on Brāhmans born in the Gāndhāra country, and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and knives, and thus atoned for all his cruelty. — (317) Others excuse all his cruel acts by asserting that he performed them only in order to destroy the Khaśas, who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Nāga. — (318 to 324) As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was diverting the river Chandrakulya, the work was hindered by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed austerities, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yāksha dwelt in the rock, observing the vow of chastity, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he had his dream put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravati, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of virtuous women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons. It was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do this act, that prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him.

(325) When at length he (Mihirakula) had perished through the good luck of his subjects, the citizens anointed his virtuous son Baka. — (326) Through the influence of (their) previous (experiences), which (I) have told, the people were afraid even of his rule, as of a pleasure-house built on a cemetery. — (327) Begotten by one who had caused excessive pain, he became a bestower of delight on men, just like a downpour of water, which follows on a cloudy day of the rainy season. — (328) Then people fancied that justice had arrived from another world, and that safety had returned from an inaccessible exile. — (329) Having founded (the temple of) Bakōsa and (having conducted) the river Bakavati to a (dry) valley, the illustrious Baka built a town called Lavānōṭsa. — (330) There the prince passed sixty-three years and

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302 की कृष्णचचिदानां कुर्यां प्र. 306 श्रीमानां प्र.
307 ग्नानां प्र. After this verse, C and T insert two spurious verses which are omitted in P.
312 महारीकां प्र. The Dāradās are the inhabitants of Dārāstān, and the Bhaunītas are the Tibetans.
313 सुरचन्दनादेवोऽपि प्र. The reference is to the story of Nasa L and the Nāga Suvarnas, verses 203 to 274 above.
319 प्रक. P.T. 329 न. P. 325 वक्रस्त्रोऽपि प्र. 326 श्रधुकशारिण्यां वै वन. प्र. 330 बासरा
thirteen days, ruling the earth. — (331) Then, having assumed the appearance of a beautiful woman, a witch, called Bhāṣṭā, approached the king at nightfall. — (332) Having weakened his memory by various pleasing words, she invited him, who was delighted, to witness the greatness of the festival of sacrifice. — (333) When the emperor, accompanied by his hundred sons and grandsons, went there next morning, she made him an offering to the circle of the goddesses. — (334) Even now there are visible on a rock the impressions of two knees, which mark the ascension to heaven of her, who became a demi-goddess in consequence of that action. — (335) Even now the god Satakapālāsa, the circle of the (divine) Mothers, that rock, and that story, are remembered in the mahās of Kharī.

(336) Then his son Khaṭṭitīrī, who, (like) a bulb of the family-tree, had been spared by the goddess, ruled over the earth for thirty years.

(337) His son, called Vasunanda, the author of a celebrated Kāmaṭāstra, ruled over the earth for fifty-two years and two months.

(338) His son Nara (II.) was king for sixty (years); and his son Akṣha, who caused the village of Akshavāla to be built, for the same number of years.

(339) Thereon his son Gopaḍītīya, who exhibited the return of the primitive age by his care for the castes and orders, ruled over the earth together with the islands. — (340) He gave away Sakhōla, Khaī, Kāhāḍigrāma, Skandapura, Samāṅgasa, and other agrahātras. — (341) Having consecrated (the temple of) Jyeṣṭhāvara on (the hill called) Gopaḍī, this virtuous (king) granted the Gopa agrahātras to Brāhmaṇas born in the countries of the Aryan. — (342, 343) Having banished to Bhattakṣaraṇīya those who ate garlic, he placed at Khaśṭā those Brāhmaṇas who neglected their rules of conduct; and, having imported other holy Brāhmaṇas from pure countries, he caused them to settle in Vāchikas and other agrahātras. — (344) He, who obtained the title of "the uppermost guardian of the world" in panegyrical poems, did not permit the slaughter of animals except at a sacrifice. — (345) Having ruled over the earth for sixty years and six months, he went to the worlds of the virtuous, in order to enjoy the results of his good deeds.

(346) His son Gokarna, who founded (the temple of) Gokarnāvara, held the earth for fifty-eight years diminished by thirty days.

(347) His son was Narendrāditya (I.), whose other name was Khiṅkha, and who caused the consecration of (the temple of) Bhattāvara and (the conducting of) the Akṣhayī. — (348) His Guru, Ugra, by name, who possessed the divine favour, and whose appearance was full of splendour, built (the temple of) Ugraśa and a circle of the (divine) Mothers. — (349) Having been the lord of the earth for thirty-six years and a hundred virtuous (king) obtained the sinless worlds in consequence of his prolonged good conduct.

(350) Then his son, Yudhisthirā (I.), whom people called "the blind (Andha)-Yudhisthirā" on account of his small eyes, became king. — [(351-372) He loses the throne

332 "माण्डितयिन्द्र" P.
333 On dēśāchāra and mātrāchāra (verse 335) see note on verse 122.
334 Tūṣṭayāvī T.
335 "कहरी" P. It appears from this verse that the Śalva temple at Khāṭ of Satakapālāsa, "the lord of a hundred skulls," and that tradition explained that name by the sacrifice of king Baka and of his hundred sons and grandsons (verse 336).
336 "मुक्तर" P.T.
340 "काहाणाय" P.T. "साधक्रन" P; "साधक्रन" C T; read "साधक्रन". On Khaī (the modern Kākapur) and Samāṅgasa, see K. E. verses 90 and 100.
341 On Jyeṣṭhāvara see note on verse 134; on Gopaḍī, K. E. p. 17.
342 "प्राणाय" P; "प्राणाय" C T; read "प्राणाय".
343 On the meaning of "the Conduct of the" in the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. II. p. 86.
344 "प्राणाय" P. "प्राणाय" P.C.
345 "कहरी" P. "कहरी" P.T. "कहरी" P.
346 "पतितायाव" P; "पतितायाव" C T; read "पतितायाव". A temple of Bhattāvara or Bhattā was already existing at the times of Adēkha and Jalanaka I.; see i. 167, 168. In ii. 123 and v. 46, it is mentioned along with Viṣayāka. Akṣhayī must have been the name of a river; compare note on verse 159, and Bakaravā in verse 329.
through a conspiracy of his ministers with neighbouring kings and has to leave the country with his wives.] — (373) Some benevolent kings, whose country the king visited, kindly alleviated his grief for the loss of his kingdom by various acts of courtesy, which appeared important (as they were accompanied by) strict obedience to his orders, and by hinting the cessation of his sorrow in words, which were pleasing through friendliness and earnestness.

Thus ends the first Tarāṅga of the Bājatarāṅgaṇi, the work of Kalhana, the son of the lord Champa, who was the great minister of Kāśmīra.

REMARK.

In the Calcutta and Paris editions, the first Tarāṅga contains 375 verses. Deducting the two spurious verses 308 and 309, which are omitted by P, there remain 373 verses. This actual number differs only by one from the colophon of P, according to which the first Tarāṅga consists of 372 verses.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 86.)

SIXTH EDICT.


TEXT.

1 Devanāmpiyā piyadasi lája hēvakā ahā [ . ] dvācasa
2 vasa-abhisitēna mē vāhālmalipī lōkāsā
3 hitasukhāyē [ . ] sē taṁ2 apahātā taṁtān dhañmavadvādi pāpāvā
4 hēvakā lōkāsā hitasukhēti paṭivēkhamī aṭha iyaṁ
5 nātisū hēvakā paṭiyāsāmēsū āvyāh apakaṭāsū
6 kīmaṁ kāntaṁ sukuṁ avahāmītī tatha cha vidahāmī [ . . ] hēmēvā
7 savanikāyē4 paṭivēkhamī [ . . ] savapāsāṇaṁ pi mē pūjīta
8 vividhāya pūjāyā [ . . ] ē chu iyaṁ atanā pachāpagamanē2
9 sē mē mokhyamatē [ . . ] sadhivātūsām abhisitēna mē
10 iyam vāhālmalipī likhāpīta [ . . ]

NOTES.

1. Misled by the following sentence, the meaning of which he completely failed to grasp, Prinsep interpreted the absence of the pronoun iyam from beside vāhālmalipī, as indicating that the edict of the thirteenth year must have been conceived in terms opposed to those of the present one, and inspired by doctrines which the king now repudiates. Lassen (II276 n. 2) adopts this strange idea with some reserve. The text in no way authorises such an explanation. Translated literally, the sentence gives this meaning and no other:—'It was in the thirteenth year after my coronation that I had an edict engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people; that is to say, plainly, 'I had engraved for the first time.' Such an idea being aimed at, can alone explain the introduction of the sentence here. We shall see that this very simple observation has a conclusion at once extremely unexpected, and very important.

227 "स्वेतदत्त" P. "श्लान्न P.T. होते काशीलिङ्गमानान्तहेष्टकप्रमुखोऽऽ: कल्पितः कृत्ति राजसाधिनयोऽऽ: परमसात्तः:
P. The form Kāśmiraka occurs in all the colophons, while Kāśmiraka is used throughout the text. Kalhana's father, Champa, is erroneously called Champaka in the Calcutta and Paris editions. It is a curious coincidence that, in Tamil, the two forms āppog and āppug are used besides āppakē, the equivalent of the Sanskrit champaka (Michella Champaco, L.).
It will be remembered that the concluding words of the 12th (Rock) edict are immediately followed at Khālai by characters which I have been able to correct with certainty into athasmabhūtisasa, the certain equivalent of which, though greatly altered, reappears at Kapur-di-Giri (L. 253). Deceived by the divisions introduced into the reproductions of the Corpus, which I supposed to depend on positive traces preserved by the rock itself, I connected these words with the 12th edict; but a kind communication from Dr. Kern allows me to rectify this passage so as to leave no further doubt. We must, according to his ingenious conjecture, separate the words in question from the 12th edict and transfer them to the commencement of the 13th, the genitive -abhūtisasa, being in agreement with Piyādasi. The words in brackets should therefore be struck out from the end of my translation of the 12th (Rock) edict, and the commencement of the 13th should be modified in the following manner:—‘In the ninth year of his coronation, the king Piyādasi, dear unto the Dēvas, conquered the immense territory of Kaliṅga.’ Now, it will have been seen from my translation, that it was to this conquest, and to the horrors of which it had been the occasion, that the king attributes his religious conversion. We have, therefore, two facts:—(1) that the conversion of the king dated from the ninth year of his coronation, and (2) that he only commenced to have the edicts which were inspired by his new opinions engraved in the thirteenth. This, I may add, very well agrees with the statement in the 5th edict of Girnār, according to which the creation of Dharmamahānā́ṭras dates from his fourteenth year. Now let us compare the commencement of the edicts of Sahasarām and of Rūpaṇāth with these two facts. According to the version of this passage, as corrected by Dr. Oldenberg (Mahāvagga, I. p. xxxviii, note, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges., xxxv., 473) the king, who speaks, declares that he had passed ‘more than two years and a half after his conversion without showing his zeal actively, but that, at the moment when he was speaking, he had manifested such zeal a year ago.’ If we add these figures together, we find, on the one hand, that Piyādasi passed eight years and a fraction, say eight years and a half, after his coronation, before he was converted; and that he was then more than two years and a half, say two years and three-quarters, before giving effective proofs of his religious zeal. This makes an approximate total of eleven years, plus a fraction, of religious coldness: and it was accordingly only in the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign that his zeal became outwardly manifest. It is exactly at this period that his evidence in the present passage fixes his first religious edicts. This is a coincidence which no one could consider to be accidental, and there follows this important conclusion that, contrary to the doubts expressed in various quarters and to the theory so ably upheld by Dr. Oldenberg (Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges., loc. cit.) the author of the inscriptions of Sahasarām and of Rūpaṇāth was indisputably the same Piyādasi as he who published the rock tables of Girnār, and the Columnar edicts, and that, in dealing with these inscriptions, we are certainly on Buddhist ground. It follows, moreover, that the edicts of Sahasarām and of Rūpaṇāth, belonging, as they do, to the thirteenth year after his coronation, are certainly amongst the first which he had engraved, and probably the very same as those to which he makes allusion in the passage before us.

2. This phrase contains two difficult words. One is pāpāvā, which has been definitely explained by Dr. Kern as equivalent to prājñayā. With regard to the first, apahārā, I think that the learned Leyden professor has been less happy in his suggestions. He takes it as equivalent to a-prahārā, from the verbal noun prahārā, with task for its direct object. But, besides such a construction, awkward enough under any circumstances, being repugnant to the style of our monuments, it does not give a very satisfactory sense. Not mutilating these edicts is too small a thing to cause one to acquire, as the sequel shows, various virtues. In the first place, I think that the phrase runs down to sukkhāti. The cha, which in line 6 follows tatha, proves that the entire sentence is to be divided into two parallel halves, the former part of each forming the thoughts of the king, marked and completed by an iti, the latter being the two verbs pāsitēkhāmi, and tatha vidākhaṇi. This construction makes the explanation of the initial s more simple. It refers necessarily to loka understood from the preceding lokaṇa. This being settled, the general sense to be expected from the entire proposition is something to the
effect that, by instructing themselves by these edicts, men will practise certain virtues, and will be happier and better. It appears to me that we shall easily arrive at this translation by taking apahāṭi as the participle absolute, for apakrtiṣṭa or even apakrtita (we might venture to correct the reading to apahāṭi, cf. above I. 53, or even to apahāti). The meaning 'to carry off for one's own appropriation,' which apā-hā exactly expresses, could, it appears to me, be applied without too great boldness in the king's ideas to the fact that passers-by might carry away in their memories some scraps of his exhortations, and would improve in such and such a way. (The distributive idiom tan-tan will be noticed.) In this manner the meaning appears to me to be much more natural.

3. To atha iyam corresponds exactly the Pāli idiom yathayidham, which is also known in Buddhist Sanskrit. For the characters kimahkānī, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the really desperate correction kāmakādā. The conjunction kānī is now familiar to us, and the next edict (I. 18) affords another instance of its association with an interrogative pronoun; kimah may remain. As observed on a former occasion (I. 18-19) we are authorised to understand it as kim u, a common strongly interrogative formula. If we reject this reading, the only other alternative which I see, is to admit that kim, degraded to the rôle of a simple particle, has in some way doubled its final letter by the addition of a neuter adverbial termination, so that we obtain kimān, very much as the Pāli has sudān for siddhā, i.e. siddh. I must avow my preference for the former solution.

4. A comparison with the 12th (Rock) edict appears to me to fix the meaning of nīkāma for the present passage, where it is, as in the other, closely connected with pādavatā. Nīkāmas form the body of functionaries or royal-officers over whom Piyadasi exercises a supervision, the personal character of which we have just seen the 4th (Columar) edict emphasizing.

5. The 12th (Rock) edict again helps us to arrive at the exact meaning of this last phrase. The obscurity consists in the words atand pachupagamanā, although the substantive pachupagamanā does not lend itself to much uncertainty. It can hardly mean anything except the action of approaching with respect, and while we admit that proti adds a distributive or individual shade of meaning, it can easily be translated as 'personal adherence to.' But what is the relation between the two words? Dr. Kern transcribes the first word as atana and sees in it a genitive. In that case we should except atane, but if we pass over this difficulty, the translation which he proposes, 'my own belief' (mijne eigene belijdenis) supposes a very peculiar meaning for pachupagamanā, which is a bold deviation from the etymological sense in a word for which we have no proof of any technical use. In the 12th (Rock) edict, we have a thought altogether analogous to the passage under review:—'Piyadasi . . . honours all sects . . . by honours of different kinds.' Then follows a sentence which the particle tu at first sight places in a certain antithesis to what precedes:—'But less importance is attached to that than to the desire of seeing their essence (the virtues which constitute their essentials) reign.' Now, here also, the particle chu gives a shade of antithesis to the second member of the sentence. If we take the form atand as correct, and translate literally, we get, 'but it is the personal adherence (to the sects) which I consider as the essential requisite.' The deliberate personal adherence to the doctrines of the various religions is evidently the necessary condition of their sārasaḥ, as the 12th edict expresses it. This explanation, therefore, without touching the text as handed down to us, leads us directly and without violence to a thought which makes a fitting supplement to the idea of the 12th edict. This consideration appears to me to be of such a nature as strongly to recommend it, above all in a text which, like ours, is far from avoiding repetitions, as we shall be better able to judge in dealing with the 8th edict.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas:—In the thirteenth year after my coronation did I [for the first time] have edicts engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people. I trust that they will carry away something from them, and thus, in such and such
respects, will make progress in the religion, so that this will be for the welfare and happiness of the people. I also make such arrangements as I believe suited to provide for happiness, whether amongst my distant subjects or amongst those who are near to me and amongst my relations. Hence it is I who watch over the whole body of my officers. All sects receive from me honours of different kinds, but it is the personal adherence [to their doctrines which] I consider to be the essential requisite. In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation had I this edict engraved.

Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions.

By J. F. Fleet, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 175.—Bombay Asiatic Society’s Copper-Plate Grant of Bhimadeva II. Simha-Sanvat 93.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1878, from the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in Indian Inscriptions, No. 17.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number; each measuring about 9½ by 6½. The edges of them were slightly raised into rims, to protect the writing; and though the surfaces of the plates are a good deal corroded by rust, the inscription is legible, without any points of doubt, throughout. — In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings to connect them. The rings are plain copper rings, each about ½ thick and 2½ in diameter. They had both been cut, when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a seal having been attached to either of them, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming. — The characters are Nāgari, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 1, the decimal figures 1, 3, and 9. The average size of the letters is about 5½. The engraving is bold and good. — The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictory and imprecatory verse quoted in line 13-14. In line 6 we have the Prakrit word tachchha, for the Sanskrit vataa. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the anusvara instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in mandāl-anunāsadīti, line 3; (2) the use of v for b throughout, in vrāhmaṇa, lines 4 and 8, and in vṛddhavya, line 4; and (3) the use of s for s, in eva, line 3; and svasā, line 4; and sahasrāvas evasā, line 13.

The inscription is one of the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II. of Aghilwad. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of some land to a Brāhma.

The places mentioned in the inscription are, the city of Anahilapataka, where Bhimadeva II. was, when he notified this grant; Sahasachana, the village in which the land granted was situated; Vēkariya, a village mentioned in defining the boundaries of the land; and Prasannapur, the town from which the family of the grantee came. And, as we learn from the preamble, Sahasachana and Vēkariya are to be looked for in the Kaçchha mandala or province of Kaçchha; which must have been more or less identical with the modern 'Cutch' State; and which the record describes as being enjoyed by Bhimadeva II. himself, as if the province were private property of his, assigned to him apart from the general revenues of the kingdom.

As regards the date of this record, in line 1 we have the details of the year 93; in decimal figures, of an unspecified era; the month Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the civil day 11 (and with it the eleventh titih); and Ravi, i.e. Rāvivara or Sunday. And from line 5 we learn that the grant was made on that day, at the festival of a samkranti, which can only be the Meṣa-Samkranti or entrance of the Sun into Aries. The era that is quoted, is the Simha era; which is mentioned under that name in the Veravāl inscription of Arjunadeva of Aghilwad.1

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1 See ante, Vol. XI. p. 242, Text, line 3; and Vol. XVI. p. 147.
dated in Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, and again in No. 176 below. The exact epoch of this era, and the scheme of its years, as also its historical starting-point, have not yet been properly considered. To these points I will revert on another occasion. And meanwhile it is sufficient to state that the month of Chaitra in Śiṁha-Saṁvat 93 should be coupled with Vikrama-Saṁvat 1262 or 1263; and that the English equivalent of the given date is to be found in A.D. 1204, 1205, 1206, or 1207, according as the Vikrama year is treated as a northern or as a southern year, and is applied as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, I find that—

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Saturday, 13th March, A.D. 1204, at about 44 ghāτs, 45 palas, after mean sunrise, for Aṅgulīwād; 2 eleven days before the Mēśa-Saṁkrānti, which occurred on Wednesday, 24th March, at about 31 gh. 37 p.

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1263 current (1262 expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Friday, 1st April, A.D. 1205, at about 47 gh. 58 p.; seven days after the Mēśa-Saṁkrānti, which occurred on Thursday, 24th March, at about 47 gh. 8 p.

In northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1264 current (1263 expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1263 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Wednesday, 22nd March, A.D. 1206, at about 29 gh. 52 p.; three days before the Mēśa-Saṁkrānti, which occurred on Saturday, 25th March, at about 2 gh. 40 p., and would be celebrated on the same day.

And finally, in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1264 current (1263 expired), Chaitra śukla 11 ended, as required, on Sunday, 11th March, A.D. 1207, at about 59 gh. 5 p. But this was fourteen days before the Mēśa-Saṁkrānti, which occurred on Sunday, 25th March, at about 18 gh. 11 p., and would be celebrated on that day. This calculation, of course, is for the nirayana or non precessional saṁkrānti. And the discrepancy cannot be adjusted by assuming that this record intends to quote the sāyana or precessional saṁkrānti; for, the sāyana Mēśa-Saṁkrānti occurred, roughly, either very late on Tuesday, 13th March, or very early on Wednesday, 14th March. There seems, therefore, no room for doubting that this day, Sunday, 25th March, A.D. 1207, is the one that is intended. But the tīthi which ended on this day, at about 55 gh. 58 p., was the eleventh tīthi of the dark fortnight of Chaitra, by the amāṃsta arrangement, which is the proper one for this locality and period. And, to reconcile the results, we must assume a genuine mistake in the preparation of the record; and, though so, ‘the bright fortnight,’ is distinctly the reading in the text, we must alter it into ba, ‘the dark fortnight.’

TEXT. 3

First Plate.

1 ॐ Rājāvallī mūrtva-vat Šaṁvat 93 Chaitra 111 di 11 Ravau aδy-δha śr̥im-ad-A.

2 2 nāhilapāṭaka samasta - rājāvallī - virājita - mahārājādhirāja - śrī-

3 Bhimadēvāḥ śva(sva)-bhujyamāna-Kačchhāh-maḥād-aṁtāpatī-samasta-

4 n vṛā(brā)haṁap-ōttarān tān(n)-nīvāṣi(si)-janapadā[m*]je=cha vō(bō)dhayayat-

5 yathā 11 Adya saṁkrānti-parvaṇṛ char-achara-guruṁ bhagavāntaṁ

6 rchya saṁśārasya-āśrātaṁ viṣhiṃtya Prasāṁnna-pura-sthāna-vinirgatāyaṁ

Vachchhā(ṭa)-sa-

2 The times here are for Aṅgulīwād, all through.
3 From the original plates.
4 Represented by a symbol.
5 Read prasāṁnna.
6 Read vinirgatāya.
After the words "the line of kings (is) as on previous occasions," which refer to the full genealogy as given in, for instance, No. 176 below, the inscription proceeds to record that:—

In the year 98 (line 1), in the month Chaitra, in the bright fortnight, on the civil day 11, and on Sunday, to-day, and here at the famous (city of) Anahilapata, the glorious Bhimadeva (II.) (l. 3), informs all the king's servants, and the people, headed by the Brahmans, in the Kachchha mandala, which is being enjoyed by himself:—

"Be it known to you (l. 4) that to-day, at the festival of a sanakriti (l. 5), having done worship to (Siva) the divine lord of Bhavani, the father of all things animate and inanimate, one plough (halaḍḍhá) of land, in the hollow ground below an irrigation-well (vápyáuta), at the village of Sahaschāna (l. 7), is given by this charter, to Góvinda, the son of Dámódana, or the Vatsa gótra, who came from the locality of Prasannapura.

"The boundaries of this land (l. 8) are:—On the east, an irrigation-well in the holding (vatka) of the Brahman Dámódana; on the south, the fields of the (the village of) Vēkariya; on the west, an irrigation-tank in the holding of the Mahattara; on the north, a road.

"[In lines 11 to 14, the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers, to continue this grant; and quotes one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which is allotted to the venerable Vyása. And his speech apparently ends with the word váset, in line 14.]"

Lines 14 to 16 record that the charter was written by the Káyastha Vajēsvara, the son of Kańchana; and that the Dútaka was the Mahásándhivigraha Chañḍasarmā.

And the inscription ends with the words "of the glorious Bhimadeva;" referring to his sign-manual, which is supposed to be attached here.

No. 176.—Royal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of the Time of Bhimadeva II. Vikrama-Samvat 1266, and Simha-Samvat 96.

This inscription again, which has not previously been published, I edit from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1879, from the Library of the Royal Asiatic...
Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in Indian Inscriptions, No. 11.

The plates, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; each measuring about 11½" by 7½". They are quite smooth; the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. But they are in an excellent state of preservation; and the inscription is perfectly legible throughout. The plates are numbered, in the margin after the end of the writing on the first and third plates, and on the second side of the second plate.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the other two, there are holes for a ring to connect them. The ring is a plain copper ring, about 3½" thick and 2½" in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a seal having been attached to it, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming.—The characters are Nāgari, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include in lines 2 and 29, and in the numbering of the plates, the decimal figures 1 to 9, and 9. The average size of the letters is about ½"; but it is not preserved very uniformly. The engraving is good and clear. — The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 47-48. There are a good many mistakes; but, curiously enough, in mentioning Nāgārjuna, the king of Kā vi, in line 17, this inscription supplies a satisfactory reading, which has not been found in the previously published grants of this dynasty. The text contains, in lines 2, 3, 23 ff., many abbreviated words, not all of which are recognisable; and in some instances, as in sita, pāññātā, and śrīśaśī, in lines 52-54, the mark of abbreviation seems to be used unnecessarily. It also contains some words that require explanation; pāḷiṇḍikā, in line 43; kasthaka, in line 55, which probably stands for kachchhaka, since in line 43 we have kachchhaka or more properly kachoṣhaka; and vahāṇi, in lines 35, 38, 41, 42, which, from the mention in line 41 of “the vahāṇi of the village (of Bhūharadā)” and in line 41-42 of “the vahāṇi of (the village of) Śivallā,” seems to be not a village-name, as otherwise it might have been understood.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the anusvāra instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in chāmuṣāda, line 6; dhanusī, line 10; and rāṇaṇgha, line 12; (2) the omission, throughout, to double consonants after r, except in karṣaṇa, line 9; dharmamāṇa, line 44; and dharman-ārthaka, line 48; and (3) the use of v for b throughout, in pratīvadāna, line 23; vrahmajā, line 50; and vrāhanpurīya and vrāhmaya, line 52.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II. of Anhilvāḍ. But the charter contained in it refers only to certain arrangements made by some subordinate persons. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record some grants of land for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough attached to it. The places mentioned in this inscription, in addition to Anhilapāṭaka, or, as the name is written here and in some other records, Anhilapāṭaka, at which city the record was drawn up in writing, are, Ghanṭelāṇa, the village in which were situated the irrigation-well and the watering-trough; the villages of Ákavallā, Bhūharadā, Sākali, Samaṇḍiya, Śivallā, and Varaṇ, and the river Sōṣaṇḍi, mentioned in connection with the details of the grants; the village or hamlet of Brahmapuri, mentioned in the list of witnesses; and Dharmanvarhiṇa, apparently a town or village, at which place the written charter was delivered by the Dūkaka, and was engrossed on copper-plates. And the neighbourhood in which they are to be found, is indicated by the mention, in the preambles, of the Surāṣṭrā manḍala, which is the modern province of Kāṭhāwāḍ, and of the city of Vamanasthali, which is the modern

1 chchhā is frequently represented by σθ. But it must be noted that the proper chchhā is used in gachchhāvānsa, line 38.
2 This, at least, is the word that I think is intended. But the sign which I interpret here as chchhā, and which does represent chchhā in gachchhāvānsa, line 38, is used for th in śāhād, line 51, and other places; though not in abhād, line 49. It also occurs in chchhās, line 53, where it is rather differently formed; and in māthitya (unless we should here read māthitya) by mistake for māthitya, line 50.
Wanthali in the Junagadh State in Kāthiāwārd. Dharmavārhi, however, may possibly be another name of Añhilvād itself. Of the places mentioned in the genealogical passage, Avanti is another name of Ujjain, in Mālva; Sākambhārī is supposed to be the modern Sambhar or Sāmbhar, in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 59, note 6; and Vol. X. p. 161); the Sapādālakshā country has been identified by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji with the region of the Sivālik Hills, in the Pañjāb (ante, Vol. X. p. 345); and Kāvi is evidently the modern Kāvi, in the Broach District.

The date of this record, in lines 1 to 4, is given fully in words and in decimal figures; and the details are Vikrama-Saṃvat 1266, not distinctly specified either as current or as expired; and Śīha-Saṃvat 96; the month Mārga, i.e. Mārgaśīra; the bright fortnight; the fourteenth tīthi and civil day; and Gurudina or Thursday. And the English equivalent is to be found in A.D. 1208 or 1209, according as the given Vikrama year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, I find that —

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1266 current, Mārgaśīra śukla 14 ended on Sunday, 23rd November, A.D. 1208, at about 5 ghaśī, 58 pālas, after mean sunrise, for Añhilvād.

And in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1267 current (1266 expired), Mārgaśīra śukla 14 ended, as required, on Thursday, 12th November, A.D. 1209, at about 22 gaha. 31 p. And this, therefore, is the proper English equivalent of the given date.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ŌṁŚ  Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-saṃvatsara-tatēśu dvādaśasu ṣhaṭa shashtyādāhikō.

2 shu laujikanŚ Mārgga-māsasya śukla-pakha-chaturdasyāṁ Guru-dīnō asta-ānyaḥ-pāh-piśri.

3 Vikrama-saṃvat 1266 varshō śrī-Śīha-saṃvat 96 varshō laukiŚ Mārgga śu di14 Gurāva-a.


5 rājāvali virājita paramabhaṭṭaraka mahārājādhīrāja paramēśvara śrī Mūlarājā dēva-pād-anūdhyāta paramabhaṭṭaraka mahārājādhīrāja paramēśvara śrī-Chāmu- [m]*-da rājadeva-rājadeva-pād-ā.

6 anūdhyāta paramabhaṭṭaraka mahārājādhīrāja paramēśvara śrī Durūbhārājā dēva-pād-ā.


11 kravartti śrīmar-[j]* ayasimhadeva-pād-ānūdhyāta paramabhaṭṭaraka mahārājādhīrāja paramē-

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* The 'Banthly, Vanthali, Vantli, and Wantli,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13, Lat. 21° 38' N.; long. 70° 22' E.
* The expression that is used is analogous to one of constant use for the Śaka era, on which I have commented, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.
* From the original plates.
* Reproduced by a symbol: so also at the end; but the symbol there is not the same as here.
* This letter, cu, was omitted; and was then inserted above the line, with a mark, which has run into the following is, to indicate the omission.
* Read shat-shashy.
* This word, with the mark attached to it, seems to stand for some such expression as laujika-pacanap.
* Read dānaka-pah.
* The form that is used here for d, might ordinarily represent dh. Almost the same form occurs in the second syllable of dvādaśa, line 1.
April, 1889.] Grant of Bhimadeva II.; Vikrama-Samvat 1266.

12 śvara-praṇāhārāṇa-pāṇa-Chaturbhujavikrama-raṣṣāṅga-vañjita-Navaharīśubhāpāla-śrī-
13 Kumārājapaladāva-pāṇa-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhīrāja-paramesvara-
14 ra-Kalikāla-nivāra(shka)laṅkā-āvatārīta-Rāṇava(ma)-rāja-prāptā(pita)karadīkṛita-Sapat-

Second Plate: First Side.

15 dalaksha-Lakhmāpāla-śrīmad2 bhajapaladāva-pāṇa-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-
16 tāraka-mahārajādhīrāja-paramesvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka2 āhava2 parā-
17 bhūta-durjaya-Nāgārjuna-Kāvīrāja2 śrī-Mañjula-paladāva-pāṇa-ānudhyā-
18 ta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhīrāja-paramesvara-Ahīnava-Siddharajā-
19 dēva-Vīra-2 Nārāyaṇa-āvatāra-śrī-Bhimadeva-kalyaṇa-vijaya-rājyē2
20 Tat-pāduadāma-apajāvinī-mahāmāya-śrī-Ratanapālē śrī-śrīkaraṇā-śrī-
21 dāu-samastamudrā-vyāpārān-ān-para-paṁtha-asītvēva kāle pravarttamānē
22 asa-prabhō prasād-ārāpta-pattalaya2 bhujāmaṇī-śrī Surāśtra-maṇḍalē
23 mahē-pratī2-śrī-Somarajadēva-kṛṣṇa(m)niyukta-Vāmanasthal-tārīka-śrī-
24 raṇē-mahān2-śrī-Sō(p)bhānadeva-prabhūti-paṁcha-kula-pratipattau šāsana-sa-
25 bhīlikhyatō yathā1 Prāgāt-vjātiyā2-mahān2-Vālaharā-suta-mahān2

Second Plate: Second Side.

26 Mahāpāla Ghaṭṭölāna-grāmē dakhisha-diśu(ā)-bhāge kāryapīt[ā] vāpi tathā
27 prapāyān cha-samītāhārītarīyaṁ tithan Nāgara-jnātīya-du22 Pārāsa(ā)ra-suta-du-
28 Mādhavāya Ghaṭṭölāna-grāmē vāpi-pratīva(ba)dhī-khētraṁ bhūmi-pāsa-vṛt3
29 saṅkhya-
31 sumacāsa-kaṭhētra[n*] 23
32 tathā Sōshaḍ-nāma-nādi simā1 dakhishatō-pi Sōshaḍ-nāma-nādi simā1 paṁchāma-
33 tō rāt24-Vēḍagarbha-saktu(kha)-kaṭhētra[n*] simā1 uttaratō rāja-mārgga[h]*
34 simā1 tō(t) Tathā prapā-kāha-
35 traṁ dvitīyaṁ tathā grāmē ut[t*]ara-dīśaṁ vā[ō]yaṁ kṛṣṇa-śārīta-bhūmi-pāsa-vṛt3
36 saṅkhya-
37 yāṁ pāsa 100 sataṁ-ekāṁ asa cha aghātā yathā pūrvatō rājaliya-bhūmi-
38 simā1
dakshihatō Mēha22.Śōḍyā-kaṭhētra-bhūmi simā1 paṁchishatō Bhūharāda-grāmē-simā-
39 yāṁ simā1 ut[t*]arō vahāṇi-simāyaṁ simā1 Tathā ākavalīya-grāmē grāmēt
36 ut[t*]ara-dīśi(ā)-bhāge bhūmi-khaṁḍa1 saṁkhīyaṁ vṛt3 pāsa 100 sataṁ-ekāṁ asa
37 aghāta [yathā] 1 pūrvvatō Sākali-grāmē-simāyaṁ simā1 dakshihatō Varaḍi-
38 simā1 pa-
39 śichatō Ghaṭṭölāna-grāmasya-ōpari gachchhamāna-mārgga[h]* simā1 ut[t*]arō vahāṇi-
38 simā1[1]*
39 Tatha Bhūharāda-grāmō(mē)-pi bhūmi-kha[m*]da1 saṁkhīyaṁ vṛt3 pāsa 100
38 sataṁ-ekāṁ asa

12 Read śilānabhārī.
13 See page 83 above, note 12.
14 This title has already occurred, and is unnecessarily repeated here.
15 Read bhāṭṭa-bhāra; subject, however, to the preceding note.
16 In the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1263, ante, Vol. VI. p. 194, line 10-11, and elsewhere, Dr. Bühlér’s published reading and translation are garjanak-ādārīya, ‘the ruler of the Garjanakas.’ The reading given by me is quite distinct in the present grant.
17 This should probably be corrected into diśa for dāla. Perhaps the mark before the s, which turns it into tō, is only due to a slip of the engraver’s tool. But it is possible that the word is here used in a different sense, and that the instrumental case is correct: the meaning then being ‘in the province of Surakṣhṛdbha-māraṇa,’ which is being enjoyed by him under a patent obtained through the favour of his lord.
18 It is doubtful whether we have here the abbreviation of one official title, mukhāgrahāṣa; or whether two titles, such as mukhāgrahāṣa-pratīkṣa, are intended.
19 Read vrātā-prāgātā.
20 Or perhaps ča, or possibly ha; so also in lines 45-46. I do not know what the abbreviation stands for.
21 I.e., probably, jyātiṣa.
22 i.e., probably, maḥāra.
Third Plate.

40 cha āghāṭā [yathā] 1 pūrvatō Ghaṁṭolāṇa-ṛāma-sīmāyaṁ simā 1 dakshihatō
Samaḍiyā-ṛāma stī.

41 māyā[m]aṁ [simā] 1 paśchimatō tathā grāmīya-vahaṇi-sīmāyaṁ simā 1 ut[ta]jatō
Sivaliyā-

42 vahaṇi-sīmāya[m]aṁ simā 1 evaṁ chatur-āghāṭa-visuddhā bhūmī sva-sīmā-
paryerta[m]aṁ [m]aṁ ya-

43 thā-prasiddhā-paribhāṣā gṛihā[m]a[m]aṁ palladikā-sametā khalaka-ka[ch]a[ch]a[kh]-bbhūmī
dharmā-pātā-gṛiṇhāṣa-sametā adaka-pūrvā-dharmmekā prada-

45 tā 1(t) Āśā vāpi tathā prāpa cha du2-Mādhavēna sad-aiva bhārāṇyā 1
vāpi[m]aṁ simā prāpa[m]aṁ cha

du2-Mādhavēna bharāṇyāṇa sūta āśā bhūmī sha(kha)ṁda-chaturṣāya-saṁkhyākā
ā-chaṁ-

47 dr-ārka-kālaṁ yāvata(t) sāntāna-prāmāpara bhūktāvyā bhūktāraṇyāśa [ts]-Jānīhi
30 datānī

48 purā naraṁdri dānāna dharmārtha-yasa[sa]-karāṇi 1 nīmāya-vanāt[31]-pratimānī
tāni kō nāma

49 sādhun[ī]aṁ punar-adattā 21 Atr-ārthā sākṣi 21 Vama26-Aρī-Sūmanāthādēviya-
sthānā 24-Darvasa 1 Śrī-

50 Visābhāvaradeva-machhi(thē)ya-sthānā(pa) pati-Vimvalaṇa 1 Śrī-Kēdāra-mathētya-
sthānā 2 Vra(brā)honejā 1 Dē-

51 vē-śrī-Kapāḷēśvar-stā(stā) niya-sthānā 2-Kahadajā sthānā 2-yō 23-Lāhā-suta-yō 2-Vēdā
1((-)) kahā Ā-

52 lā-suta-Ī(?)(k)k bhā Sāvadēva 1 Vra(brā)hmapurīya-ī(?)kahā 1 Disikēsī-suta 2-
(?)kahā 28 Chhējā 1 Tathā vṛ(ṛ)h(brā)hmanā-

53 Mada(dhu)sūdana-suta-paṁjita-Aρī-Sūmaravi mahājana-Mōṛha śreṣṭhī 27-Nāna-suta-śreṣṭhī-
Śūma 1 Kalya 2-śre-

54 aṣṭi-Khatā 1 Prāgyā 28-śreṣṭhī-Dharaṇīga śreṣṭhī 28-Kūd-suta-Gūṅgadēva 1 Gūrja 26-
 mahājana-ṣr[32]-aṣṭi-

55 Yajakā 1 Kāpaṁ khalakaṁ kastha(chchha)kaṁ gō-pathaṁ gō-prachāraṁ bhokta-
vyaṁ cha 1 Dūtakā 60 svayaṁ 2 Dharmavarhi-

56 Vāyān saṁcharitaṁ ch-ajñātanā 1 Chha 1 Śrī 1 Ōṁ 1

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The inscription commences with the date, in twelve centuries, increased by sixty-
six (years), of the years that have gone by from the time of the glorious king Vikrama,
and, by the popular reckoning, on the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the
month Mārga, on Thursday; or, in figures the Vikrama year 1266, in (this) year, the
Śimha year 96, in (this) year, by the popular reckoning, (the month) Mārga, the bright
fortnight, the (civil) day 14, on Thursday; on this tithi, (specified) as above by the year,
month, fortnight, (civil) day, and week-day; to-day; here at the famous (city of)
Apaññālaṁpataka (line 4).41 And it then gives the following genealogy ---

The Paramahattāraka, Mahārājaṁhēraja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Mūlarājādēva
(I.) (1. 5). His successor (pād-ānudhyata) was the P. M. P., the glorious Chāmuṇḍārājādēva

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37 Read sahitā. 38 What was intended to be the reading here, is not apparent.
39 Metro. Indravajra.—The usual reading here is yāna-ka. But there is no inherent objection to the present
reading, which is the 2nd pers. sing. imper. par.
40 Read nāmāvaṁis-tā. 41 Read nāmāvaṁis-tā. 42 First ra was engraved here; and then it was corrected into ta.
43 Here vēma is perhaps an abbreviation for sīmanatā. 44 I.e. nāma-śiṣya-śiṣya; or else nāma-śiṣya, for nāma-śiṣya,
as in the next line. 45 i.e., perhaps, yōga.
46 The mark of abbreviation here seems to be a mistake.
47 Here, and in the following instances, read śreṣṭhī. 48 I.e. gurīja; or more properly gurīja.
49 This sīnāya is imperfect; only the lower part of it having been formed.
50 The context is "a charter is written, to the following effect," in line 25. And this, with the wording of
line 55-56, suggests the possibility of Dharmavarhiya being another name of Aplinī.
(l. 6). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Durlabharējādeva (l. 7). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Bhimādeva (I.) (l. 8). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Karṇādeva, who had the bīruda or secondary name of Trailōkayamalla (l. 9). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Jayasimhādeva (l. 11), who was victorious over the lord of Avanti and over the Varvarakas, and who had the bīruda of Siddhachakravit (l. 10). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Kumārapāladeva (l. 13), who was equal in prowess to the god Chaturbhuj (Vishnu), and who conquered in battle the king of Śakaṇibharī (l. 12). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Ajayapāladeva (l. 15); who reproduced in this Kali age the spotless reign of Rāma; and who levied tribute from Lakshmīpāla, (the king) of the Sapāḍalaksha (country). His successor was the P. M. P., the glorious Mularājadeva (II.) (l. 17); who overcame in war Nāgarjuna, the king of Kavi, difficult to be conquered. And his successor is the P. M. P., the glorious Bhimādeva (II.) (l. 19); who has the bīruda of Abhinava-Siddhārjādeva, and who is a very incarnation of (the god) Bāla-Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 19), and while his feudatory (pādapatraṇa-bajieśā) the Mahāmātāya, the illustrious Ratanapāla (l. 20), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (ērikaraṇa) and other departments; and while, in the district* (pattalā) that he acquired through the favour of his lord, viz. in the province of Suraśīrā manḍala which is being enjoyed by him (l. 22), his deputy in the records-department at (the city of) Vāmanasthali is the Mahāprāthiṣṭha (?) the illustrious Sōmarājadēvī (l. 23); with the consent (?) (pratipattī) of the five families headed by (that of) the Mahattara, or Mahattama, the illustrious Sōbhānadeva, a charter is written, to the following effect (l. 25):—

"By Mahipāla, the son of Vālahari, of the Prāgīvī kindred, there has been made an irrigation-well (vāpī) at the village of Ghaṇṭelāṇa (l. 26), in the southern part of it; and also a watering-trough (pāpā). And to Mādhava, the son of Pākaïa, of the Nāga kindred, there has been given an allotment of land, consisting of a field connected with the irrigation-well at the village of Ghaṇṭelāṇa (l. 28), and measuring fifty chāna (pāsā) (l. 29). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the field of Sumachanda, and the river Sōhaḍī; on the west, the field which is the holding (sāthu) of the Rātāta Vēgarbha; and on the north, the king’s highway.

"Also (l. 31), in the northern part of the village, there is given a second field, for the watering-trough, situated in the north-west corner, and measuring one hundred pāsās (l. 33). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the king’s land, or the land of the king’s servants; on the south, the field of the Māhara (?) Sōlāya; and on the west, the boundary of the village of Bhūharāḍā (l. 34); while, on the north, the boundary is at the boundary of the vāhari.

"So also, in the village of Akavālyā (l. 35), in the northern part, there is given land producing one ‘candy’ (khaṇḍa) (of grain), and measuring one hundred pāsās (l. 36). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of the village of Sākali (l. 37); on the south, the boundary of (the village of) Varaḍi; on the west, the road that goes over the village of Ghaṇṭelāṇa (l. 38); and on the north, the vahāni.

"So also in the village of Bhūharāḍā (l. 39), there is given land producing one khaṇḍa, and measuring one hundred pāsās. Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of the village of Ghaṇṭelāṇa (l. 40); on the south, the boundary of the village of Samadiyā; on the west, the boundary of the vahāni of the village; and on the north, the boundary of the vahāni of (the village of) Sivaliyā (l. 41).

"This irrigation-well and watering-trough (l. 45) are to be always maintained by Mādhava. And, as long as they are maintained, he and his descendants are to enjoy this land yielding four khaṇḍas.*

* See note 18 above.

* The total measurement of the four allotments, however, was three hundred and fifty pāsās; and in the last two instances one hundred pāsās are stated to yield one khaṇḍa; so that the total yield should apparently be over three and a half khaṇḍas.
"[Then follows, in line 47, one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. After this, there is given a list of the witnesses to the grant, which includes the names of Durvāsu, the Sthānādhi-kārīn, or Sthānapati, of the god Sūmanātha\(^4\) (l. 49); Vimvala, the Sthānapati of the matha of the god Vīsādhēsvara (l. 50); Brahmapāj, the Sthānādhi-kārīn, or Sthānapati, of the matha of the god Kēdāra (l. 50); Kāhānāj, the Sthānādhi-kārīn, or Sthānapati, of the shrine of the goddess Kāpālēsvāri (l. 51); Īkākā(?), of the village or hamlet of Brahmapūrī (l. 52); the Prāvṛt Sūṣṭhīn Dharāṇī (l. 54); and the Gūrjara Mahājāna and Śrēṣṭhīn Yajākē (l. 55)].

"The well, the threshing-floor (khalaka), the kathaka or kashohaka, the cattle-path, and the pasturage, are to be enjoyed (l. 55). The Dūtaka is himself; i.e. perhaps Sūmanājādeva. And the command (ājñāta) has been communicated or carried into effect (saṅchārāta), — i.e. the order has been decided by the Dūtaka, and the written charter has been engrossed on copperplates, — at Dharmavaradhi (l. 55)."

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SOMALI AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, B.S.C.

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 50.)

No. IV.

Colloquial Sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Somalī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51.—Do you want this?</td>
<td>ادَيْ دُولِي مُوْمِنْسَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.—I do not want this.</td>
<td>انَّكْ لاَ دُولِي مَوْبِر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.—Salt is very dear at Berbera.</td>
<td>أوُرُسُوْ قَدَرُ بَرَيْرَةَ وَكُوْ لَغَذَ بُرَيْرِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.—Rice is very cheap at Mokha.</td>
<td>جُيَدَ بَرِيْسَ وَكُوْ لَغَذَ بُرَيْرِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.—To whom do these sheep belong?</td>
<td>أَدَيْ كُيْ اَيْ لُهْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.—Last night a buggalow arrived from Mokha.</td>
<td>هَلَيْ دُولِي مُجَاحِكِي اُمْبِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.—Two hundred camels arrived to-day.</td>
<td>مَنِيَّ لَبُنْ بْيُكَ اُوْرُ بْجَوْعُ قَلْبِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.—Are there any wells here?</td>
<td>مُيَبَيْنٌ مِلْكَ مَكُوْوَرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.—Is there any danger from the natives?</td>
<td>مُيَبَيْنٌ ذُوْكُ مَلْكَ كَأَسْوَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.—What is the matter with you? (lit. What has got to you?)</td>
<td>مِهَا كُوْ مَهِيِّ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.—Are you sick?</td>
<td>مَيَيْدَ بُوْنَاتِ اَكَيْ مُيْوَدُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.—Put these things in a basket.</td>
<td>عُلْيَغُ كُوَيْكِيْنِوْدُ رَدْ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) Perhaps "the god Sūmanāthā of Vāmanāsthall;" see note 33 above.
63.—Come quickly.

64.—I sent for you: why did you not come?
(lit. Why were you not found come?)

65.—He killed him with a spear.

66.—He struck him in the back with a spear.

67.—I am afraid to go there.

68.—I will give you eight dollars for this cow.

69.—I am very thirsty.

70.—It is very hot.

71.—Remain here.

72.—Open the door.

73.—I shall go to my country.

74.—Where is the book?

75.—Are you able to do this?

76.—What are you looking at?

77.—Tell me what will be the charge?

78.—Where did you buy this cloth?

79.—Did you buy it or barter for it?

80.—Where is the captain of the vessel?

81.—The captain is on shore.

82.—Take a chair and sit down.

83.—When will you do this work?

84.—I shall finish it in four days.

85.—I am going to Zayla to-morrow.

86.—Show me a sample of the rice.
87.—Where did you hear this?

88.—I heard it yesterday on the road.

89.—It is cooler to-day than yesterday.

90.—Are there any fish in this water?

91.—I am very busy to-day.

92.—Take the horse home, and bring it at 6 o'clock.

93.—Why did you go to sleep?

94.—Does your wife make mats?

95.—I do not understand what you say.

96.—Is your knife sharp?

97.—This box is heavy: how can I carry it?

98.—Fill this tub with water.

99.—The river is deep.

100.—Take some water to quench your thirst.

Vocabulary and Grammatical Analysis with Notes and Transliteration.

51.—Adigah wacaha ma donnaisa?
52.—Aniga wacahay doni moyay.
53.—Usbuhada Barbara wa ku gan'a adag tahai. Usbuhada=usbuh, s.f., salt, with the def. art. affixed. Gan'a s.f., price, cost. Adag, adj., dear, tight. Tahai, 3rd pers. sing. fem. from ahdo be. (H. s. 132).
54.—Mukhah baris wa ku gan'a jabari yahay. Jabari, cheap, past part. of jab, v. break.
Yahay, 3rd pers. sing. masc. of ahdo.
55.—Adigan aiya leh? Adi, s.m. sheep or goat; gan=sa, demon. pron., this with the consonant g prefixed, because the word with which it is used (adi) terminates in a vowel. (H. ss. 58 and 22). Aiya, interrog. pron., who? Leh, from leh, adj. root, possessed of: the a is here lost, because the article possessed is mentioned. (H. s. 253).
56.—Hala'ai doni Mukhahgi ka-timi. — Hala'ai. adj. of time, last night. Doni, s.f., boat. (large). 
57.—Manta laba bughul awr ba-so'-galai. — Bughul, s.m. hundred. So'-galai, v. entered; compounded of so', move, and gal, enter.
58.—Mashatan 'el ma ku-jira? — 'El, s.m., well. Ku-jir, v. contain: ku is here a preposition or verbal particle. (H. s. 135).
59.—Mashatan dadka ma-laga aboda. — Dad, s.m., people, inhabitants. La, a particle, which when prefixed to a verb gives it a passive signification. (H. s. 243). Laga-la, with the article added.
60.- Mahā kū helāi? — Hāl, v., obtain, get.
62.- Ghalabka kolaig kū-ridd. — Ghalāb, s. m., baggage. Kolai, s. m. basket. Kū-ridd, v., throw, put.
63.- Daksā kālē. — Dakso, adv., quickly. Kālē, interj., come!
66.- Usaga dābarka waran ba kū-waremai. — Dūjar, s. m., back. Warēs, v. 1. stab, thrust. Waremai, 3rd pers. sing. perf. (the letter s changing into m in the inflexion).
67.- Haga in-ān tagō bān ka baghaiya. — Baghaiya 1st pers. sing. pres. of bagh, v., fear. [It is somewhat curious that in Somaliland, as well as in Arabic, Persian, Hindustānī, &c., the verb ‘to fear’ should be preceded by the sign of the ablative case (ka)].
68.- Lo’da sided karshī yān kū sinaiyā. — Lo’, s. f. cow. sided, s. f., eight.
69.- Harrād badan bal haiyā. — Harrād, s. m., thirst. Bait, compounded of ba and i, to or by me. Haiyā, from the verb hai, have, possess. (H. s. 251).
70.- Wā kūfūl badan yahai. — Kūfūl, adj., hot, warm.
71.- Halka fadiso. — Fadiso, v. 8., sit, remain.
72.- Albāba fur. — Albāb, (Ar.) s. m., door. [It may be noticed that this word has here a double article: the Arabic article (al) prefixed, and the Somālī (ka) added; but the former has become an inseparable part of the word in Somalī]. Fur, t. v., open:—(it also means ‘divorce’)
73.- Maghālasadait bān tagaiyā. — Maghāl, s. m., bark; tagaiyā, s. f., bark.
74.- Kitābki meh? — Kitāb (Ar.) s. m. book, meh, adv. of place, — where?
75.- Adiga sidās in-ad fasho mā karta. Sidās, adv. of manner, thus. In-ad = in, that and ad, thou. Fasho, 2nd pers. sing. pres. subj. of fai, do.
76.- Mahād arkaisi?
77.- I-dē immisa la-sinaiyā. — Dē v. aux., say, tell. I-dē, tell me. La the passive particle. (H. s. 243). Sinaiya, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. of a, give.
78.- Daraka haggē bād ka ḫsaddāt. — Dar, s. m., cloth, apparel. Ḫsaddāt, 1st pers. sing. perf. of Ḫsadda, to wear. This particle is here (for the sake of euphony, I suppose), separated from Ḫsadda, the word to which it really belongs. Rejected by Ḫsadda, it would then naturally unite with ḫsaddāt; but as the junction of these two words looks awkward in Arabic characters, I have written the ḫ as an affix to bād; thus treating it somewhat similarly to the pronominal affix ے in Persian.]
80.- Donida nakhūda-hedi mēh? — Hōd, possess. pron. 3rd pers. sing., fem., her (H. s. 55).
81.- Nakhūda hebdā Jīra. — Hōb, s. f., shore; hebdā, adv., ashore. The final u in hebdā is the pron., he.
82.- Kūsiga keņ o kū hadiso. — Kuresi, s. m. (Ar.), chair. O, equivalent to wa. (H. P. 100-101).
83.- Gormaad shughīka samainaisa? — Gormaad, adv. of time, when? [Gormaad is really a combination of three words: — gor, s. f., time, mā, — what? and ad. pers. pron. 2, simple form.] Shughī, (Ar.), s. m., work, business.
84.- Aniga har darārro dabased wā damatnaiyā. — Darārro, pl. of darār, s. f., day. Dabased, adv., after. Damai, v. 5, — finish.
85.- Aniga Že’lā (or Audal) birran tagaiyā. — Že’lā is the Arabic, and Audal the Somālī name of the town. Birri, s. f. to-morrow, birran-birri + ān, pers. pron. 1.
86.- Bariska mida-kāsī i-tūs. — Midāb, s. m., sample. Ťūs, v. imperative, — show.
87.—Wahā hagge bād ka maghahai. — Maghahai, 2nd pers. sing. perf. of maghal, v. hear. The letter i, as usual, changing into sh.
88.—Shalai daugt bān ku Maghalai. — Shālai, s. t., yesterday Dau, s. m., road.
89.—Mānta shalai ka ḫabob. — ḫabob, adj. cool.
90.—Bīyohā mā wah kaluna kūjira. — kalun, s. m., fish.
91.—Mānta haul badan bān leyahai. — Haul, s. f., affair, business.
92.—Gāraska aghalkaigt ge, l: leh sa' dod 1-ken. — Gās, v. 3., remove, take away. Leh, s. f., six. Sa’d (Ar. ʿāṣma), s. f. — hour; pl. sa’d do. The final d is added because the word is preceded by a numeral. (H. s. 31 (b)).
93.—Mahādū sehatai? — Seh, v. 4., sleep.
94.—Nāgstādā dirmo mát-falkinausa? — Nag, s. f., woman, wife. Dirmo, s. f., mat. Falīk, t. v. 3., plait (mats).
95.—Wahād ledahai garan mayo. — Wahād-wah + ad. Garan, p. part. of garo, v. 4., understand, know.
96.—Mindidādī Mā af-badan tahai? — Mindi, s. f., knife. Af-badan, adj., sharp; (of = edge).
97.—Sanduk-an wa olus yahai? sidde bān ūkdī kara? — Sanduk (ar.), s. m., box; Sanduk-an, this box. (H. s. 58). Olus, adj., heavy. Kād, v., lift, carry; kādī kara, 1st pers. sing. pres. poten.
98.—Barmikā biyo ku bohi. — Barmīl (Ar.) s. m., tub, cask. Bohi, v. 3., fill.
99.—Durdurkuwa ḍer yahai. — Durdur, s. m., river, stream. ḍer, adj., deep.
100.—Biyo ab: harrādka ka-bi.’ — Harrād, s. m., thirst. Ka-bi, v. 3., quench.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

No. 30.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

The Arch-Impostor.

In a certain country there lived a Brāhmaṇ who had seven sons. One moonlight night he called them all to his side and questioned them as to what they would most like to do at that moment. The first said that he would like to water his fields; the second, that he would go out on a journey; the third, that he would plough his lands, and so on. But the seventh and the last said that he would spend that fine moonlight night in a beautiful house with lovely girls by his side. The father was pleased with the simple replies of the first six boys; but when the last — who was the youngest — expressed so evil a desire, in such a presence, and in such a way, his rage knew no bounds. "Quit my house at once," said the father, and away ran the seventh son.

He left his country and his house that very night, as he was ashamed to live under his father's roof any longer, and went to the wood hard by. In the midst of this wood there dwelt an old woman who used to sell muffins and puddings to shepherds and boy neathers who frequented the wood in the course of their employment. This had been her source of livelihood for several years, and she had in this way amassed considerable wealth in the shape of gold coins which she kept locked up in a small box. Now the seventh son, on his banishment from home, went to her and said:

"Madam, I am a poor helpless orphan, will you kindly take me into your service? I shall be a great help to you in your old age."

So, the old woman, pitying the poverty of the boy, and thinking he could help her took him into her service, and promised to feed him and bring him up as her own son.

"What is your name?" asked the grandam.

"My name," replied the boy, "is Last Year (Pōnacarusham)!

No doubt it was a queer name, but the old woman did not suspect anything, and thought within herself that such a designation was possible.
Full six years the boy lived with her, and behaved in such a way that she came to regard him almost as her son. She was delighted that God had sent her in her old age such a helper.

One night, just before going to supper, this boy, who had now grown to be a man, threw away all the water in the house, and then sat down to his food. Consequently, when his meal was over, there was no water in the house to wash his hands with; so the old woman went out to fetch water from a well that was at a little distance. Our hero, who will henceforth be called the Arch-Impostor, resolved to take the opportunity thus given him to walk away with all the old woman’s savings. He did not wait to wash his hands, but ran off at once with her box of money. Going to a little distance in the wood, he broke it open, emptied the contents into his cloth, and went onwards at random. He walked on for two days and nights, and on the third morning was on the point of emerging from the forest.

Just after he had run away the old woman returned with water from the well, and found no boy. The thought rushed into her mind at once that she might have been deceived, and on quickly searching, she missed her box. Running to the village near her house she raised a loud cry, saying, “Last Year robbed my box, Last Year robbed my box,” meaning of course that the person named “Last Year” had taken away her box. But as the words she used —pu pointonum en pejiiiayu tirudikkora poun — also mean, “last year (some one) robbed my box,” the people only thought she had gone mad, and sent her away. However often she might explain that “Last Year” was the name of a man, they would not listen to her. Thus was the poor woman deceived.

Meanwhile, our hero, whom we left on the point of emerging from the forest with his bundle of gold coins on his back, was attacked by a bear. He had covered his body and the bundle as well with his upper cloth so as not to arouse suspicion. The bear placed one of its front paws on his shoulder where his bundle was, and our hero, to prevent the animal from doing any harm to him, took a firm hold of the other front paw which the beast had also raised, and ran round and round with it. Meanwhile the paw on his shoulder had made a hole in the bundle of coins, so that every now and then a gold coin dropped out. While this was going on a rich Muhammadan merchant, having a load of money with him, happened to ride by. Seeing a traveller attacked by a bear, he at once went to the rescue. Whereupon the Arch-Impostor, ever ready to turn everything to his own advantage, addressed him thus:—

“Friend, calmly pursue your course. Do not disturb yourself. This is a bear on which I pronounce an incantation, whereby it drops a gold coin every time that I go round with it. I am testing it now, and have chosen this place to avoid the curiosity of other people. So, do not disturb me.”

The Muhammadan, deceived by the composure with which the impostor spoke, and never suspecting that the coins were dropping from his bundle, replied:—“Friend, you appear to be a Brähmaṇ from your face; and it is not very proper for a Brähmaṇ to keep a bear in his house. Give it to me, and instruct me in the incantation. Take in return all the money I have on my horse, and the horse too if you like.”

This was exactly what the impostor thought the Muhammadan would say. “My idea is working well,” thought he within himself, and proceeded to become very reluctant to part with his bear. He also so managed that more coins began to drop, and the more the coins dropped the more the Muhammadan’s mind was fixed with an ambition to become the master of the miraculous bear. He begged hard of the Brähmaṇ, and the latter, as if unwilling to part with a brute which a few moments before he feared would take his life(!), at last told the Muhammadan to tie its hind legs together with a cord, and then its front legs. In this way the brute was safely caught. The Brähmaṇ then pronounced a meaningless incantation over it, told the Muhammadan to repeat it unceasingly for a month before trying its efficacy. He then picked up every gold coin he had dropped, and took leave of his Muslim friend. Telling him that his house was in the New Street of Madura, he went away with the horse and all the money on it. The Muhammadan merchant, fully believing that after a month’s repetition
the incantation would have the effect he saw, spent nearly all his days engaged in repeating it, and in taking care of the bear.

The Arch-Impostor after thus duping the poor Muslim, pursued his journey, and reached a village about evening. It was a very inhospitable village, and after searching here and there for a place to sleep in, he at last came to the street occupied by the courtezans. He chose the best house, took his bedding into the outer verandah, and lay down with his bundles beneath his head and his horse tied to a tree in front of the house. As he had a large amount of money to guard, sleep did not come to his eyes; he could merely pretend to be sleeping. At about dawn his horse evacuated, and the impostor pushed two gold coins into each piece of the horse-dung. He then returned to his bed and pretended to sleep as before. The sweepers of the house soon after came out to do her daily duty, and after sweeping the outer verandah went up to the horse to remove the horse-dung. But the Arch-Impostor at once arose and said:—"Do not touch the dung of that horse. It is all so much gold." After saying this he carefully collected it, and took out the gold coins. The sweepers were amazed. She ran in and informed the mistress of the house of what she saw. The courtezan came out, and to her astonishment she saw the impostor taking two gold coins out of each piece of the horse-dung. Quite amazed she asked what it all meant, and our hero replied:

"Madam! This is a horse given to me by a yogi, (sage) who instructed me in a mantra (incantation). I pronounced it over the horse for a month, and ever since that period it has had the power of dropping gold coins with its ordure." The amazed and ambitious courtezan wanted to get possession of the horse, and learn the mantra. And our hero with a good deal of pretended reluctance parted with his horse in return for all her property. He then taught her some gibberish, which he told her was an incantation. He also told her that she must repeat it for a month, before it would work.

Thus deceiving the woman of the wood, the Muhammadan merchant, and the courtezan, our hero went to Madura, bought a good house in the New Street, true to his word to the Musalman (and this was the only truth which he ever uttered in his life), and there married the daughter of a rich Brähman, and lived happily and in comfort.

The old woman of the wood was almost mad after the loss of her hard-earned money. She traced the footprints of the treacherous Last Year and followed them up, hoping to find him out some day or other. After a month's journey in the tracks she reached the place where the Muhammadan merchant was engaged in rearing the bear. He had long before the old woman's arrival finished the required number of incantations, and had gone round with the bear more than a thousand times without success. The old woman engaged him in conversation, and he related everything to her. This led to a mutual explanation of the manner in which they had been duped. The fiery Musalman flew into a rage, and said:—"We must trace out the rogue and punish him."

The old woman agreed, and they both started for Madura. In their first day's journey they chanced to go to the village where the courtezan had been befooled, and where her story was well known. Every child there could tell them how over a month ago a rogue had come there and had deceived her about a horse and an incantation, and had walked away with all her property. The Musalman soon identified the horse, and so the courtezan joined the old lady and the Muslim, and they all three went to Madura.

They found their enemy in the New Street, and he, getting up with a cheerful smile, welcomed them all, and after enquiring of their welfare asked them whether they had found the incantations useful. The old woman he consoled with an explanation of his sudden departure. He then requested them all to bathe and take their food, and himself showed the way to the river. Returning before the others, he asked his wife to prepare the ground for his worship of the household god, and also asked her to keep a pestle ready for him. He then asked her to bring the meal, pudding, &c., to be offered to the god, and to dress herself up as an old woman. He also told her that he would lightly beat her with the pestle, and throw her into the house, after which she was to suddenly appear again in the garb of a young woman, which, of course, was
her natural attire. All these instructions were issued before his three friends returned from the river, and through Musalmans and courtzans are never allowed to enter the inner parts of a Brahman's house, he pretended to show special consideration to them, and asked them to take their seats at a respectful distance, so as to observe what passed inside. The impostor then proceeded with the worship of the god on a grand scale. He pronounced several incantations, and when the worship was drawing to a close, an old woman, i.e. his wife in that attire, brought the offerings. He caught hold of her by her hair, and with his other hand felt for the pestle. The Musalmán and the others at once flew to the rescue of the old woman, but with a smile of perfect composure the impostor said:

"My friends, do not think I want to kill her. If I beat her with this pestle and throw her into the house, she will return as a young girl. I have made many such old women young by the administration of this pestle." Thus saying he proceeded to beat the old woman and throw her into the house. And the impostor's wife, as well up in tricks as her husband, though she had lived with him for less than a month, came out as a young girl. The three old friends who came to be even with the old rogue wondered at what they saw.

They consulted among themselves:—"The fellow is really here; so, we can wreak our vengeance upon him whenever we choose. For the present let us obtain his pestle and depart as friends."

The worship was soon over, and our hero proceeded to look to the convenience of his visitors. He asked them to have some food, and superintended their meals himself. They all concealed their anger for the nonce in the hope of getting hold of the pestle, which he gladly allowed them to take away for a week. The three thus duped again went away to their respective houses with the pestle, and made arrangements as to the use of it.

The courtzean knew many old women in her street whom she wished to convert into young ones. So she wanted it first, and the old lady of the wood made up her mind to stay with her to witness the experiment, while the Mahammadan merchant agreed to take the pestle after a week from the courtzean. Thus it was her fortune to try it first. Alas! many a woman she killed with it in the fond hope that one at least would be transformed to a young woman. No transformation came after all; only death was the result. So before even the week was up the courtzean sent the pestle to the Muslim, duly informing him how unsuccessful she found it to be. But he blamed her not being a good hand at thrashing, and had soon himself pounded to death several old women among his relatives. Being then again deceived he went to the courtzean, and said to her:—"My friend, see how we have been duped a second time. How many of our dear relatives we have killed. Let us go to that man again, and kill him before he again contrives to deceive us."

"Agreed," said she, and they started off again with the old lady of the wood. After a long journey, they reached the impostor's house, and found him absent. On enquiry they came to know that he had gone to the river to bathe. The old lady remained in his house, and the other two went after him. They carried a bag with them, and strong ropes also, and finding him bathing all alone, they surprised him, and tying up his hands and legs put him in the bag, and took him to a mountain near to burn him alive as a full revenge for all his deception. Climbing to the very top of it they placed the bundle down and went to the jungle near to collect fuel for the fire. Our hero was now in an awkward plight, but he kept saying to himself:—"I don't want to marry that girl, I don't want to marry that girl."

Now, while the Musalmán and the courtzean were away in the jungle collecting fuel, a neatherd who was grazing a herd of cows a little below was attracted by the voice that kept on saying:—"I don't want to marry that girl." Coming up to our hero he said:—"What is the meaning of what you say? Why are you tied up thus in a bundle?"

Hope at once dawned in the impostor's breast, and he hastily replied:—"Friend, whoever you may be, you are my protector. Release me at once from this bag. My uncle and aunt want to marry me to a girl whom I do not like. Against my will they carried me up here to marry me to her. Fortunately they have just gone to some spring near to quench their thirst."
The stupid neatherd, little suspecting that it was odd that a man should be married on the top of a mountain, promised to open the bag and let him out on condition he would allow him to go into the bag himself, and thus be placed in his happy position.

"Agreed," said the impostor, and so the bag was quickly opened, the ropes round his legs and hands untied, and the neatherd packed up in his place. Our hero then went to the place where the herd of cows was grazing, and returned home with them. Here he found the old lady of the wood waiting and welcomed her heartily, telling her that all his wealth was hers, and promising to regard her as his own mother, as she had been one to him for six years.

Meanwhile the Musalmàn and the courtesan had lighted a large fire in the jungle and went for the bag. The neatherd inside kept quite silent for fear, if he spoke, that the change that had taken place would become known. But, instead of being married to a young girl, he was soon thrown into the fire.

"Thus have we killed our impostor," said the friends: "Now let us go to his house and plunder it." So they returned exulting to the New Street of Madura where our hero was sitting outside his house chewing betel, and expecting them every moment. The thousand and one cows he had obtained were still standing outside. When the pair saw him safely seated outside his own house and smiling welcome to them, their wonder knew no bounds. "We threw you an hour ago in the fire," said they, "and how are you sitting here safe?"

"Yes, my friends," replied he, "as soon as you threw me into the fire, I went to Kailàsà, the world of felicity, and met my father and grandfather. They told me that my time to live in the world was not over and sent me back with these kine."

"Then the same presents will be given to us, too, if we go to that world of heavenly bliss?" said they.

"Undoubtedly," replied the impostor; and then with their consent he took them to the mountain and threw them into the fire never more to revive and return with presents.

Returning home and relieved for ever from his troublesome friends the Arch-Impositor lived happily, protecting the old woman of the wood, who had protected him in his younger days.

Though the hero has the worst of characters, still the relaters of this story excuse him for his presence of mind in all his hardships, and draw a moral from it that ambition is bad. The Musalmàn and the courtesan, even though they repeatedly found out their friend, were always fired with ambition, and at last lost their lives through it.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DANISH ROYAL ACADEMY'S PRIZE REGARDING THE PHILOLOGICAL POSITION OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA.

Sir,—It may interest your readers to know that the Académie Royale Danoise des Sciences et des Lettres offers the Gold Medal of the Academy as a prize for the best answer to the following question: "What position has Sanskrit occupied in the general development of languages in India? To what extent can we say that it has been a living language, and at what period must it be admitted to have ceased to be such?" The Academy points out that the inscriptions of Aśoka, dating from the middle of the 3rd century B.C., were couched in a language differing in no small degree from Sanskrit, and were spread all over the north of India. On this is founded a theory that Sanskrit had already ceased to be a living language, and that only that portion of its literature which is anterior to the Scythian invasion can be regarded as ancient and natural, while all the subsequent literature is due to a later and artificial development, the work of the Bràhmans, and does not reach to a date earlier than the second century A.D. On the other hand one can scarcely allow that such poems as the lyrics and epics of Kàlidàsà were only written for the learned, and that his dramas were not made to be represented and understood by the ordinarily educated people of his time, and the case is the same with other works written in Sanskrit after the Christian era. We should also have to explain why Sômàdevà, at the beginning of the 12th century, should have chosen a dead and purely learned language for composing a work of light reading, of which the aim was to divert and console the queen of Kàs&m#195;ir who had lost her grandson.

Answers may be written in Latin, French, English, German, Swedish, or Danish. They
should not bear the name of the author, but a motto, and should be accompanied by a sealed envelope bearing the same motto, and enclosing the name, profession, and address of the author. Members of the Academy who reside in Denmark will take no part in the competition. Answers should be addressed, before the end of October 1889, to the Secretary of the Academy M. H. G. Zeuthen, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. The prizes will be declared in February 1890, and the authors can thereupon have their essays returned to them.

G. A. Grierson.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XV.

A Year of the Revue Critique; July 1887 to June 1888.

(a) Aug. 8th.—The first important article of interest to oriental students is a review of two works by Prof. Th. Nöldeke. The first is a sketch of the Semitic languages¹ originally written for the Encyclopædia Britannica, and since then enlarged, and reproduced in German. The second is a history of the Arab dynasty of the Ghassāns.² The article is by M. J. Halévy, and contains an interesting note on the primitive habitat of the Arameans, which he places in the south of the Syrian desert, bounded by the Hijaz, Najd, and the maritime tracts of Babylonia. Both works are highly praised by the reviewer.

(b) Aug. 15th.—M. A. Barth contributes a review of the present writer's and Dr. Hoernle's works in connection with the Bihārī language.

(c) Oct. 24th.—The same gentleman reviews Prof. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on "an outline of a History of the Hindū law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption, as contained in the original Sanskrit treatises."” The author, M. Barth considers, studies each institution historically, bringing to light the differences concerning it, which appear through a long series of texts, and he endeavours to explain these differences by referring them to a process of regular development. The various discussions show his familiarity with legal questions, and with comparative legislation, and no one could read the book without deriving great benefit from it. Dr. Jolly differs from Mr. Nelson in considering the juridical literature of India as really its legislation. It is a body of written custom, not only held holy, but universally practised and regularly applied by the public authorities. It has always kept in touch with actual facts, modifying itself as they have become modified. M. Barth combats this theory, considering that the empiri has been only moderately practised. The official law has often been a very incomplete, and frequently an entirely false representation of the true custom, and whenever there was a conflict between the two, it is the former which has usually had the worst of it. One of the best proofs of this is the differences of doctrine between the various legal schools. Do these schools really represent the law of their tracts? One has only to see the disorder of their traditions, and the fantastic manner in which they borrow from each other, without regard either to geographical vicinity, or to affinities of population, to be satisfied on this point. Theories might travel thus, but not customs.

(d) Oct. 31st.—Dr. Percy Gardner’s Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum is reviewed. The author of the notice is M. Darmesteter. He observes, “there are few historical periods of more fascinating interest than that of the four centuries which followed the death of Alexander, in the tracts of country bordering on Persia and on India. A Greek empire in Bactria, from the Oxus to the Hindū Kosh, which soon crosses the mountains, absorbs Eastern Afghanistán, passes the Indus, reaches the Yamunā on the right, the Sea of Gujarāt on the south, covers the Indian coast with Greek temples, of which the ruins still existed in the second century, and brings into India Greek writing, Greek art, and all that the spirit of a Hindū could receive of the Hellenic genius. An invasion of Turkish tribes, who cast upon the Greek frontier by the same movement as that which step by step impelled Attila upon the gates of Rome, come to destroy the empire of Alexander’s successors, whilst succeeding as their heirs, to reopen the route of the Greeks in India, to enthroné Buddhism, and, at the same time as Buddha, all the pantheon of Iranian Zoroastrianism. Between the Greeks and the Scythians, are the more or less violent struggles of the Parthians, who send to Western India sometimes governors for the Arsacids, sometimes adventurers who founded dynasties. For all this period, at once confused and fecund (for it is from this chaos that modern India has emerged) there remain but four kinds of documents: a few lines, more or less vague, in the classical writers, a few pages in the Chinese annals, a few inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and thousands of coins. Numismatists have there-


fore the field almost entirely to themselves.”

Taking Mr. Gardner’s book as his text, M. Darmesteter next proceeds to reconstruct a history of these times. Bactria was a province of the Seleucid empire till about the year 250 B.C. About that time Diodorus made himself independent in Bactria, and Arsaces did the same in Parthia. This was the origin of the Graeco-Bactrian and of the Parthian empires. The dynasties of Diodorus was supplant by Euthydemus of Magnesia (about 208 B.C.), whose son, Demetrius, pressed on the north by the Barbarians, crossed the Paropamisus (or Hindú Kush) and entered the country of Kābul and the Pañjāb. This was the commencement of the Graeco-Indian empire. With Eukratides (190?) the great rival and successor of Demetrius, we first come upon bilingual coins, with a Pāli legend added to the Greek one. A great number of kings followed, of whom two, Apollodotus and Menander, were known to classical writers, and whose money was found to be still in circulation by the Greek travellers of the first century of the present era. Hermas was the last of the Indo-Greek kings. About 25 B.C., the Scythians of Bactria crossed the Paropamisus, and invaded India. We know of coins of five Indo-Scythic kings, of whom Kanishka was the most famous. The Saka era dates, not from the expulsion of the Scythic invader, but from his accession. Under this dynasty the Iranian religion of Zoroaster penetrated into India, and we find traces of Persian influence in Indian Epic poetry, which was ascribed to the same time. These Indo-Scythians were very eclectic in religious matters. They knew Helios, Salene and Srapa. They knew Buddha; and again they recognized Skanda-Kumaraka and Viśaka.

A third race of invaders was that of the Parthians, who appear to have established themselves in the Kābul valley about 161 B.C. The Periplus shows us this dynasty as expiring in the Delta of Sinai towards the middle of the first century.

(e) Dec. 5th.—“J. D.” reviews Dastur Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria’s Compendium of the Social Code for the Parsees (Parsi Fort Printing Press, Bombay, 1887). This is a well printed facsimile of a Pahlavi text on civil law lately discovered by the Editor. The text is principally important on account of the authorities which it cites, and which are those of the classic literature. The last pages are valuable as containing a religious and political history of the last Sasānī.

(f) January 16th, 1888—Commences with a review of the first volume of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, by M. Hauvette. The author of the Catalogue is Herr W. Ahlwardt. It is described as a monu-

ment of solid and powerful construction. The present volume is in two parts, the first devoted to Prolegomena and to general subjects, the second to the Qurān.

(g) Feb. 6th.—M. Derenbourg has published the first fasciculus of John of Capua’s Latin version of the Kalīlah und Dimmāh. This is reviewed by Mr. Rubens. Two Hebrew versions of the tale are known, and the older of the two, attributed to the Rabbin Joel, has a special importance as being the original of the Latin version above mentioned. Unfortunately, a large portion of this Hebrew version, including the prefaces, the two first chapters, and a portion of the third, is lost. The present edition of the Latin version is published to supply the deficiency. It has hitherto been printed only once (about the year 1483), and has become so rare as to be almost unprocurable. The present edition is very satisfactory, and the first fasciculus contains the prefaces and nine chapters.

(a) Feb. 27th.—There is a short notice by M. Barth on Cham literature. The Chams were originally masters of the whole of Annam. M. Antony Landes has published a French translation of sixteen Cham tales, and of a children’s song. The basis of the tales is the marvellous, without any alloy of mythology or theology. Only once or twice does the Lord Alwah, “the master of the sky,” and probably identical with the Allah of the Musalmān Chams, appear. The translation appears in Excursions et Reconnaissances. The same number of the latter contains the fac-simile of a Cham inscription communicated by M. E. Navelle. It is in the name of Śrī Jaya Sinha Dēva, and also contains the proper name Śrī Hari Dēva and the word dharma. It is dated 1191.

(i) March 10th.—In this number is a review by M. V. Henry of M. Paul Regnault’s work on the Origin and Philosophy of Language or Principles of Indo-European Linguistics. The author endeavours to reply to the following propositions: (1) To explain and criticize the various systems which, from the earliest times to the present day, have had for their aim to explain philosophically the origin and the laws of language; (2) To collect from the more important contemporary philological works the principles and the laws which could serve in the formation of a philosophy of language. The first portion of the book is described as excellent, and as displaying a great amount of labour and of learning on the part of the author. Regarding the second part M. Henry, while admiring the ingenuity displayed is unable to concur with the conclusions arrived at.

(j) March 26th.—The late Dr. Hanuss of Vienna was the author of a pamphlet on the encroach-
mements of the n-declension in Sanskrit which is favourably noticed by M. Louis Duvois. The most interesting case noticed is the a in terminations of genitives plural like सैमदनम्. Dr. Hamuz shows that the a was first borrowed from bases in a to form the genitives of bases in d long, and then to form those of bases in a short.

(b) April 2nd. — Commences with a review by M. Rubens Duval of Mr. Margoliouth’s edition of the Oriental versions of the Poetics of Aristotle. The texts published are the Arabic version of Abū Bāhar, the definition of tragedy in the Syriac dialogues of James Bar-Shakaku, the Arabic Poetics of Avicenna, and the Syriac Poetics of Bar-Hebraeus. The reviewer considers that Mr. Margoliouth has shown in his edition an equal knowledge of Greek, Arabic and Syriac, and future publishers of Aristotle’s Poetics will be bound to take his work into consideration.

(l) April 23rd. — Passing over notices of an edition of the twenty-first volume of the Kitāb al-aghaṇi, by Dr. Brunnow, and a review of the Rev. A. Foster’s Elementary lessons in Chinese, we come to a short article by M. Baudouin in the Journal of Verbal forms. Dr. Windisch’s work on the characterization of the middle and active voices there were two sets of inferences, characterised respectively by the presence or by the absence of the r and the t. In the middle there would be for the first and third persons of the singular, and for the third of the plural, the terminations -r, -rā, -rū; and (Gr. ματ?) and the, -rt; in the active they would be, a (-d?), -ar, -ur, and (Gr. ματ?), -ar, -ur, -nī. The reviewer considers that this conjecture is very plausible, and that it throws an entirely new light on primitive conjugation.

We may pass over two favourable reviews, one by M. A. Barth on Dr. Cust’s second series of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, and the other by M. Sylvain Lévi on Dr. Speijers’ Sanskrit Syntax, which has been already noticed in these pages, and come to a short paper by M. V. Henry of Dr. P. von Brakke’s Essays on the Prehistoric Development of the German Language. The principal argument of Dr. von Brakke’s Essay is the influence of subject races on the language of the conquerors, and, as an example, he would superimpose a Greek-Italic-Celtic group of languages over the already accepted Italo-Celtic groups, explaining by foreign influence the numerous and important differences between the language and civilisation of Latium and Hellas.

G. A. GRIEBERSON.

1 In line 2 of this record, the dynastic name is very distinctly written Kalaturya.

2 The times here, all through, are for Bākāpur, which is near Calcutta.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 27.

In the back-yard of Yellapagannota at Hulgur, a village about seven miles to the north-east of Sāgānya, the chief town of the Bankāpur Talukā of the Dārāwād District, Bombay Presidency, there is an Old-Canarese stone inscription of the Kalasūrya king Śāṃśevara, which contains three dates.

The first date (from an ink-impression; line 18 f.) is — Śaka-vara 1098, Jaya-sāmavatsara, Jyēṣṭha-daśāmāvyā, Śrīyāvāra śṛṇya-grahanāstrasaya vihyātikāndū, "the new-moon 10th of the month Jyēṣṭha of the Jaya sāmavatsara, which is the 10th of the Śaka year; Sunday; at the time of the vyatipāt of an eclipse of the sun."

The second date (line 35 f.) is — Śaka-vara 1096, Jaya-sāmavatsara, Mārgaśirā, punvāmī Śrīyāvāra śṛṇya-grahanāstrasaya vihyātikāndū, "the full-moon 10th of the month Mārgasira of the Jaya sāmavatsara, which is the 10th of the Śaka year; Sunday; at the time of an eclipse of the moon."

And the third date (line 40 f.) is — Śaka-vara 1096, Jaya-sāmavatsara, Mārgaśirā-bahulu, śrīyāvāra śṛṇya-grahanāstrasaya vihyātikāndū, "the new-moon 10th of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgasira of the Jaya sāmavatsara, which is the 10th of the Śaka year; Tuesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun."

By the southern lunar system of the Sixty-year Cycle, the Jaya sanavatsara coincided with Śaka-sañvatsara 1097; i.e. with the given year, 1098, as an expired year. And, by Prof. K. L. Chatter’s Tables, I find that, in this year —

The amānta Jyēṣṭha kriṣṇa 15 ended, not on a Sunday, but at about 22 ghaṭa, 53 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bankāpur, on Saturday, 1st June, A. D. 1174. On this day there was an eclipse of the sun, which was visible in India. But the week-day does not correspond with that given in the record; at least, it does not do so, if the record is to be interpreted as meaning that the kriṣṇa ended, and the eclipse occurred, on the Sunday.

Mārgasthā saṅkha 15 ended, as required, on Sunday, 10th November, A. D. 1174, at about 36 ghaṭa, 42 p. And on this day there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

And the amānta Mārgasthā kriṣṇa 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 28th November, A. D. 1174, at about 13 ghaṭa, 51 p. And on old was a town of considerable importance.
this day there was an eclipse of the sun," visible in India. It is to be noted that, in the second and third dates, in which the results work out quite regularly, the term vyatiśāta is not used. And, as there is no reason for suggesting that any portion of the record is not genuine, the explanation of the discrepancy in the results for the first date in it, is perhaps to be found in the use there of the term in question; which may indicate some astrological conditions that necessitated the observance of the rites of that eclipse on the following day, Sunday, instead of on the day on which it actually occurred. I hope that someone will be in a position to examine and explain this point. The only other solution is to assume a mistake in calculation by the person who prepared the almanac, from which the date was taken by the preparer of the record.

No. 23.

At the same village of Hulgūr, on two of the faces of the lower part of a pillar in the well called Kallamathada-bhāvī in Survey No. 73, there is a Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yadava king Mahādeva, in which the date (from an ink-impression; line 15 ff.) is — Śaka-varṣāda 1189 neya Prabhavasannvatāsara Jyēṣṭhā-ba-10-Budhāvāra sūrya grahanad-andu, — "Wednesday, the 30th tithi, in the dark fortnight, of (the month) Jyēṣṭhā of the Prabhava samvatāsara, which is the 1189th of the Śaka years; at the time of an eclipse of the sun."

By the southern lunar-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle, the Prabhava samvatāsara coincided with Śaka-Samvat 1190 current; i.e. with the given year, 1189, as an expired year. In this year, Jyēṣṭhā itself was intercalary, according to the Tables. And I find that —

The natural atadya Jyēṣṭhā krishṇa 15 ended at about 48aṭha 45 palas, after moonrise, for Banikāpur, on Thursday, 23rd June, A.D. 1267; on which day there was no eclipse of the sun. But the intercalated amanta Jyēṣṭhā krishṇa 15 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1267, at about 26 akṣ. 45 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, visible in India.8

This record is of interest, in giving an instance of the quotation of the new-moon tithi as the thirteenth tithi of the month, instead of as the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight. An analogous instance is to be found in an inscription at Jaynagar in the Mongīr District, Bengal Presidency, dated in the reign of Madanapaladēv,9 "the year 16 (7), Āsvina 30." But there is nothing to indicate for certain whether it is the new-moon tithi, or the full-moon tithi, that is thus numbered in the Jaynagar record; though it may be inferred to be the new-moon tithi, in accordance with what is the more general custom in the present day, even in Northern India.10

J. F. Fleet.

PROFESSOR KIELHORN'S EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA.

Excellent as is Prof. Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāshya, hyper-criticism can still lay its finger on a fault here and there. Prof. Kielhorn has, for instance, unfortunately followed the Indian copyists in regard to the divisions of the Mahābhāshya into Āhnikas; i.e. he too has numbered the Pasasāṁhika as the first; and the Āhnikas treating of the fourteen Śūtras, given according to tradition by Mahādeva to Pāṇini, as the second, serially with the rest. Whereas, strictly, these two Āhnikas should be separated from the others, as introductory to them. The first Śūtra of Pāṇini is Viśuddhār ṣādaich, and not Aṭhā śādānukṣetanam, which was only added on by Patañjali to bring Pāṇini's Śūtras into conformity with the usage prevailing in the Śūtra-period. The usage was, always to declare the subject of every set of aphorisms at the beginning, and so to prepare the student for what he might expect, as is shown by the declaratory first Śūtra, commencing with Aṭhā, of the Darśanas, Grihya and Śrauta-Śūtras, and Prātiśākhya. Moreover, all the editions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, which I have seen, separate the fourteen Śūtras of Mahādeva from Pāṇini's text distinctly. The serial divisions of the Great Commentary proper should, therefore, extend from Viśuddhār ṣādaich and the Bhāṣya thereon. High example may be pleaded in favour of the current division; but only example, and nothing more. For, so far as the present writer is aware, Kayyaṭa and Nāgālīḥaṭṭa have not given any reasons for their adherence to it. The fact of their adherence can be explained away, by supposing that they were too much absorbed with their commentaries to bestow any time on such a comparatively unimportant work as formal improvement in the text they were dealing with. By the way, why should not the name of the author of the Bhāṣya-pradīpa be spelt as Kayyaṭa? The analogy of Mummata and Ubbata speaks in favour of this form, as against the other ordinary forms of Kayyaṭa and Kiyaṭa. It is supported by ancient MSS, as well.

Govinda Dasa.

Durgabund, Benaras.

8 id. pp. 288, 289, and Plate 114.—See also the Dēgādī inscription of Kalyaya-Samvat 4276 expired, ante, Vol. XVI. p. 286, No. 17.
9 The actual reading is varāṣāda.
10 The actual reading is jēṣṭhā.
11 See Mr. Sh. H. Dikshit's remarks, ante, Vol. XVI. p. 114.
COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 21).

E.—Benares College Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1232.

The plate which holds this inscription appears to have been discovered, about twenty years ago, by a man ploughing about six miles north-east of the city of Benares, at a village named 'Sihvar,' and it is now deposited in the Library of the Benares Sanskrit College. The text of it has been published before, by Bābū Sivaprasād, in the Pundit, Vol. IV. pp. 95-96 (September, 1869).

The inscription is on a single plate, measuring about 20½" by 16½", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims, to protect the writing; but the middle portion of the inscribed surface is somewhat worn. In the centre of the plate there is a crack, caused by tearing out the ring, and extending two-thirds of the way down from the top; and another, extending about two inches up from the bottom; so that the plate is almost in two pieces. Also, the lower proper right corner is broken away, causing the loss of twelve aksharas. But these, and the damaged aksharas elsewhere, can easily be supplied; and, with the exception of two or three aksharas in line 20, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. But the ring has been abstracted, by slitting the plate from the ring-hole to the edge; and, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming.—The average size of the letters is about ⅓". The characters are Nagari, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is carefully written, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that b is denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in bābhūmāra,1 line 9; and that the dental sibilant has been seven times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant. A few other mistakes will be pointed out in the text.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhaṭṭāreka, Mahādādāhirāja, and Paradāsvara, Jayachandrādāva, who records that, when at Benares, on the occasion of performing the ceremony of giving a name to (his) the king's, son Hariśchandra, he granted the two villages of Saravā[da] and [A]ṃśa, situated in the Mā[n]a pātalā, to the Brahmā, the mahāpandita Hirṣiḷīśāśārman. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Sunday, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Bhāḍrapada, of the year 1232. The grant was written by the mahābhāpatātika, or great keeper of records, the śhukkura Śripati.

As regards the date, taking 1232 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Bhāḍrapada śukla 13 would be:—

for the northern year 1232 current, — Monday, 12 August, A.D. 1174 ;
for the northern year 1232 expired, or the southern year 1232 current, — Sunday, 31 August, A.D. 1175 ;
for the southern year 1232 expired, — Friday, 20 August, A.D. 1176.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Sunday;2 31 August, A.D. 1175; but our record furnishes no means of deciding whether the year 1232 spoken of should be taken to be the northern expired year or the southern current year.

The villages granted, and the pātalā in which they were situated, I am unable to identify.

1 The same remark applies to every one of the following six inscriptions (F to K).
2 On that day, the 13th śīṣṭa of the bright fortnight ended about 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.
TEXT.

1 Önś svasti II Akunṭhōkantāh. Vaikunṭhā-kantapāthā-lūthath-karaḥ I saṁrāmbhaḥ surat-ārambhāḥ sa Śrīyah śrīyasē śtu vaḥ II Āśīvā=Aśīdayuti-vāṃśa-jāta-kṣamā-pāla-mā-

2 lāsu divaṁ gatāsū I sākṣhād-Vivasvānaṁiva bhūri-dhāmA namā Yaksōvighraha ity=udānā II Tat=utō=bhūn-Mahāchandrās=chaṇḍra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nījām I yēṁ=āparām-akū-

3 pāra-pārē vyāpāraṁ yasāḥ II Tasya=ābhiṁ-tanāyō nay-aiśka-kaśkaṁ kṛtānta-devaṅkar-mānjarīlō vidhvaṅ-ḍāhata-hīrha-yōdaṁ-tiṁraitṛ Śrī-Chaṇḍradēvō gṛipaḥ I yēṁ=ādārata-ra-

4 pratāpa-sa(śa)mit-āśēsha-praj-ādāravān śīma-l-Gādhipur-ādhaṁjya-samaṁ dūr-vvitrīmē=irījī(ṁ) I Tīrthaṁ Kāśi-Kusik-ōḷākōśal-Endrañsthāntyam 10. kānī paripālayat-adhiga-sa-

5 mya I hēṁ=ātma-tulam-anīśaṁ dadatā dvījē-bhyō yēṁ=āśitaṁ vasuṁatā śataśaṁ= tulābhiṁ II Tasya=ātma-jō Madanāpīla iś khetindra-çhūlamāṁcit-vaiviyaṭa-nīja-gōta-chaṇḍraḥ I ya-

6 sy-ābhishēka-kālaś-dālāsyāṁ(śi)taṁ pāvībhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kāla-rājāḥ-patalaṁ dharitryāḥ II Yasyāṁ=āsidē-vjaya-prayā-śayamayā tuṅgāchāl-āchāsī-čalana-māyā-mudāya-kumhubhi-pada-kramā.-

7 sama-bhara-bhāśyān-mahāmaṁ+=alō āhuñāratna-rihibhinaṁ-tāulu-galita-styān-āṣīg-udbhāśī-(śi)taḥ Sākshā pēsha-12-vasā(śu)īvaṁ khañjām-amau krōḍē nilīn-ānanaḥ I Tasmād=ājyata niy-āya-

8 ta-va(śa)huvalī-va(śa)ṁ-āduñ-āvaruddha-nava-rija-va-gajō narāndraḥ I saṁvār-aṁṛita-drava-
muchāṁ prabhavō gavaṁ yō Gōvindachandrā iti chaṇḍra iś amvūn-(mūb)raśē(śē) I Na14 katham-apy-salabhaṁ rāpa-khamaṁ-sī- 

9 sīṣhu dikshō gajān-atha Vajrīṇaḥ I kakūbhī bhabramur-Abhramavallabhā-prāti-
bhātā iha yasya ghatē-gajāḥ II Ajanī Vijayačandrō nāma tasmāṁ nārāṇḍraḥ II suraparti-s-

10 va bhūbhrīt-paksha-vicchāda-lakṣaṇaḥ i bhuvaṇa-dalana-varī-ḥarmmya-Hamvi(mbi)ra-

nārī-nayasa-jalada-dhāra-dhauta-bhūlōk-tāpōḥ I Lokastrate16-ākramaṇa-kēli-vīṣṭān-

khalanī prakhyātā.

11 kṛttī-kavi-varṇita-varhavāṇā I yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāṇjī bhūtā śrīdān-prajjīm-

bhavanāt17 Va(śa)lırīja-bhayāṁ yaśāmī I Yasminīs-čalatṛ=udādhinēmī-maṅ-

jāyārthaṁ māyāyaka.

12 rindra-guru-bhāra-nipiditāvva I yāti Prajayati-padaṁ sa(śa)raṇ-ṛṣthiṁ bhūs-ṭvāṅ-

gang-nivāh-ṭīthā-rajasa-chedhālēna I Tasmād=ādbhuta-vikramādatha Jayach-

chandraḥ-ābhīdhanāṁ pati-

13 r-bhūpānām-avatārāṇa ēśa bhuvana-bhārarāya Nārāyaṇaḥ I dvādikēbhāvan-āpasya 
viraha-ruchā dhīhikā kṛityā sā(śa)nt-āsāyāḥ sēvāntīm yam-udagra-va(śa)ṁ-dhāmaṁ-bhayaṁ-ārthāṁ-ārthāṁ pārthivāḥ II 

14 Gachchēn19-mūrchechhā-anṭeṣchhāṁ-na yadi kavaḷayēt-kūrmma-rijkāth-abhīghata-

pratāvṛṣṭa-śrīm-ārte nāmāk-hiṇha-phāṇa-śvāsa-vāyū-saḥsāra(ṛa)ṁ I udvyogē 
yasya dhāvad-dharaṇidhara-dhuni-nirjha-

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2 From the impression. 4 Expressed by a symbol. 8 Metro, Śūka (Amūbhūb). 11 Metro, Śrīdāvakṛṣṭī. 15 Read Pāṇḍurākṣa. 18 Metro, Vamantālakā. 19 Read Athraṅkū. 10 Read Aṣṭādaśa. 11 This (and not prāddyutayantī) is the reading also in line II of the Fāzīkbhā plate of Jayachandrā, ante., Vol. XV. p. 6. 17 Metro, Śrīdāvakṛṣṭī. 20 Metro, Śrīdāvakṛṣṭī.
TRANSLATION.

Oh!

May it be well!

(I. 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmī during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikuṇṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness! After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (personage) Yaśōvīgrahā by name, (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.

(I. 2.)—His son was Mahīchandra, who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (even) to the boundary of the ocean.

(I. 3.)—His son was the king, the illustrious Chandرادēva, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (and) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (the moon does the) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gādhipura, when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kāli, Kuṣika, Uttarakūṣa, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in weight) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).

(I. 5.)—Victorious is his son Maδanapala, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars the coating of impurity of the Kali-age was washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his rambling elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Śrīsa, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

(I. 7.)—As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abundance liquid nectar, from the ocean, so was born from him the ruler of men, Gōvindaśandra, who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (untrained) elephant, so he secured by his creeper-like long arms the newly-acquired kingdom.

When his war-elephants had in three quarters in no wise found elephants their equals for combat, they roamed about in the region of the wielder of the thunderbolt, like rivals of the mate of Abhāraṇu.

* The akṣaras in brackets at the commencement of this and the following lines are broken away.
* Metro, Śālaka.
* i.e., Kanyakubja.
* See ante, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 16.
* See ib. p. 12, note 97.
* See ib. p. 9, note 49.
(L. 9.)—From him was born the ruler of men, Vijayachandra by name, expert in destroying the hosts of (hostile) princes, as the lord of the gods (was) in clipping the wings of the mountains. He swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the Hambira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.

His bright fame which met no check in its playful course through the three worlds, (and) whose glory was sung by poets of known renown, made intense the fear of king Bali when it strode along like Trivikrama.32

When he went33 out to conquer the earth girt by the ocean, the earth, distressed as it were by the heavy weight of his ruddy royal elephants, went33 seeking protection up to the throne of Prajapati, in the guise of the dust rising from the multitude of his prancing horses.

(L. 12.)—After him, possessed of wonderful valour, (comes) the lord of princes named Jayachandra; he is Narayana, having become incarnate for the salvation of the earth. Having put aside (all) dissension (and) cursing (their own) liking for war, peacefully disposed princes pay homage to him, seeking to rid themselves of the intense dread of the punishment (inflicted by him).

When he puts forth his might, the lord of serpents has his reputed strength falling under the great weight of the lines of elephants whose rutting-juice flows down in broad streams resembling torrents rushing down from moving mountains; distressed by the exertion of turning up again when pressed down upon the back of the tortoise, he would completely faint away if he did not inhale the thousand strong breezes from all his bending hoofs.

(L. 15.)—He is it who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all Bajas. And he, Paramabhattaraka, Mahārajadhīrāja, and Paramēvāra, the devout worshipper of Mahēvara, the lord over the three Bajas, (vis.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men,34 (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Jayachandra-dēva,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Mahārajadhīrāja, and Paramēvāra, the devout worshipper of Mahēvara, the lord over the three Bajas, (vis.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (like) Brihaspati in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Vijayachandra-dēva,—who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Mahārajadhīrāja, and Paramēvāra, the devout worshipper of Mahēvara, the lord over the three Bajas; (vis.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (like) Brihaspati; in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious Gōvindachandra-dēva,—who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Mahārajadhīrāja, and Paramēvāra, the devout worshipper of Mahēvara, the illustrious Madanapaladēva,—who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka, Mahārajadhīrāja, and Paramēvāra, the devout worshipper of Mahēvara, the illustrious Chandrachandra, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyakubja:—

(L. 20.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the villages of Sarajar [and] [A?]mayati35 in the Mahārajapattalā, and also to the Bajas, Bājās, Yuvājās, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gymnecaums, messengers; and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), etchnas and gokulas:—36

(L. 22.)—Be it known to you that,—after having bathed here to-day in the water of the Ganges at the glorious Varanasi, (the town) of victory, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon,38 after having performed adoration of the holy Vāsudēva, the

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32 See ib. p. 12, note 98.
33 The original has the present tense.
34 Aivapati, Gajapati, and Narapati; see ib. p. 9, note 92.
35 See ib. p. 9, note 94.
36 The first syllable of this name is doubtful.
37 See ib. p. 10, note 55.
38 I.e. Śiva.
protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk rice and sugar, — we have, in order to increase the merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on Sunday, the thirteenth lunar day in the bright half of the month Bhādra, in the twelve-hundred-and-thirty-second year, — in figures too, on Sunday, the 13th day of Bhādra, in the year 1233, — on (the occasion of) giving a name to the king’s son, the illustrious Harischandra, given the (two) above-written villages with their water and dry land, with their mines of iron and salt, with their fisheries, with their ravines and saline wastes, with the treasure in their hills and forests, with and including their groves of madhūka and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to their four abuttals, up to their proper boundaries, to the Brāhmaṇa, the mahāpāṇḍita the illustrious Hīrshikēśārman, son of the mahāmātirāṇaṇaṇa of the illustrious Mahādēva, of the Sātrikāsaka gōtra, (and) whose five pravartas are Bhāgava, Chyavāna, Āṇavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya, — (confirming our gift) with (the pouring out) from the palm of our hand (of) water purified with kūśa grass . . . . .40 (and) ordaining (that it shall be his) as long as moon and sun (endure). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over (to him) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, the pravāṇikara,41 and so forth.

(L. 29.) — And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses: — [Here follow eleven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 35.) — And this copper-plate grant has been written by the great keeper of records, the Thākkura, the illustrious Sripati.

F.—Bengal Asiatic Society’s Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1233.

The plates which hold this and the following five inscriptions (G.-K.) were found,1 in 1833, by a peasant at work in a field near the confluence of the river Varanā (the ‘Burnah’ of the maps) with the Ganges, close to Benares; and they are now deposited in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Excepting some slight differences of orthography and occasional errors, the introductory portions of these six inscriptions, up to the words śrīmāj-Jayachchandraḥ vijayaḥ, are entirely the same as that of the inscription E, lines 1-20; and in the subsequent parts, too, the wording of these grants agrees so closely with the wording of E, that a full translation would be superfluous. I shall therefore, in the following, give only the essential portion of the text of each inscription, and shall point out what may be of any importance, in my introductory remarks.

This inscription is on a single plate, measuring about 20½” by 16”, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, and were partly raised or beaten up into rims; and the preservation of the writing is perfect, so that there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. — The ring-hole in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet’s notice, is about ½” thick and 5” in diameter. It fits easily into a round hole in the bottom part of a bell-shaped seal, which is about 3” high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 3½” in diameter; and on it, in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Ġarudā, with the body of a man and the head and wings of a bird, kneeling half to the front and half to the proper right, and with his head turned full round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the legend śrīmāj-Jayachchandraḥ[paṁ] drāvātah ॥; and at the bottom, a śaṅkha-shell. — The average size of the letters is about ½”.

The engraving is fairly good; but, in the usual manner, the interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and

40 This word appears to signify a great scholar, deserving of the honorific title mītra (Hālā-mītra).
41 See ib. p. 10, note 57.
42 See ib. p. 10, note 58.
1 See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. pp. 446 and 459.
the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography, I need only note that ओ is denoted by the sign for s everywhere except in the word babhrumur, and that the dental sibilant has been fourteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhatāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, Jayachandradēva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of Gōṇantī, situated in the Paśchima-chochhapana pattalād in Antarvēṭī, together with its two ṭekaśas called Gaṇṭiśāmūyil and Nīṭāmūyil, to the ṛūta Rājadhava-rāvan, son of the mahāmabhataka, the ṭakkura Vidyādha, and son’s son’s of the mahāmabhataka, the ṭakkura Jagaddha, a Kaḥariya of the Vata gōṭra, whose five pravaras were Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āśavāna, Aurva, and Jamadagnya. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Saturday, the 10th lunar-day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, of the year 1233. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the mahā-kepataṭi, or great keeper of records, the ṭakkura Śripati.

The term ṭekaśa, which occurs in the above, is by lexicographers explained to mean grāma-kadeśa ‘a part of a village,’ and comparing the use of the word in lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K below, and in line 14 of the inscription of Gōrvindachandra3 of the year 1187 (not 1180) published in the Journal Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LVI. Part II. p. 105, I understand the word to denote the outlying portion of a village, or a kind of hamlet which had a name of its own, but really belonged to a larger village. In the present case, the village of Gōṇantī, granted by the king, had two such hamlets, named Gaṇṭiśāmūyil and Nīṭāmūyil respectively.

As regards the date, taking 1233 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaiśākha śukla 10 would be:

for the northern year 1233 current, — Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175;
for the northern year 1233 expired, or the southern year 1233 current, — Tuesday, 20 April, A.D. 1176;
for the southern year 1233 expired, — Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177, and the calculation shows that the year 1233, mentioned in our record, was the southern Vikrama year 1233, expired, i.e. the northern year 1235, current.

Of the localities mentioned, Antarvēṭī is the Doab, or district between the Ganges and Yamunā rivers. The village granted, and the pattalād in which it was situated, I am unable to identify.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

20 . . . . . . . . 'śrīmaṭ-Jayachandradēva-vijayi 12 Antarvēṭāyāh 12 Paśchima-chochhapana-pattalāyām 12 Gaṇṭiśāmūyil 12 Nīṭāmūyil 12 saha
naimi
22 tīk-āntahpurika-dūta-karitragapattana-karaśānagokulādhikāri-purushān-ājāpayati vē-
(bō)dhayaty-ādiśati cha [1\*] Viditam-astu bhavatāṁ yath-oparilikhita-grāmaṇū-
sa-jala.

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1 The published text and the translation of it are incorrect. The actual reading of the date is distinctly Bhelur-pāṭkāna saha ‘together with the pāṭka Bhelur’ (not ‘a part of Balurī’ (1)).
2 On that day the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight commenced about mean sunrise, and it ended 1 h. 44 m. before sunrise of the following day.
3 From the impression.
4 Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
5 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
23 the Indian Antiquary. [May, 1889.

24 ta-visa[sa]ndhau sva-simā-paryantaḥ 15 trayasya[sa]d-adhikā-devakā-tata-sam-
(m)vasārā Vaisākhaḥ kha māśa su(su)ka-pakṣaḥ dāsāmyam tithaih Sa(la)-
ni-dinē anikta-pi sam(m)va 1233 Vaisākhaḥ kha su di 10 Sa(la)nasu
adya. e

25 ha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārānasyaḥ Gaṅgāyaṁ snātā vidiḥvau maṁstrā-dēva-muni-
manuṣya-bhūta-pitrīgaṁśa-tarppayītvā timīra-paṭalalapaṭana-paṭu-mahāsaṁ=-Uha-
rōcchāsam-upasthāyā-O(sa)shadhipati-

26 sākala-śekharanā samabhavichchaya tribhuvanā-trātur-bhagavatā Vāsudēvasya pūjāṁ
vidhāya prachura-pāyasena haviḥśa hāvīrbaḥ jātuṁ mātā-pitrāṁ
ātmanāṁ-cha pūnya-yās-o-bhūvīrddhayā a-

27 småbhir-ggokarṇa-kulaatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārgava-
Chyavan-Ānvavā-Anvra-Jāmadagṇy-eti-paṭha-pravaraṇya mahāmahattaka-ṭhak-
āra-śṝ-Jagadīttarapraṇthya mahāmaha-

28 ttaka-ṭhakkura-śūri-Vidyādharaputraṛ druta-śūri-Rājyadharavarmmaṇe khāṣṭhārīkāya
chandru-ārkaṁ yāvach-chhāsanikṛita pradattā matvā yathādyāmānā-
bhāgalōgkrā-pravānīkara-prabhṛti-niyatāmi-

29 yata-samast-ādāyanā-ājāvīdhīyabhiya dāsya= ē ti || Bhavantī ch-atra śūlakā i

35 . . . || Liṅkitaṁ ch-atraṁ tāmrapaṭṭakaṁ mahākṣatapalika-ṭhakkura-śūri-
Śripatiśibhi ||

G.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1233.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 21" by 15" and inscribed on
one side only. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface;
and the preservation of the writing is perfect. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate.
The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about 3" thick
and 5½" in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-
shaped seal, which is about 3¼" high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 3½" in dia-
meter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a represen-
tation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend śrīmaṇja-Jayachha-
[sa]drātēvaḥ ||; and at the bottom, a śākha-shell. — The average size of the letters is about
3/16". The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters show
marks of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word bahvam; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal once for the dental
sibilant; kha has taken the place of kh in sākhara, line 23; and the conjunct teva has been employed instead of mr in āmuva, line 21, and tāmvarakā, line 34.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhaṭṭārakas, Mahābhāṭṭhirāja, and Paramēś바ra,
Jayachhandaṛāva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of Kōtiha-
vandhuri, in the Kosamba pattaḷ, to the Khāṣṭhā Rājyadharavarman, mentioned as donee
in the preceding inscription. The date, too, is the same as that of the inscription F.; and this
grant also was written by the mahākṣatapalika, the Ṭhakkura Śripati.
Among the taxes, etc., to be paid to the donee, this inscription, in addition to the bhāga bhāgakara and pravaiṣṭaka, in line 26 enumerates the yamalikāmbali, which is also mentioned below in the inscription II, line 29, and in I, line 23, and is called jāvalikāmbali in J, line 25, and in K, line 24. I have not met with this technical term elsewhere, and am unable to explain it.

As regards the localities, the Kōsamba pattalā evidently takes its name from Kauśāmbi, with which has been identified the village of Kōsām, on the left bank of the Yamunā, about 30 miles above Allahābād, which is said to have been a large and flourishing town, as late as a century ago. The village mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

18 . . . . . . 2-ārīmat-ja-yāchchandradēvō viyāl || || Kōsamva(ba)-pattalāyāṁ
19 Kōṭhāravandhūrī-grāma-nīvatāṁ nihila-janapadāṁ-upagatāṁ-api cha rājā-rājē-yuvārāja-māntri-purūḥita-prathāra-sānépatahi-bhūndāgarik-āksaṭapaḍa(ta)lika-bhīshān-naimittik-āntahpurikī-dōṭa-kari-


22 pakṣē dāsamyāṁ tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē anukāṭo-pi saṅvat 1233 Vaisā(ḥ)kha sah su dī 10 Sa(sa)nu ady-ṛha āśīmad-Vārāṇaṣyāṁ Gangāyāṁ snātvā nidhivāmantra-dēvā-muni-manjā-bhūta-pitrāgamāṁ tarpayyitvā

23 timira-pāṭala-paṭana-paṭu-mahāsaṁ-Uṣhāpačhiṣham-uptasthāyā-ō(ā)ndhāḥpiṭa-saṅkara-sō-(ś) traṁ samabhāryachchāya tribhuvana-trāturā Vāsudēvavai pūjāṁ

24 jah huvā mātā-pitṛā-ātmasaṁ-cha pūya-yaśō-bhīvīdhyāh asmāmbhir-gōkaṛṣṇa-kusalātā-pūta-kaṭalādāka-pu[ṛ] vahā Vatsa-ḍūrāya Bhāṛgavā-Cheyvāna-

25 Āśvāṇa-Auvvā-Jāmadagnya-paṭhā-pravarśāya

26 mahāmahattaka-thakkurā-śrī-Jagadha(ddha)ra-paṇtrāya mahāmahattaka-mahāthakhkura-śrī-Vidyādhara-patrāya rūṭa-śrī-Rāja(jy)aḥdharvammanē kṣatriyāya chandraghṛka(a)ī yavach-chhāsanīkṛitya praddattā matvā yathā-

27 dīyāmāna-bhāgbhāgakara-pravaiṣṭaka-yamalikāmva(mba)li-prabhrīti-niyataniyata-samastā-dāyanājñāvīdhuḥ bhāhuḥ dasyath-āti || Bhavantī cha-aṭra alō(slo)kṛh ||

28 . . . . . . . Līkhiṭam ch-ēḍam


H.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society’s Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachandra.

The (Vikram) year 1234.

A translation of this inscription by Captain E. Fell, with remarks by H. H. Wilson, has been published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. pp. 447-469.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 20\frac{1}{2}" by 17\frac{3}{4}"., and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly thinned and partly raised into rims; and though in a few places the surface of the plate is slightly worn, the writing in general is well

1 From the impression.
2 Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
3 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
4 Read trāṇdvati-adhāki.
5 Read praddattā.
6 Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictory and imperatory verses as in E, except that for the verse beginning na viśaṁ viśvaṁ-tyaṁ bhūḥ we have here the verse beginning på-śa dhātāvī purā satvēndraḥ.
preserved. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about \( \frac{1}{2} \)" thick and \( \frac{4}{8} \)" in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about \( 3\frac{1}{4} \)" high. The surface of the seal is circular, about \( 3\frac{3}{4} \)" in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuda, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend śrīnājaya-śayachchandrādvadēśa; and at the bottom, a śrīnāh-seal. — The average size of the letters is between \( \frac{3}{4} \)" and \( \frac{3}{8} \)". The engraving is good; though, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, \( b \) has been denoted by the sign for \( v \) everywhere except in the word bāhīram; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant; śkā has taken the place of kha in śēkāra, line 26; and the conjunct mūra has been employed instead of mura in āmera, line 24, and tāmvarakā, line 35; besides, the dental has occasionally been used instead of the lingual nasal, e.g., in uttarāyana, line 25.

This inscription also is one of the Paramahāṭāraka, Mahārāja-hīrīvā, and Paramēśvara, Jayachandradēva, who records that, when Benares, he granted the village of Dēpālī, together with (what I consider to be four pāṭakas or outlying hamlets) Vavaharāḍīh, Chatārā-[gē]laupālī, Saravatā-talātā, and Naugama, situated in the Ambuāllī pattalād, on the banks of the D[j]ava, to the Khaṭṭarīya Rājyadharmavarman, the donee of the preceding two inscriptions F and G. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures to have been, — Sunday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of Pauṣa, of the year 1234, on the Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti or commencement of the sun's progress upon its northern course. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the mahākṣetupalika, the Thākura Sripati.

As regards the date, taking 1234 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Pauṣa śukla 4 would be: — for the year 1234 current, — Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1176; and for the year 1234 expired, — Monday, 26 December, A.D. 1177. In A.D. 1176 the Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti took place on December 25th, which, irrespective of the fact that the week-day would be wrong, shows at once that the day intended by the grant cannot possibly be December 7, A.D. 1176. In A.D. 1177, on the other hand, the Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti took place about 5 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th; and the 4th tithī of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa commenced about 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 26th. and ended about 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, December 26th. I therefore believe that the day intended is Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1177, which was really the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa; and that the meaning intended to be conveyed by the wording of the date is this, that the donation was made on Sunday, the day of the Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti, during part of the day when the 4th tithī was running.—Accordingly 1234 has to be taken as the expired year; but, the day falling in the bright fortnight of Pauṣa, there is nothing to show whether the year should be regarded as a northern or southern year.

The river and the localities mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

\[20\]
\[3\]-śrīnājaya-śayachchandrādvadēśa vijayē || \[D[a]vahā-pārē \] Amvura-mlaǐ-pattalīyām Vavaharāḍīhā \[C[a]tā[r]ā[gē]
\[21\] laupālī \[S[a]ravatā-talātā \] \[N[a]ugama] ātaī saha Dēpālī-grāma-nivāsino
\[n[i]khīla-janapadān-pagatān-sapi \] cha rāja rājī-rūvāra-

1. Compare lines 15 and 17 of the inscription K. below.
2. From the impression.
3. Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
4. These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 20" by 15½", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims; and the writing is well preserved throughout. Recently, a small triangular piece, containing eleven akṣaras, has been broken away at the upper proper left corner; but it is preserved with the plate. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. The ring and its seal are not now forthcoming; but that it appears that they were found when the plate was discovered: and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuḍa and a śaṅka-shell, and a legend giving the name of Jayachandra. — The average size of the letters is between ⁴/₇" and ⁵/₇". The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nagari, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, ɓ has been denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word bahramur; and the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēvara, Jayachandraśīvā, who records that, when in residence at Rāṇḍavā on the Ganges, he granted the village of Dayādāma, situated in the Dayādāmi pātalā, to the rāuta Rājadhāravarman, the donee of the preceding inscriptions. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Friday, the full moon tiṭṭh or
15th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, of the year 1236. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the mahākāpapūrṇa, the Thākura Sripati.

As regards the date, taking 1236 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaiśākha sukla 15 would be:—

- for the northern year 1236 current, — Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178;
- for the northern year 1236 expired, or the southern year 1236 current, — Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179;
- for the southern year 1236 expired, — Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180; and the year 1236 of the grant must be taken to be the southern expired year, i.e., the northern year 1237 current.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

18... ... 3 śrimaj-Jayaçhchandra(vai)devôvijaya II Dayādāmi-patallāyān
Dayādāma-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-unagatān-api cha rāja-rājē
yuvārāja-mantri-
19 purōhitā-prathārā-sañapati-bhāndāgarik-ākhaṭapātalikā-bhīshāna-naimittik-āntāh-prīrika-dūta-
kartiṣagapattanakārastrāhānagdāhikā-śūrakāna-ājāpayati v(b)bādhayā-ādi-
śati
20 cha yathā viditam-sastu bhavataṁ yathāparikhiṭa-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-
la[p]a-sa[k]aḥ sa-matsy-śa[k]araḥ sa-garit-śa[k]araḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānāḥ sa-
ma[ha]i[ka]-ān[i]-vāna-vātikā-viśpa-śrīnāni-
shaṭṭrīmaś(sa)da-jāhika-dvādaśa-sa-sa[n]vatsarē Vaiśā(s)aṁkṣē māsi sa[k]u-
pa[k]he pūrṇamāyān tithau Su[k]ra-dinē aṅkata(t)ī pari sam 1236
Vaiśā(s)aṁkṣē ku
22 di 15 Su[k]ra adya-eha śri-Raṇḍava-sa[n]vatsē Gaṅgāyanaṁ sa tvā vidhi-
mantra-deva-muni-manuṣya-bhūta-pitṛgaṁśiṁ tarpaṇayīvā timira-patāla-patana-paṭa-
mahasam-Uṣṇārvacch-au[p]asthāy-Au[n]adhipaṭi-śakala-
23 se(s)kharān samabhāryaḥcchya tribhuvana-trātṛnVvasudevaya pūjānā vidhāya
prachura-pāyasena hāvīhā hāvīṛhinaḥ hūtva mātā-pitṛr-ātmanaḥ-cha
puṇya-yādā hīrvīddhayām samabhārya-ggārṇa-kuśāla-vāya-karata-
24 l-da[k]a-pūrvvakam II Vaiśa-gotrāya. Bhāṛgava-Chayavaṇa-Ānavaṇa-Mañ[a]na%vra-
Jāmadagnyam-anap草原-mahāmahattaka-thakkura-śrī-Jagaddhara-paurāya
mahāmahattaka-thakkura-śrī-Vidyādharā-pūtrāya rānta-śrī-{Rā}jyaḥda-
25 ravarmam(a)nuḥ candra-ārkkaṁ yāvach-chaḥsanakri[tya*] pradattō maśva-yathā
diyāmanka-bhaggabhāgakara-prama(va)nīkara-yamalikavma(m�a)li-prabhṛti-
[niyati-
26 Bha[va]nti ch-atra ślokāh I... ... 33 II II Likhitaṁ ch-edeam tāvra(ma)kā[n]* maḥākāpapātal-
34 ka-[ha]kkura-śrī-Sripatikan*āti II II Maṅgalaṁ maḥā-ārīh II

J.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society’s Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 18 in. by 13 in. and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims; and

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1 On that day, there was full-moon about 21 h. 40 m. after noon.
2 From the impression.
3 From the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.
4 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
5 Read pūrvvakāh Vaiśa-
6 Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictory and imperative verses as in E.; and besides, the verse beginning amad-cakṣaḥ pariṣkṛtya, and yāh-aha dattāṁ puruś Narendra.
the writing is well preserved throughout. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. The ring and its seal are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were discovered with the plate; and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuḍa and a śākha-shell, and a legend giving the name of Jayachandra. — The average size of the letters is about 2. The engraving is fairly good; though, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b has been denoted by the sign for v everywhere except in the word bahramur; the dental sibilant has been about 35 times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal a few times for the dental sibilant; sha has taken the place of kha in -śararā, line 23; the conjunct mra has been used for mṛa in āmṛa, line 20; and the dental nasal has occasionally been employed instead of the lingual nasal, e.g. in pūnya, line 23.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājaśīvara, and Paramēśvara, Jayachandrādeva, who records that, when in residence at Rāṇḍava, the Ganges, he granted the village of Salōṭṭha, situated in the Jāraṇṭha pattalā, to the Rāṣṭra-Rājyadhāravarman, the donee of the preceding grants. The date is the same as that of the preceding inscription I.; and this grant also was written by the mahādēkapatālika, the Ṭhakkura Sripati.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

17 ... 11 Jā[ruttha]-pattalāyām 12 Salōṭṭha-grāma-nivāsino nikhila-janapaddāna

18 dēva vijaya 11 Jā[ruttha]-pattalāyām 12 Salōṭṭha-grāma-nivāsino nikhila-janapaddāna

19 paṭalika - bhishag - nūmīktik-āntah-purīka - dūta-karituragapā[ḍ] tanakasthāna
gōkulādhi-kārī-purushānājāpāyati vō(bō)dhayati - sādīsati cha yathā viḍī(dī)tam-aśtu

20 khita-grāmāh sa-jala-sāhalā sa-lōṇa-lavaq-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ężarāḥ

21 rddhr-ādhiṣṭa-chatur-āghāṭa-visṛ(ṇ)ddhaḥ sva-smā-paryantah saṭṭhaṁ-saṁjñāyati
gōkura-purāṇaḥ s-ō

22 di 15 Su(su)kṛte ṣa Rāṇḍava-samāśā saṅgāyāṁ saṅātva vidhi-vān

23 shadhipati-sakala-śēśa (kha) rain samabhīrychchya trihuvana-trātur-bhagavatā Vāsandai


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1 From the impression.
2 Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word śṛṅ before Kaṇḍukī, is the same as that of the inscription K.
3 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
4 The second akṣara of this word is quite illegible, and has been taken from the inscription K. below; the third may be tha.
5 Read-pattalāyāṁ.
6 The consonant of this akṣara is doubtful.
7 Read saṭṭhaṁ-saṁjñāyati.
8 Read saṁjñāyati.
9 This s appears to be struck out.
10 Read-pūrvvakaṇāṁ.
K.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 17½ by 12½, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims. The surface of the plate is somewhat worn; but, excepting two or three aksharas in line 16, there is no doubt about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The wire of the ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is not round, as is usually the case, but rectangular, about 9 by 5; but it is bent into the usual circular shape, about 3½ in diameter. It fits rather tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about 3½ high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 2½ in diameter; and on it, in low relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are—at the top, a representation of Garuda, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend krmaj-Jayachchchha[9*]-drdevah[11]; and at the bottom, a sānka-shell. The average size of the letters is about 3. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The letters are rather shallow, and do not show through at all on the back of the plate, which is thick and substantial. The characters are Nagari and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the inscription closely agrees with the preceding inscription J., so that all the remarks made on the orthography of J. are also here applicable.

This inscription also is one of the Paramabhaṭṭaṛaka, Mahārajadhārījā, and Paramēśvara, Jayachchandradēvā, who records that, when in residence at Raṇḍavaṭ in the Ganges, he granted the village of Abhēlavatū, situated in the Jāru[tha] patallā (also mentioned in J.), together with its five paṭakas or outlying hamlets Maniārī, Gayassāṇa, Vatāvāṇa, Asī[10]ma, and [Sirī?]ma, to the rāja Rājyadharavarmā, the donee of the preceding grants. The date is the same as that of the preceding inscriptions I and J., and this grant also was written by the mahākṣepaṭalika, the Thakkura Sripati.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.1

16 


18 ka-dūta-kaśirudarapaisantākaraṇasthāṅgākulaḥdhikāri-purushān-ājvāpaṭai dhō(bō)dhayaṭi-ādiśaṭi cha yatā dhō(śi)ditam-astu bhavatām yathā-opa[rī]-pāṭakāḥ saha likhaṭa-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-la-

10 Read yānch-chhāamānīkṛitya. 11 Here follow the same verses as in I. 1 From the impression.
12 Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word ē before Raṇḍavāтри, is the same as that of the inscription E.
13 This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, appears to be struck out already in the original.
14 The aksharas in brackets are very doubtful.
The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 8\(\frac{3}{4}\)" by 3\(\frac{3}{8}\)". The edges of the first and third plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. On the outer side of the first plate, near the centre, there is engraved, in Arabic or Persian characters, a word which, it seems, can only be read as "\(\mathbf{N}d\)"; but the purport of the word is not apparent, save that it must be some official voucher stamped on the record, when, in later times, it was produced as a title-deed before some Mussalman authority.—The ring on which the plates are strong, and which passes through a ring-hole near the proper right end of each plate, is about \(\frac{1}{8}\)" thick and 5\(\frac{3}{4}\)" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The ends of the ring are secured in the lower part of a seal, the top of which is slightly oval, about 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" by 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)". And on the seal, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a bull, couchant to the proper right.—The weight of the three plates is about 3 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 4 oz.; total, 4 lbs. 8 oz.—The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The size of the letters varies from \(\frac{1}{4}\)" to \(\frac{1}{2}\)". The engraving is bold and good, and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of
them at all. As usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of working the engraver’s tool. In line 27 we have forms of the decimal figures 2, 4, and 5; but the 4 and the 5 are of a decidedly exceptional type, and, but for the explanation of them in words, would most naturally have been read as 6 and 8. — The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the inceptive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, the whole inscription is in prose. In line 2 we have the Prakrit word someachakha, for the Sanskrit samvatsara. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are: (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the anusvāra, before i, in niṣṭritika, line 6; (2) the (a) use, throughout, of the lingual for the palatal nasal, e.g. in maṇi, line 5; but this is perhaps a palaeographical point, rather than orthographical; (3) the rather frequent omission to double a consonant after r, e.g. in upārjita, line 6, and other words; though instances of the correct practice are not wanting; (4) the doubling of dh before y, in anuddhyāta, line 7; and (5) the use of v for b, throughout, in vaubhīṣṭa, line 15; evahā, line 20; amva, line 22; and evahā, for evahā, line 23.

The inscription is one of Dvēndravarman, of the Gāṅga family of Kaliṅga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the victorious camp at the city of Kaliṅganagara, which city is in all probability now represented by the modern Kaliṅgapatam1 at the mouth of the Vaināśīvara river, in the Chicacole Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Gaṅjam District, Madras Presidency. It is a Saiva inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of some villages, the names of which are not quite certain, in the Dvādasmadavam vishaya, to the god Siva under the name of Dharmēvara.

As regards the date of this record, from line 13 we learn that the grant was made ayana-pūrva, or in connection with the ceremonies of an ayana, which here probably denotes the winter solstice. While in line 27 b, fully in words and partly in decimal figures, we have, for the writing and engraving of the charter, the year two hundred and fifty-four of some unspecified era; the month Phālghana; the first fortnight, which will be the bright or the dark fortnight, according as we have to apply the anānta or the pāṃśi pūya arrangement; and the first lunar day. As the word ayana can only denote the winter (or summer) solstice, and cannot refer to the ordinary sankṛanti that occurs in Phālgana, no immediate connection between these two passages can be established; and consequently there are no details that can be actually tested by calculation. The era that is intended, and the probable date of this grant, will be considered in a separate paper on the Gāṅga of Kaliṅga.

TEXT.2

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ3 Svastya-Amarapura-anukāra-ṇa-sara-vā[=]*ītu-sukha-ramaṇya-ya-vījaya-vat[a
Kaliṅga-nagara-vā.-
2 sakān-Mahēndr-achal-āma-sīkharā-pratishṭhāt[s]*tasya sāchar-āchāra-gurdo-sakala-
bhuvana-nirmā-
3 paīka-su(sā)-tradhārāya saśānka-chù[=]dā*]maṇer-bhagavatō Gōkarṇa-svāminat[=]-charaṇa-
kaśa-vi-
4 gala-prapāmād-vigata-Kali-kalsakhkā-nēk-āhava-saṅkhobhā-janita- jayaga(śā)bd[=]a pratāp-ā-
vanata-samasta-samanta-chakra-chudāmaṇi-prabha maṇja(śī)cī- punja(śī)-maṇji(śī)ti-
charaṇp
5 niṣa-nistritika-ṛapāṛita-sakala-Kaliṅga-adhirājyaḥ parama-mahēśvara

1 The ’Calingapatam’ of some maps, &c. Lat. 16° 20' N.; Long. 84° 9' E. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108.
2 From the original plates.
3 Represented by a symbol.
4 This ga was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.
5 First śī, or ṣī, was engraved, and then the superscript vowel was partially cancelled.
6 This la, having been omitted, was inserted below the line.
7 The form of s that is used in the first syllable of this word, occurs again in śūrya, line 8; and was intended to be used in goḍa for ṣūrya, line 4. In śūṣakā, line 8, and other words, a different form is used, more easily distinguishable from the form of g.
8 The ṣ, for ś, is imperfect here.
Vizagapatam Plates of Devendravarman.—The Year 254.
GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN; THE YEAR 254.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

From the victorious camp (vāsaka) at the city of Kalinganagara (line 1),—he who has had the staves of the Kali age removed by doing obsequies to the two water-lilies which are the feet of the divine (god) Gokarṇaśvāmin (l. 3), established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahāndra (l. 2), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect
for the construction of the universe (l. 3); he who has acquired by the edge of his own sword the authority of Adhārāya over the whole (country of) Kaliṅga (l. 6), — viz. the illustrious Dēvēṇḍravarman (l. 9), — who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara (l. 6); who meditates on the feet of his mother and father (l. 7); who has sprung from (him who was) the forehead-ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṇgas (l. 8); and who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Anantavarman (l. 9), — being in good health, issues a command to all the cultivators assembled at (the villages of) ....... 23 in the Dēvādānadvānaṃ viṣhāya (l. 10): —

"Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, who have been admonished 24 to perform this act of religion by Our maternal uncle, the illustrious Dharmaṅkē śiṇ (l. 12), in connection with (the rites of) an āyana (l. 13), and in order to increase the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves (l. 14), these villages, with their boundaries as they are being enjoyed from former times (l. 14), have been given to the holy (god), the Bhūtaśākha Dharmaṅkē śiṇ (l. 12). 25

"[Here the grantor quotes five benedictory and imprecatory verses, attributed to Vyāsa (l. 15), which it is unnecessary to translate.]

"In the presence of the Purāṇī Ādityādeva (l. 24), by the command of Our own mouth (l. 25), this charter has been written by the illustrious Ugrādeva (l. 26), the son of the Rāhugya 26 Durgādeva, and has been engraved by the Akṣayadī śiṇ, the illustrious Sūmanā Khaṇā (l. 26); namely, 27 in two centuries of years (l. 27), increased by the fifty-fourth (year), (or, in figures, in the year) 254; on the first lunar day in the first fortnight of the month Phālguṇa; in the time when the superintendence of the shrine (sthāndākāhāra) belongs to the holy Brahmaṇ Sūmāchāra (l. 28)."

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. XIV.—The Mistress of Eight Ships; or the Discarded Wife.

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a rich old merchant, who had an only daughter. They were all in all to each other, for the old man had lost his wife, and had no other child on whom to bestow his affection; while the young lady had no one else to care for and love her, her husband (to whom she was married at an early age) having for some reason best known to himself discarded her immediately after the marriage had been celebrated. Now the good old merchant had an elder brother, who was as great a merchant as himself, and was blessed with no less than seven sons, who were all clever and good young men, and managed the affairs of their aged father to his entire satisfaction. They even travelled to distant countries for the purpose of commerce, and each year brought home seven ships laden with gold as the fruit of their commercial enterprise. Now this fact was regarded by the uncle of the young men with mingled feelings of admiration and envy, for he was grieved to think that while his brother rejoiced in the satisfaction of having seven such excellent sons, it was his misfortune not to be blessed with even one!

One day the old man said to his daughter: "I wish, my child, you had been born a boy, for although you make me supremely happy by your goodness and your tender regard for me, still it is not in your power to give me that satisfaction which your cousins give my brother, so that you not only manage his business well, but every year add considerably to his fortune, and thus increase his worth and reputation by their enterprise in commerce. How proud must he be of all those good sons of his! If I had but one son, and that son brought me, just for once, as much gold as they bring him each year, I should be happy indeed!"

23 The names of the villages are uncertain, as, without some clue to the present identification of them, it is difficult to divide properly the compound word in line 10.
24 See note 12 above.
25 i.e. to a kīrṣa-form of the god Śiva, probably set up by, and named after, Dharmaṅkē śiṇ.
26 This is evidently an official title; and it seems to denote some post connected with the private apartments.
27 This seems to be the force of the sit in line 27; see note 19 above.
I wish, my father, with all my heart," cried the daughter, "that I could be of as much service to you as a son. Though I am but a woman I have a brave heart, and if only I had your kind permission I also would go forth into the world as a merchant, and by the help of Allah bring you as much gold as your heart could desire."

"Oh! indeed!" cried her father laughing, and pressing her to his heart he added, —

"Do not, my dear girl, for a moment suppose, that I in any way under-estimate your rare merits by longing for a son. No, my child; a daughter can do her duty as well as a son can do his, though each must do it in a different way; and believe me no daughter in the world ever did her duty by her aged father so faithfully and so well as you do yours."

At this stage the conversation dropped; but from that moment the young lady resolved upon a course by which to give her father as much satisfaction as ever a son could. In a week's time she succeeded in persuading her father to fit out a large ship for her, and to load it with the costliest merchandise. She then waited till her cousins, the seven young men whom her father admired so much, had set sail, for she wished to follow in their wake and find out in which country they met with such a lucrative market for their goods.

When the time came for the cousins to set sail the young lady took an affectionate leave of her aged father, and dressing herself in man's attire went on board her ship and bade the captain steer it in the track of the seven ships. Away they sailed, all the gallant vessels abreast of one another, followed at a short distance by our intrepid heroine's, and after a very long voyage all the eight ships entered the mouth of a magnificent river, and there dropped anchor. The lady waited till her cousins had landed, one after another, and had begun to unload their ships. She then put out a boat herself and sailed in it towards the shore, with a few attendants. On the landing-place she met her cousins, who never for a moment suspecting who she was conceived a liking for her at first sight, and eagerly made up to her, with a view to forming her acquaintance. They found her to be a very agreeable person, and invited her to put up with them at a friend's house to which they were going.

This was just what our fair friend wished, anxious as she was to watch their movements, and to profit by their experience in commercial matters. She therefore gladly accepted the offer, and going back to her ship, brought with her a few things that might be of use to her in her new abode, and accompanied her cousins to the house to which they had invited her to lodge with them.

When she arrived there she learnt that it was the house of a wealthy merchant of the city who was a friend of the young men's father, her uncle.

The master of the house welcomed our heroine very kindly, and formally invited her to share his hospitality with her friends. But what was her surprise and consternation when she recognised in her host and hostess her own father-in-law and mother-in-law! She had seen them at her wedding, and remembered their faces only too well, though, thanks to her disguise, they never suspected, even for a moment, that she was any other than a merchant's son. A lump stuck in her throat, however, as the kind old people put to her question upon question as to whose son she was, from what country she hailed, and whether she was married. She was at a loss what reply to make to them,—all the circumstances connected with her marriage and her subsequent neglect by her husband rushing up to her memory; and so she stood highly abashed among people she had least expected to see, and thought she was going to forget herself; but the next moment she recovered her presence of mind, and replied to their interrogatories as best she could.

The old people believed in all that she said, not noticing the change their questions had produced in her, and considered her to be a very agreeable and amiable young gentleman. But a still more dreadful ordeal awaited the poor young lady, for she had yet to face her husband, and she trembled to think of the consequences. She knew that there was not much love lost between them, and felt sure that as soon as he discovered her to be his wife, he would put an end to her existence for masquerading in man's attire. At first she thought of quitting the
house before her husband came in, but as she could think of no decent excuse for doing so, she preferred to remain where she was, and abide the result.

A short time afterwards, her husband returned home and her heart palpitated with fear at sight of him. Her cousins introduced her to him as a highly respected friend of theirs, but he did not seem to notice anything extraordinary about her, and the interview passed off very satisfactorily.

The poor lady, who had set eyes on her husband then for the first time since their marriage (that event having taken place when they were little better than children), found him to be a very agreeable and good-natured young man, and her heart ached within her to think she should have been so long estranged from such a husband. But she suppressed her emotion, and wearing a brave front behaved towards him as unconcernedly as if he were quite a stranger to her, and in process of time she made herself highly agreeable not only to her cousins and to her parents-in-law, but also to her husband—so much so that the latter even began to regard her with some affection.

It should be mentioned here that our heroine had with her a beautiful parrot, of rare worth and great intelligence. It could understand several languages, and talk them as well as any man or woman, and was moreover blessed with wisdom enough to do credit to any human being. This remarkable bird would fly from tree to tree and roof to roof, and bring its mistress the latest news from far and near, for people spoke freely in its presence, never suspecting that a parrot could understand what they said.

One evening, as the parrot was perched aloft in some nook in the roof of the merchant's house, it heard the following conversation going on between the hostess and her son:

"You will see your mistake in time, though you don't believe me now, mother," the son was saying, "for as sure as I am alive this guest of ours whom we all so honour, is no more a man than you are! She is a woman, and the most beautiful and agreeable woman I ever looked upon into the bargain!"

"Nonsense, my son," was the mother's reply; "why would a woman come to our house in man's attire? And again, how could a woman make such a successful merchant as we find this young man to be? I hope you will cease to talk such utter nonsense any more!"

Finding, however, that her son was not convinced by what she said, she added, "As you still appear to have your doubts on this subject, I shall show a way by which you can convince yourself of the sex of this guest of ours. To-morrow I shall send with the hot water that is taken up every morning for their bath, some rare perfumes and soaps; and if she is a woman, as you say, she will eagerly make use of them, for there is not a woman on earth who is insensible to the attractions of toilet-soaps and skin-beautifiers."

The parrot heard all this and going to its mistress forthwith, poured into her ears every word of the conversation it had overheard, so that the lady remained on her guard; and when the next morning those attractive preparations were provided for her bath, she sent them away without so much as touching them.

The mother reported this to her son in due time, but the young man had still his doubts, and the parrot, who was again in its old place in the roof, heard him say to her: "I give you great credit, my good mother, for your good sense and judgment; but with all that I am not yet convinced. Show me, therefore, some other means of removing my suspicion."

"Wait then," cried the mother, "till to-night, and your wishes will be satisfied. To-night I shall order the choicest and sweetest viands for dinner, and if this young friend of ours is found to partake of them with greater relish than any of his companions, I shall allow that he is a woman, for all I know to the contrary; for women have a greater partiality for sweet dishes than men.

The faithful parrot, who had been hearing the above conversation, quickly flew to its mistress, and apprised her of the second test that awaited her, so that when dinner time came, our fair friend, who though she was really partial to sweet dishes, behaved with so much self-denial that she came highly successful out of the ordeal.
For a few days after this it appeared to the old lady, the hostess, that the suspicions of her son had been laid at rest, for he did not trouble her any more about the matter. But she was mistaken, for her son had all along been carefully watching every movement of his guest, so that one day a chance utterance or movement of the disguised lady confirmed his suspicions. So going up again to his mother, he said: Oh, mother! mother! I believe me, our guest is a woman, and the sweetest creature that ever the sun shone upon! I want to tell it her to her face and to win her love, for I have never before known a woman half so fascinating.

"Really my son, I am getting tired of your strange fancies," replied his mother, "after the convincing proofs I have given you regarding the sex of the young merchant; surely you don't expect me or your father to insult our guest by asking him point-blank whether he is a man or woman. Yet stay, I have another idea. I know of a certain flower which fades and withers away as soon as it is touched by a woman's hand, while it remains fresh and fragrant if touched by a man's. I shall order our florist to weave eight nets of such flowers, and get one spread upon each of our guest's beds to-night, and we shall then see whether you or I am right.

The faithful parrot, who had overheard this dialogue between the mother and her son, at once flew away to where its mistress was and told her every word of it. Our heroine was not a little flattered at the high encomiums passed on her beauty and charms by her husband, and felt half-inclined to reveal herself to him. On second thoughts, however, she changed her mind and sat down, thinking how she could come unscathed out of this rather difficult ordeal. But her favourite parrot came to her aid, and showed her a way out of the difficulty. It went and brought away from another florist a net woven with the same kind of flowers, and placed it high upon the roof, where its mistress's hand could not reach. When the day dawned and the lady rose from her bed, the sagacious bird asked her to remove the crumpled and faded sheet of flowers from it, and spread on it, with its own beak and claws as neatly and as cleverly as any lady's maid ever did, the second net of flowers that was in readiness. The lady then folded the faded net into a small bundle and the parrot took it into its beak, and flying far away into the sea with it, consigned it to the waves, so that no trace of it might remain.

The hostess and her son lost no time in examining the bed-chamber of our heroine, when she vacated it, and the old lady was now more than ever convinced that the object of her son's suspicions was no other than what he appeared to be—a handsome and intelligent young gentleman. But the fond young man did not at all relish acknowledging his mistake; he did so with a very bad grace, and continued moody and dejected ever afterwards, for in his heart of hearts he still cherished the belief that his father's guest belonged to the softer sex, on which account, therefore, he continued to treat our fair friend with the greatest affection and regard.

A few days after our heroine had gone through her last ordeal, her cousins began to make preparations for their homeward voyage, in which she also joined them, for she had already disposed of all her stock to very great advantage, and gold was daily pouring into her coffers in heaps.

The enamoured young man was not a little disconcerted at hearing of this intended departure of the little party, and he begged hard of his disguised wife to remain under his roof a little longer. But she excused herself as best she could, and on the day appointed for their departure, went on board her ship, followed by the tears and blessings of her love-lorn husband.

When the eight ships stood abreast of one another in the harbour, waiting to raise their anchors simultaneously at a given signal, our heroine whispered something in the parrot's ears, and off flew the little bird with a bright little golden cup set with pearls and diamonds in its beak, and depositing it right into the hold of one of the seven ships of the brothers, immediately came back and perched upon its mistress's shoulder as if nothing had happened. Now just before the parrot performed this clever trick, all the seven brothers were assembled on the deck of our heroine's ship, for there they had arranged a grand feast in honour of their departure, and were eating and drinking merrily.

After holding high revel for some time the seven brothers took leave of their cousin, and
each betook himself with his party to his own ship. As soon, however, as the fair lady's ship was cleared of all the guests, her attendants raised a hue and cry about a rich goblet that was missing. The lady had drunk her wine out of it in the presence of her guests, and it had then been handed round to each of the bystanders, and was highly admired by them all. It had thus passed through several hands, and no wonder therefore that none of the servants remembered who had it last. Our heroine made a great show of anger at the loss of the precious goblet, which, it need hardly be mentioned, was the very one that the parrot had deposited into the hold of one of the seven ships. She sent for all her seven cousins in hot haste, and reported the loss to them. They all agreed that they had not only seen their friend drink out of it, but had actually taken it into their hands for inspection, but none of them had any idea as to whether or not it had been returned to its place. At this the disguised fair one worked herself into a violent passion, and accused them all right and left of having stolen it. "I shall send my men to search each of your ships," cried she, "and shall stake this vessel of mine with all its valuable cargo on the hazard of finding it in one of them!"

"And we in our turn agree to forfeit to you all our seven ships with their cargoes," cried the brothers with one voice, "if your men find the goblet in any of our ships!"

"Agreed!" cried our heroine, and forthwith she ordered some of her numerous attendants to go over all the seven vessels and leave no stone unturned till they found the missing cup. In about an hour's time, while the seven brothers were still warmly protesting their innocence to their accuser, the men returned with the missing cup in their hands, and declared that they had found it secreted in the hold of the ship of one of the seven brothers!

The brothers were nonplussed at this sudden turn events had taken, and stood looking at one another in silence, as if dumbfounded at this strange discovery. Our heroine, however, roused them to their senses by calling upon them in a loud voice to fulfil their obligations by handing over to her the seven ships; and the poor fellows, seeing no way out of this difficulty, there and then formally made over the ships to the clever stripling, and with crestfallen looks stood a waiting her commands. The lady, being touched with pity at their strange predicament, ordered them to remain in her own ship as her guests till they reached their native country. She then gave orders for the anchors of all the eight ships to be raised, and the little fleet soon began to sail out of the harbour with a favourable back wind.

Our brave heroine's husband, who was all this while standing sorrowfully on the shore, now waved his kerchief as a farewell to his departing charmer, with a very woe-begone countenance, as she was standing at the window of her cabin, when suddenly she flung off her disguise and stood before her enraptured lover, "a maid in all her charms!"

At this sudden and unexpected confirmation of all his doubts and hopes the young man's heart alternated between joy and grief, joy at finding that the object of his affections was after all a woman, and grief at being thus rudely separated from her, after all that he had endured on her account, and with a heavy heart he retraced his steps homewards. There he told his mother all that had happened, and rebuked her for having discredited his statement so long, and asked both his parents' permission to fit out a ship that very day and follow his fair enslaver wherever she went, and either win her or perish in the attempt. The old couple seeing him so determined, consented, and furnished him with everything that he wanted for the voyage.

Without losing more time than was essentially necessary the love-lorn youth fitted out a fast-sailing vessel and soon started in pursuit of his fair charmer. Her vessels had, however, sailed clear out of sight by this time, and he could not even tell in what direction they had gone. So he sailed about at random through unknown seas, for many a month, making inquiries at every port he touched, till at last he came to the city in which he knew his discarded wife and her parents lived. Here everyone he met was talking of the clever daughter of the old merchant — "the mistress of eight ships" as they called her,—who had but a few days ago returned home after a long and successful voyage. He inquired the way to the house of this remarkable lady, and much to his surprise, nay to his rage and utter mortification, he was shown
into the very house in which he now remembered he had gone through that most important ceremony of his life—his marriage.

Could it be possible, then, he thought, that it was only his wife—the girl he had so long discarded—that had so long and so successfully played upon his feelings, and had made herself so agreeable not only to himself, but to all others with whom she came into contact? What enraged him most was that she should have spent so many days in the company of young men like her cousins. Jealousy and hatred instantly took the place of love in his heart, and he entered the house, swearing vengeance on his innocent wife! His old father-in-law welcomed him into the house with unmixed delight, but the son-in-law resented his kind treatment, and peremptorily demanded to be shown into his wife's presence.

Now it may be mentioned here that the old man and his daughter had been looking forward to this visit of the bridegroom every moment, as they had already heard of his arrival in the city from some friends. The young lady also had narrated to her father all that had taken place in the house of her parents-in-law, and the old man was therefore in a measure prepared to find his son-in-law in no envious frame of mind. Our heroine, too, fearing that in his rage and disappointment he would wreak his vengeance on her head, had taken precautions to ensure her safety. She had prepared with her own deft fingers, a figure of herself in some soft material, and covering it with a fine skin, had dressed it in her own clothes and jewels. This figure she had filled with the sweetest honey near the throat, and had placed it on her couch in the attitude of a woman fast asleep. When she heard her husband's footsteps approaching her room, she hid herself behind some curtains. Soon the young man rushed into the room, being escorted to the door of the chamber by his aged father-in-law, who had left him at the threshold and retired to an adjoining room, there to await the course of events. The enraged husband then made the door of the apartment fast, and drawing his dagger, rushed up to where the figure was lying, and with a terrible imprecation plunged the cold steel into its throat. The violence with which he dealt the blow made some of the honey spurt out of the wound like real life-blood, and a drop of it fell on his lips, which were parted in anger, and he was surprised to find that it tasted very sweet. Repentance closely follows a rash deed, and so it did in this case.

"Ah!" cried he, "what have I done! I have killed with my own hands, one who but a short time ago was all in all to me! One for whom I have endured all the hardships of a rough sea-voyage. Then after a pause he added,—" How sweet her blood tastes; I am sure a faithless woman's blood can never taste half so sweet! Really I have committed a rash and unpardonable deed, I have shed an innocent woman's blood, and thereby destroyed my own happiness, and nothing but my own blood can atone for it. "So saying he raised his dagger and was going to plunge it into his heart, when out rushed his faithful wife from her hiding-place, and stayed his hands in the very nick of time. The lady at that time wore the same disguise in which she had first seen her, and as she clung to his arm and pleaded for mercy, all his old love for her came back to him with redoubled force, and he clasped her in his arms!

The trick of the stuffed figure was then explained to him, and the young man was thankful to find it was no human blood that he had shed. Our heroine then gave him full explanation of the events that had brought her in so strange a fashion under his roof, and the two then went together to the old man and asked for his blessing.

After spending a few days with the good old man, the reconciled son-in-law took the dutiful daughter and faithful wife home to his native country, and there they lived ever afterwards in great happiness.

Before leaving with her husband, the young lady called all her seven cousins to her and explaining to them the trick by which she had become possessed of their ships, restored the vessels to them with all their cargoes intact, and gave besides a valuable present to each of them as a souvenir of the voyage they had made together.
MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP
No. XVI.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the
Imperial Russian Oriental Society.

(a.) Meeting, Feb. 11, 1888.

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen,
reported the speedy appearance of Vols. XII. and
XV. of the Transactions of the Society, in the
first of which is included the fourth part of the
investigations of V. V. Veniaminov-Zernov about
the Tears of Kasimov, &c.

N. N. Pantusov sent a photograph of some
Manchu Inscriptions. He also sent six Persian
and Turkish documents, relating to durreshes.
One of these is very interesting, as it is a diploma
for holding the office of a Durrasah.

V. P. Nalivkin sent some pieces of old pottery.

V. A. Zhukovski read a notice of Persian
Cradle Songs.

(b.) Meeting, March 9, 1888.

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R.
Rosen, spoke a few words in memory of the
German Orientalist Fleischer, lately deceased;
the assembly honoured the departed professor by
rising from their seats.

Professor Guidi of Rome sent, as a present to
the Society, Coptic Fragments on the Journeys of
the Apostles, Fragmenti Copti.

W. W. Radloff showed two interesting yarlik
in the Uighur character, received by him not
long ago from Kasan.

A. V. Komorov made a curious communication
on the Antiquities of the Trans-Caspian
district, viz. the ruins of buildings, kurgans,
and articles found when excavating. An account
of this paper will be printed in the Transac-
tions.

(c.) Meeting, April 20, 1888.

Baron V. R. Rosen made a communication on the
latest results of the investigation of the Collec-
tion of Papyri belonging to the Archduke
Rainer.

(d.) Meeting, June 2, 1888.

Prof. A. Müller, of Königsberg, sent a letter in
which he thanked the Society for his election
as a member, and presented his edition of the
Arabic author, Ibn-Abi-Uasaibia.

S. M. Georgievska examined the six Chinese
proclamations which had been sent. Two of
them were identical in their contents, and the
translation agreed with the original. He intends
to print one of these proclamations in the
Transactions.

V. D. Smirnov made a communication about
one of the six manuscripts sent by N. N.

Pantusov, under the title Vastyat-Ndme, and also
about a Codex of the same name belonging to the
Imperial Public Library, and on the Turko-
Kashghar translation of Asdr-i-Sahibi, under
the title Asdr-i-Imdmiya, also sent to the
Society by N. N. Pantusov. The paper will be
printed in the Transactions.

O. E. Lemm read a notice of a Coptic legend
on the finding of the Cross by the Princesse
Eudoxia. It will be printed in the Transactions.

(e.) The Yarlik of Tuqamish and Tamir-
Qutugh, by W. Radloff.

Being occupied in editing the Uighur Manu-
script Kudaktu-Bilik, the oldest literary monu-
ment of the Turks, the author says he was
compelled to study the language of all their
earliest documents to explain the peculiarities of
the Uighur language in comparison with the
other Turkish dialects. Among the most valuable
of these manuscripts are the yarlik of the Khans,
especially those written in Uighur letters, e. g. the
yarlik of Tuqamish of A.H. 796, and the yarlik of
Tamir-Qutugh of A.H. 800. I. N. Berezin holds
these yarlik to be specimen of the Uighur
language. Vambéry considers them to be docu-
ments in the Central Asiatic or Jaghatai language,
written in Uighur letters. Having compared the
language of these documents with that of the
Kudaktu-Bilik, the author became convinced that
only the characters are entirely Uighur; in the
language itself the Uighur elements are found
to the extent that they have entered into the
so-called Jaghatai [Chunghatai] literature.

The Eastern Turkish or Jaghatai language is
not the language of Central Asia, as Sultán Bâbar
and Vambéry, his latest follower, assure us. It is
just as much an artificial literary language as that
of the Usmânî. Having been developed by histori-
cal causes, it now serves as a literary language
for the Eastern Turks who use various dialects.
Its foundation is the literary language of the
Uighurs, as developed before the time of Musâlman
influence and Mongolian incursions. With the
spread of Islam and its culture, a number of
Arabic and Persian words came into the literary
language of the Uighurs. In Eastern Turkistan
books appeared in pure Uighur language, but in
Arabic characters (one of these works, Stories of
the Prophets, by Rabghuzi, was compiled in A.H.
710), and works of this sort served as the founda-
tion of the so-called Jaghatai literature. To-
gether with the disappearance of the races
speaking an Uighur dialect, there was a revolution
in the literary language. The greater part of the
purely Uighur words and grammatical forms gave
place to corresponding words and forms of other Central Asiatic dialects, but in the Jaghatai language there remained a whole series of Uighur words and forms, which were exclusively used in the literary language.

In the times of the first successors of Changez Khán, the Jaghatai literature was spread among all the Eastern Turks, but the rapid decline of the Mongolian Empire arrested the final development of the language. Since they had no educational centre, as was the case with the Southern Turks, the Jaghatai language was influenced by other dialects, and words from Umânli andAzubâj in literature entered it in various degrees. As Changez Khán preferred the Uighur writing, that character became official in the chanceries of the Khán, and continued to be used even where it was unfamiliar.

The yarlik of Tuqtamish and Tamlr-Qutlugh show that the Khán of the Golden Horde issued documents in Uighur characters till the beginning of the fifteenth century. But other letters are occasionally used : the yarlik of Tuqtamish of A. H. 794 is written in the Arabic character, and that of Tamlr-Qutlugh in Uighur and Arabic. From this we may conclude that the Khán used the Uighur character only in diplomatic documents, and the Arabic in those intended for the people.

The yarlik of Tuqtamish to Jagiello has been translated by I. N. Berezin, and that of Tamlr-Qutlugh by von Hammer, Berezin and Vambery. These versions are on the whole accurate, but the author has thought it advisable to publish the yarlik in a slightly corrected version.

(1.) Yarlik of Tuqtamish to Jagiello.

This yarlik was found among the chief archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Moscow. The text is comprised in 23 lines, which begin at an equal distance from the edge of the paper, the words Tuqtamish, we and God, and the Khán’s seal are closer to the edge. These words are written in gold, and the seal of the Khán is stamped in gold. The seventeenth line is only half written, so that the new line may begin with we.

The name Jagiello stands below the words ‘the word of Tuqtamish.’ This yarlik is written in a beautiful and very legible Uighur character. Although, as Banavar remarks, this letter from a calligraphic point of view yields the palm to the two letters of the Persian Changâsta to Philippe le Bel, the handwriting everywhere shows the firm hand of a practised scribe. The writing may be called Mongol Uighur, as distinguished from the Musalmân-Uighur style, used in the manuscripts of the Kudatku Bilik, the Bakhtidnama, etc., and the broken Uighur writing used in other documents. It most resembles the copy of the Uighur legend about Oguz Khán in the library of Charles Schefer at Paris. It is written perpendicularly.

(2.) The Yarlik of Tamlr-Qutlugh.

The original is in the Vienna Palace Library. It is written on a long roll of glazed paper. The second and third lines begin in the middle of the page, and above them ought to be the square seal of the Khán. But the paper in this place is quite smooth, and no trace of a seal can be found: it is clear that this is a yarlik prepared for publication, which from some cause was never confirmed. It cannot be a mere copy. Under each Uighur word there is a transcription in beautiful Arabic characters in red. It was prepared for some official purpose: a proof of this fact among others is furnished by the third word on the ninth line, where two points under the letter š have been undoubtedly added subsequently. The writer thinks the copyist remarked the omission of these points and added them when he had finished writing. This shows that the Uighur character was even at that time so little understood that a document intended for the people had to be accompanied by a transcript in Arabic letters. The Uighur writing differs from that of the yarlik of Tuqtamish and of the Uighur books, but is like some of the postscripts to the Kudatku Bilik. The letters are angular. They appear to be made by a reed with a very broad nib, and are written from right to left. Von Hammer made some trifling mistakes when he printed the Arabic text, which arose from his being unacquainted with the Jaghatai language.

In the yarlik of Tuqtamish, out of 104 words, 43 are Common Turkish (met with in all the Turkish dialects), 24 Northern Turkish, 22 Western, and 15 Uighur Jaghatai. Of the 54 grammatical endings, 23 are Common Turkish, 15 Northern, 12 Western, and 4 Uighur Jaghatai. This gives the following percentage:—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 23; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 15; and of grammatical terminations—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 31; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 7.

The yarlik of Tuqtamish was, therefore, written by a Western Tatar, knowing well the official language of the chanceries of the Khán, but preserving many peculiarities of his native dialect. This is shown by the phraseology of the yarlik and the absence of Arabic literary expressions.

The language of the yarlik of Tamlr-Qutlugh is different. Of 166 words, 50 are Common Turkish, 38 Northern, 44 Uighur-Jaghatai, 13
Western Turkish, 14 literary Arabic, and 7 words belong to the author’s native tongue (Nõghai ?). Of 70 grammatical terminations, 22 are Common Turkish, 24 Northern, 21 Uighur-Jaghatai; and 3 belong to his native tongue. Or according to percentage: — Common Turkish, 31; Northern Turkish, 22; Uighur-Jaghatai, 27; Western Turkish, 8; Literary Arabic, 8; the author’s native tongue, 4; and of grammatical terminations: — Common Turkish, 31; Northern Turkish, 24; Uighur-Jaghatai, 30; the author’s native tongue, 43.

We thus see that the author of the yarilik of Taimir-Qutlingh, was a Nõghai (?) acquainted with literary Jaghatai language. The foreign words are technical expressions required by the contents of the document. The Arabic transcription was probably made by another person, who was not a scholar. Perhaps owing to these mistakes, the yarilik was not confirmed.

Materials for the Study of the Collection of Indian Tales called Bhrikhatkathā, by S. Oldenburg.

While most educated men know the stories of the Pañchatantra, in the course of their endless wanderings over Asia and Europe, the Bhrikhatkathā is limited to specialists. The Bhrikhatkathā is more fantastic and local in its characteristic. It has not gone beyond the limits of its own country, but there it has taken one of the first places. Buddhist and Brāhmanical legends, each preserving its special colouring, have quietly flowed into this “Sea of the Rivers of Stories” as one of the editions of the Bhrikhatkathā is styled. Its history is still obscure, because our knowledge of Indian folk-tales is inadequate. It has come to us in two translations of two Kāshmiri poets of the eleventh century Kāshemendra (Bhrikhatkathā-manjari) and Śomadēva (Kathāsarasitādāga), who assert that they have translated and abridged the collection Bhrikhatkathā of the poet Guṇāḍhya, compiled in the Pañchāhī dialect. The first complete translation of the Kathāsaritādāga, which is only just finished, and the new edition of the text, which has been begun, shew that it is time to collect materials for a complete study of the Bhrikhatkathā. The vast size of the Kathāsaritādāga (21,595 verses according to the computation of Broekhans) and the defective nature of the manuscripts of the Bhrikhatkathāmanjari, prevent such an attempt, so the author purposes communicating a few of his notes.

Of the unpublished materials relating to the present subject there are two MSS. in the India Office; one Sanskrit, the other Persian. The first contains the collection called Kathāprakāsa (the lustre of tales) no other manuscript of which as far as the author knows, has been found. On fol. lv — 84v, the writer of the MS. gives extracts from the Kathāsaritādāga. The text corresponds almost word for word with that of Broekhans, but he does not mention the sources from which he borrow.

We have no information as to when and where the Kathāprakāsa was compiled. Besides the extracts from the Kathāsaritādāga, the collection contains pieces of Epic poetry, the Purāṇas, some “parrot” stories, and some also from the Purushapaniṣād. The Persian Manuscript (I. O. L. 1679) has only been mentioned in print once, viz. by Broekhans, who wrongly considered it to be an abridged translation of the Bhrikhatkathā because mention is made of such a translation in Rājataraṇīgīrt. The writer then shews at some length that it is not a translation of the Bhrikhatkathā. Those who have studied the latter have not remarked that the Tibetan Buddhists, Tārākṣa, introduces legends of which we find corresponding versions in it. The first of them, concerning Nāg̃rjuna, is found in The History of the Seven Transmissions of the Words of Buddha, and has been briefly discussed by V. P. Vasilev. Cf. Kathāsaritādāga xii. 9—58; and Bhrikhatkathāmanjari, xiv, Nāg̃rjunaṇaṇiṇīya. It is very probable that the source was the Rajāvīti of Kāshemendra. Another legend is as to why and how the prince Udayana (Sattavahana) learned Sanskrit. The text of Tārākṣa (History of Buddhism in India), although it resembles the Bhrikhatkathā, differs so much from it that it cannot be said to be plagiarised, which would have been probable, as two of the other works of Kāshemendra, Rajāvīti and Bṛhaditaśvatavatadhanaṇaṇaṇakapalata are cited by Tārākṣa. Besides these differences, a proof that the passages in question are not taken from the Bhrikhatkathā is afforded by the history of Kālīḍāsa, which is the history of Udayana, while the story is not found in the Bhrikhatkathā. The story of Kālīḍāsa and many similar ones live at the present day upon the lips of the Indian people. In similar stories we may find the beginning of the history of Vararuchi and perhaps partly of Guṇāḍhya.

The Collection of Eastern Coins belonging to A. V. Komarov, by V. Tiesenhaven.

The writer begins by thanking Gen. Komarov for allowing his collection to be described in this work. The new collection consists of 897 coins (463 copper, 206 silver, and 18 gold) comprising a period from the seventh century to our own times. The oldest of them is a Sasanian coin of Khurah Il, struck A.D. 629; the latest are Afghan coins of A. H. 1397 (= A.D. 1880) coined by bAbd-ur-Rahman at Hirat and Shīr‘All.
Kabul. Of the thirty dynasties among which these coins are distributed, the most largely represented is that of the Timurids. Of this there are 176 examples. Next come the Samanid coins (70 examples), Khwarizmshahid (54), Saffarid (48), Hulagu (47), Khilafid (35), Persian (33), and Shaihkhs (25). Of the Tahri (12) there are only three, but none of these appear to have been published; of the Zaidits and Ziarits there are no more than one apiece, but these two are very rare. Both were coined in Jurjan, one in A.H. 398, the other in A.H. 388. There are some examples which have not been successfully arranged either chronologically or dynastically.

(h.) Daghbid, by N. Vesslovski.

The neighbourhood of Samarkand is very striking, and the palace of Timur, the Mosque of Khoja Abrar, and the Mosque of Daghbid are especially to be noted. The last two are objects of reverence among the population as the burial places of two saints, the descendants of Muhammad. Khoja Abrar, who is buried about four versts from Samarkand was a philanthropist. Makhddum-i Azam, as he is also called, is renowned in the chronicles of Iskand for his conversion of Eastern Turkestan.

Sayyid Ahmad Kasim is buried in the Kalaqat Daghbid, twelve versts from Samarkand. He is better known as Makhddum-i Azam, which signifies 'The Great Master.' Happening to be in Samarkand in 1885 the author visited his grave. He departed for Daghbid on the 31st August 1888, accompanied by a young native, the Mirzah Akil. Having left Samarkand by the Paikobak Gate, they soon reached the Kish-kish Makhso, the most pleasant place near Samarkand, where is a residence for lepers, who live upon alms. On 14th-days they swarm along the roads leading to Samarkand; the women, frequently with children, stretch out wooden cups to passers-by, and, whatever be their age, are unveiled. Four versts from Samarkand are the ruins of an old town with a citadel (wirda); about a verst from thence a ford passes the Zaravshlan. The road from this point is planted with mulberry trees, extending to the mosque of Khoja Abrar, and said to have been planted by him. Among the Turkistanis, planting mulberry trees on the road is considered a pious deed. When the mulberries are ripe, the travellers shake them from the trees and satisfy their hunger and thirst. The poor make flour out of the dried berries. This is probably the reason why they assign the planting of these trees to the Khoja Abrar. There are many stories about his benevolence.

Daghbid signifies "ten willows." This kish-kish is not healthy on account of the rice-fields surrounding it. Gottre is frequently met with. The mosque by the grave of Makhddum-i Azam is large; the actual burial-place is separated by a brick wall. In the middle of the garden is built a daikha, which is overgrown with tall grass, very much entangled. The writer goes on to describe how difficult it was to get there. His guide refused to follow him. The natives considered that whoever went into the daikha would die, unless he were a Sheik and a descendant of Makhddum-i Azam. The mutawalli, as one of these, might have gone with the writer, but he hid himself, not wishing to assist an infidel to defile with his feet the grave of a holy man. The writer of the article accordingly went alone and came to a great monument of white marble, erected in the middle of the daikha. He then gives the inscriptions on the graves, and a plan of the graveyard follows.

(i.) Musalmân Books printed in Russia, by V. Smirnov.

The writer gives a list of the books printed in Russia in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages during the last three years. Lists of the kind were first published by Dorn. His bibliographical review appeared in Vol. V. Mélanges Asiatiques tâtes du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg (1866) under the title of Chronologisches Verzeichnis der seit dem Jahre 1801, bis 1866, in Kasaen Gedruckt en arabischen, türkischen, tatarischen und persischen Werke, als Katalog der im asiatischen Museum befindlichen Schriften der Art. This attracted much attention in the foreign press (especially in England) as the Russians were not thought liberal enough to allow it. Originally most of these Oriental publications appeared at Kasaen or St. Petersburg. More recently the printing press of Gasprinski was established at Bakhchisarai and that of Laktchin at Tashkand. Besides single books and pamphlets, periodicals appeared in the Tatar language. Such were the Caucasus periodicals called the Agriculturist, the Script, and the Lights of the Caucasus. Some of these have come to an end, but the Interpreter has now existed for six years at Bakhchisarai. Besides these, in Tashkand there is a Government newspaper, which at first appeared in two languages, Sart and Kirghiz separately, but now appears only in Sart. The Musalmân press has preserved its original character. Ten thousand copies of the Quarda, the Heftick, Sherdzat-i-Iman, Ustavani, Bedevam, and prayer-books in Arabic, are printed under various titles, with a Tatar preface, representing the miraculous efficacy of these prayers. They are intended for poor people, and
the presses are most active about the Ramazán and
the fair of Nizmi Noygorod, on account of
the assembling of Mosalmans. They are mostly
stereotyped. But there are large works for
educated Russian Mosalmans also in Arabic and
Tatár. Originally the latter were in a kind of
jargon which the author elaborated for himself;
in this hotch-potch might be found elements of
various Turkish dialects, from the simple speech
of the Kazan Tatár to the elaborate literary style
of the Effendi of Constantinople. At the present
time the local writers of Kazan imitate the Usmani
style, as seen in the latest works of Abdullah-Kaium
Monla-Nazirov, and others. Especially
noteworthy is the work of a certain Most Af,Tigit,
published at Kazan in 1886. The author has
received a good education and imitates such writers
as the Turk, Ahmad Midhat Effendi. He has
written a novel on modern Tatár life in a kind of
Usmani dialect of his own. It is said that some
time ago the author went to Stambul and has not
returned. But he has left imitators. To the
class of more useful publications belong the
calendar of Kaim Nazirov, with some essays on
general topics, and some manuals of Geography
and Arabic Grammar. A rhymer named Meyelegheh Yumachikov, has written several poems in a
dialect akin to Khirrig. He appears too often
as a vulgar fanatic, and some of his poems were
repressed by the censorship.

The writer takes an entirely different view from
that of Dorn on the education of the Tatars.
The press among them is only used to encourage
obscurantism. Works on magic, on domestic medicine,
and others full of charlatanism abound.
Books of this kind appear every year in great
numbers, and are increasing. If we find a man
of education among the Tatars, it is one who has
been brought up at a Russian school.

Miscellaneous Notes:
1. Old Russian accounts of Merv, by D.
Kobeko. In 1669 the Russian Ambassador, Pazukhin,
was sent to Abdal-Aziz, the Khan of
Bukhara. He went there through Astrakhan to
Khiva, and accomplished the return journey
through Chorjdt, Merv, Mashhad and Balkhur.
At Merv, then belonging to Persia, Pazukhin
was hospitably met by Zemar Khan, the governor of
the city, and lived there from December 1672 to
March 1673. In obedience to instructions given,
Pazukhin traced the route from Astrakhan to the
city Junahrt (i.e. Jahnâbâd = Dehli) through
Khiva, Balkh, Kâbul and Peshawar. The route
was rendered dangerous by the war going on
between the Persian Shâh 'Abbâs II. (1642-1666),
and the great Mughal Shâh Jahân, in the territory
which is now Afghanistan. The article winds up
with a long extract describing the journey of
Pazukhin.
2. On the modern Sect of the Ghândi, by V.
Zhukovski. These sects ascribe to their imam
an incarnation of the deity.
3. A Note on Two Discoveries recently made
in Egypt, by V. Golenitschen. These are a whole
series of cuneiform tablets of clay discovered
at Tel-el-Amarna; and a collection of portraits
of persons at the end of the epoch of the Ptolemies
and beginning of the Roman period, found in the
oasis of Fayyum. Till this time no cuneiform
inscriptions have been found in Egypt.

The tablets consist of the letters of various
Asiatic rulers to two Egyptian kings, Amenhotep
III and IV. One of those who corresponded with
these kings was the Babylonian king Burnaburriash.
Already some Egyptian scholars were
inclined to fix the eighteenth dynasty of the
Pharaohs at about the sixteenth century B.C.,
while Assyrian scholars had referred to the same
fifteenth century, the date of the Babylonian king
Burnaburriash.

Another correspondent of the Egyptian kings is
Dushratta, king of the country of Muttani.
This city the Egyptians called Naharina, and
meant a place situated on the left bank of the
Euphrates, almost opposite to the town of Car
Chemish, the modern Jerabs. Judging by the
independent tone of the letters of the king of
Muttani, the country, at least at the commence
ment of the reign of Amenhotep III., was so
important that its king might enter into negoti
ations with the principal Egyptian king on a footing
of independence. Besides the royal letters con
tained in the correspondence, we meet with others
from persons calling themselves the slaves of
Pharaoh. For the understanding of the cunei
form correspondence received at the court of
Pharaoh, it is obvious that there must have been
interpreters. Sometimes men of this sort were
sent with the letters, e.g. in one of the king of
Muttani's epistles, such a man has the title tar
gu-ma-an-ru, i.e. 'translator.' For the interpre
tation of these interesting tablets we must wait
for the decision of M M. Winkler and Lehmann,
of Berlin, the museum of which city has bought the
whole collection through the instrumentality of
Graff, the Viennese dealer in Eastern carpets.

The second discovery consists of 66 portraits
as previously mentioned. These have been des
cribed by Ebers in Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung
Nos. 138-7, 1889. They were taken from the tops
of coffins. The type represented is only Coptic in
one instance; in others Greek and Semitic;
No. 64 is a negro, with perhaps a mixture of
Greek blood; 3 represent old men, 24 men of
middle age; 4, young men, 3 boys, 29 girls, and
3 old women. The portraits of the women are
best executed.

(4) Bedouin Wit, by Baron V. Rosen. This is a
comic story from "The Book of Animals," by Jáhiz,
(A.H. 255 = 899). It tells how a Bedouin carved
a fowl, keeping the best part for himself. There
are many stories of this kind in Arabian anthol-
obies, both in verse and prose, in which a rude
countryman plays pranks upon the educated
townsmen. When we can assign the date of such
stories, they are valuable as illustrating the mutual
relations of the different elements of Arabian
society at a given time. The Arabian anthologies
of the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra are
valuable for this. Some important extracts may
be made from one of the oldest anthologies, viz.
Ibn-Abi-Tahir-Taifur (British Museum Add., 18,
532).

(5) New materials for the Yagnob Language, by
K. Salemán. In July and August 1887, E. Kahl,
who has an administrative post in Tashkand, took
a journey to the Yagnob. He succeeded in get-
ing explanations of several obscure points of
Yagnob phonetics, compiled a tolerably copious
glossary, and collected some topographical and
statistical information.

(6) Something more about the discovery at
Kulja, by V. Tussenhausen. The four silver coins
sent from Kulja by V. M. Uspenski in 1887 belong
to the class of Jughatai coins struck in the
second half of the thirteenth and first half of the
fourteenth century of our era. One of them,
struck in Amalik in 650 A.H. (= 1252-3 A.D.),
is in all respects similar to those which M.
Uspenski exhibited to the Archaeological Society
in 1886. Another was coined by Tirmášlivin
Khán (year and place cannot be deciphered).
The most interesting is the third, coined in 737 A.H.
(= 1337-8 A.D.) in Badakhshán by Khán Jenkshi.
To this Khán is ascribed the fourth of the coins
sent by M. Uspenski.

(4) Criticism and Bibliography.
(1) The Akhal-Téke Oasis: its past and
present. Historico-geographical and Oro-geologi-
sketches of the Transcaucian district, with
engravings and a map, by P. S. Vasíltico, St.
Petersburg, 1888. The book gives the reader
almost nothing. It is difficult to find anything new
after the elaborate sketches of M. Lessar, who
knows the country so thoroughly. The writer
evidently is acquainted with no Eastern language,
and his style is naíve.

(2) The Principles of Chinese Life, by Sergius
Georgievski. This is the solitary work in Euro-
pean literature on the subject, and it gives the
principles upon which Chinese life has depended
during the many centuries of its existence. Its
foundation is filial piety, based firstly on primitive
religion, and secondly upon the ethics of Confucius.

Having discussed in the first chapter, the
primitive faith of the ancient Chinese in the
immortality of the soul, and their funeral customs, the author in chapters second and third treats of the Chinese worship of ancestors expressed by services to them in the temples. In chapters fourth and fifth the author discusses the influence of the doctrines of ancestor worship and filial piety on the private and public life of the ancient Chinese. In the sixth chapter the author treats the genesis of Chinese polytheism, and explains how it gradually obscured the worship of ancestors. The author surveys the development of the old Chinese philosophy, and shows that the latter destroyed the primitive belief in the immortality of the soul, and developed ethical forms of life which led to vulgar cynical Stoicism and Epicureanism. From this China was saved by Confucianism, which system the author proceeds to explain, showing that its centre is filial piety which develops in man love, justice, and energy. In the concluding and longest chapter of his work, M. Georgievski discusses the future of China, in view of its yearly increasing relations with Europe and America.

(5) On the roots of the Chinese language in connection with the question of the origin of the Chinese, by S. Georgievski, St. Petersburg, 1888. The work of M. Georgievski falls into two closely connected divisions, linguistic and ethnographical. In the first division, the author, establishing his opinion by a series of examples (which occupy in the book 176 lithographed pages), shows:—(1) that the old Chinese characters were developed from a single root system, dialectic peculiarities being expressed by special characters, preserved to the present day in Chinese lexicography as synonyms; and (2) that in the Chinese language are groups of words cognate with others in the Aryan languages, and the languages of Japan, Corea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Tartary. In the second part M. Georgievski comes to the question of the origin of the Chinese. His chief positions are (1): that the Chinese people colonised the territory of China proper from Central Asia, where they had lived side by side with the ancestors of the Aryans, with whom they were ethnologically connected; (2) that the territory of China proper was from the earliest times settled by races not of one ethnological type, and not akin to the Chinese; and (3) these races were the forefathers of the Japanese, Coreans, Manchus, Mongols, Eastern Turkistanis, and Indo-Chinese, and became incorporated with the Chinese, and the fragments of their language are preserved in Chinese lexicography.

(6) V. Verbitaki. A Dictionary of the Altai and Aladag Dialects of the Turkish language, published by the Orthodox Missionary Society, Kazan, 1884. This dictionary, compiled for practical purposes, contains important materials for the study of the Altaic dialects. The author collected the materials for the grammar published at Kazan in 1869. He tells us that his work embraces two chief dialects (1) Altai (Teleut, Telengut, Telenget), (2) Aladag. There are no dialectical sub-divisions of the first, but the second is sub-divided into the following dialects, (a) of Kondom, the Upper and Lower, (b) Matir, (c) Abakan, Upper and Lower, (d) Bi (Upper and Lower). The reviewer, (V. Radloff), compares this division of the dialects with his own, as given in Phonetik der nördlichen Türkischsprachen, pages 281-323.

Reviewer's division. Division of M. Verbitaki.
I. Dialects of Altai proper. I. Altaic dialect.
(1) Altaic.
(2) Teleut.

II. Dialects of Northern II. Aladag dialect.
Altai.
(1) Lebedin.
(2) Shor.

(2) Kondom.
(3) Matir.
(4) Lower.

III. Abakan. III. Abakan. (3)
(1) Sagan.
(2) Kolba.
(3) Kashin.
(4) Upper.

If we compare the vocabulary of the 'Altaic' grammar with that now published we shall see great progress. The number of words is doubled; the definitions are clearer, and they are confirmed by examples which the author has heard from natives. The Reviewer, he says, ought to acknowledge openly that the work of M. Verbitaki is of great service to him in the compilation of his dictionary of the Turkish dialects, on which he is now engaged. Some deficiencies, however, in the work are to be remarked; alphabetical order is not always kept, and the transcriptions are not made on a uniform plan.

(7) The Proverbs of the Natives of Turkistana, collected and translated by N. Ostrowsky, Tashkand. Proverbs are always a favourite study with ethnographers. It is strange that although the Russians have now been masters of Tashkand for twenty years they have not been collected before. Moreover, there is plenty of material. M. Ostrowsky has collected 492, and the places and circumstances connected with them are described. Some are purely local; some entirely original and others adopted, translated from Persian or Arabic.

(8) Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, etc. 1887. This vast work is
occupied with the description of 1886 coins of the Eastern Caliphate, falling into the following semi-divisions, (i) Coins of the Byzantine type (96 examples); (ii) Coins Latin-Arab. (42 ex.); (iii) Coins Sassanid-Arab. (21 ex.); (iv) assigned to the Khalifa 'Ali (1 ex.); (v) Umayyad (619 ex.); (vi) Adherents of the 'Abbásids (12 ex.); (vii) 'Abbásids (375 ex.). The reviewer says that he has counted 266 which have not been published, and some of which make us acquainted with mints hitherto unknown. A remarkable feature of the Paris collection are the Byzantine-Arab and Latin-Arab coins, in which the Russian collections are very poor. On the other hand, the Parisian collection is poor in Sassanid-Arabian coins, of which the Russians have a good quantity. The copper coins of the Khalifas are very interesting, and besides the customary inscriptions we find various representations (branches of trees, ears of corn, crescents, eagles, etc.)

In the introduction M. Lavoir refers to the only dirham of Basra, known to be of the fourth year of the Hijra. It is in all respects like the latest 'Umayyad dirhams of A.H. 78-132. Relying upon uncertain historical data M. Lavoir ascribes the first attempt to coin among the Musalmans to the Khalifa 'Ali (35-40 A.H.), but upon the unanimous evidence of Arabian historians, confirmed by many 'Umayyad coins, its introduction belongs to the rule of the Khalifa 'Abdu'l-Malik (96-8 A.H.). If it had happened in the time of 'Ali, the Musalman Chronicles would have mentioned it, and moreover in the stores of Kufic money excavated in Northern Russia, we should certainly have met with a few examples of the coins of 'Ali. The writer does not venture to say that the coin is the production of a modern falsifier, but does not feel inclined, like Mordtmann, se fêcher devant la brutalité du fait, and to acknowledge it as a coin of 'Ali. Either the engraver made a mistake, or it is a trick of some old supporter of the party of 'Ali, who wished to magnify the imperial wisdom of the founder of his party. Moreover, it is not yet settled in what year the coining of money was introduced. According to chronicles it was between the years 74 and 77 A.H. The specimens, which were known up to the time of M. Lavoir's Catalogue were as early as A.H. 77. He now makes us acquainted with dirhams of the years 73, 75, 76. In conclusion, the writer hopes for the speedy continuation of the work of M. Lavoir.

(9) Buhler, G., Uber die Indische Secte der Jainas. Wien, 1887. This is a masterly exposition in a condensed form of the leading principles of Jainism. Professors Bühler and Jacobi are the chief defenders of the independent development of Jainism, apart from Buddhism. To the former weighty reasons in support of this view, new are added, taken from the latest discoveries in epigraphy. In inscriptions of the first century B.C. are found enumerations of different schools of the Jains (gana) with their sub-divisions (jikha, branch, and kula, family), known to us from the traditions of the Jains. This discovery enables us to feel more confidence in these traditions. Bühler gives a complete text of these inscriptions in the Viennese Oriental Journal.

(10) Alberth's India, edited in the Arabic original, by Dr. Edward Sachau. New editions of valuable Arabic texts are constantly appearing. Bérnini, however, always keeps one of the chief places. Arabists and Indian scholars have alike awaited this book with impatience, perhaps the latter most so. A proper estimate will be made when the promised English translation appears. The work of Bérnini is peculiar. It has no parallel in ancient and medieval literature of the East or West. We find in it no prejudices of religion or caste, but a careful spirit of criticism, which is imbued with all the power of modern comparative methods. He understands the value of knowledge, and prefers silence to opinions based upon inadequate facts. His breadth of vision is truly astonishing.

In this book is heard a soul thirsting for truth, and hungering for righteousness, placing that truth above everything, and striving for it un weariedly. He pardons much because he understands much; but at the same time he is free from fanciful idealism. It is indeed wonderful that such a work could have been produced at such a time and in such a country.

A man like Bérnini appears to great advantage, if we compare him to European savants of the time. The West was full of prejudices. It had to wait two centuries before it produced the great figure of Frederick II.

The reviewer does not agree with the editor that Bérnini was a solitary rock in the ocean of Arabic literature, and explains his reasons at considerable length. This edition is a great monument of the critical skill and unwearied labour of Edward Sachau.

W. R. Morfill.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A VARIANT OF THE BLOODY CLOTH.

The following is an interesting, if unpleasant, variant of the legend of the "bloody cloth" attached to so many "saints" in Europe. At Chengan-there is a temple to Siva of considerable celebrity. In it there is an image of Parvati,
his consort. Parvati, being female, of course menstruates (!), and periodically a red spot appears on the cloth worn by the image. Whenever this happens the temple is closed for three days and no worship allowed in it. In the works of Ravivarma Tampi, a celebrated Travancore poet of the beginning of this century, is to be found an allusion to this in some of his very elegant verses.

Madras.

SUNKUNI WARIVAR.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE LIFE OF HIUEN-TSANG: by SAMUEL BEAL, B.A.,

A most valuable addition has recently been made to Trübner's Oriental Series, in the shape of the Rev. Samuel Beal's Translation of the Life of Huen-Tsang, which supplements his translation of the Travels of Huen-Tsang, published in 1884 under the title of Buddhist Records of the Western World, and completes the English version of all regarding India that was noted by the Chinese pilgrim during his visit to that country in the period of his absence from China from A.D. 630 to 645. Mr. Beal's three volumes now cover in English the same ground as M. Stanislas Julien's French translation published some thirty years ago; and, being brought up to date by notes and comments, are indispensable to everyone who is concerned with the ancient history of India, religious or political.

The present volume also contains, in the Introduction, a brief résumé of I-tsing's notices of forty-three other Chinese pilgrims, most of whom visited India, belonging to the period A.D. 627 to 665. It ought to have contained, but does not do so, an index, similar to that provided with the two volumes of the Travels; the absence of an index much impairs the utility of such a book as this.

The Travels were written by Huen-Tsang, and edited by the Shaman Pien Ki. The Life was written in the first instance by Hwui Li, one of Huen-Tsang's disciples, and was afterwards enlarged and completed by Yen-thsong at the request of Hwui Li's disciples. For his share of the work, Yen-thsong consulted other texts and authorities, besides the writings of Huen-Tsang himself. And thus the Life, which includes, in addition to an account of Huen-Tsang's early years and his life after his return to China, a more or less full epitome of all the information given in his own larger work, corroborates and explains the latter in many important details. The chief object of Huen-Tsang in visiting India, was to study Buddhism as practised there, and to collect, and take back to China, as many Buddhist and other writings as he could procure. The object of his labours, therefore, was primarily religious. But his work contains also a very full account of the political divisions of the countries through which he passed, with many notices of the then rulers of them, and of their predecessors. And this it is that makes his writings so valuable; supplying, as they do, so much historical and geographical information regarding a period for which the epigraphical remains are not as full as might be wished.

Within the limits of this notice, it is impossible to give any account of the details of the book. But it contains one curious and interesting episode, not included in the Travels, which may be briefly quoted here, as shewing the existence then, as until comparatively recent times, of the practice of human sacrifice by the devotees of Durgā. Having left Ayodhya, Huen-Tsang, with about eighty fellow-passengers, was travelling by boat down the Ganges on his way to Hayamukha. The boat was captured by pirates, whose custom it was every year, in the autumn,—which season it then was,—to kill a man of good form and comely features, and to offer his flesh and blood to their goddess, Durgā, in order to procure good fortune. From among their captives they selected Huen-Tsang himself, as the most suitable for their purpose, on account of his distinguished bearing and his bodily strength and appearance. The sacrificial ground was prepared; an altar, besmeared with mud, was erected; Huen-Tsang was bound on it; and the sacrifice was just about to be performed; when the ceremony was stayed by a mighty typhoon that suddenly burst from the four quarters, stunning down the trees, stirring up clouds of sand, and lashing the waves of the river into fury. This fortunate interposition of the powers of nature,—regarded, of course, by the pirates as a miraculous intervention in favour of a person who must consequently be of great sanctity and importance,—led to explanations which naturally ended in the repentance and forgiveness of the pirates, and their conversion to Buddhism as lay-worshippers. This brief account shows the interesting nature of the episode. But it must be read in full in Mr. Beal's translation, in order to understand all its details, and to appreciate the dramatic vigour of the language in which the narrative is given by Huen-Tsang.
SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 178. — VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.
Saka-Saśvata 1003.

I EDIT this and the following two inscriptions, all three of them being now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1883, from the Government Central Museum at Madras, through the kindness of Dr. Bird. This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell, in the *Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 31, No. 212, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of Vizagapatam, in the Madras Presidency.

The plates are five in number, each measuring about 7½ by 3½ inches at the ends and a little less in the middle; the first plate is inscribed on one side only; the last plate is blank on both sides, and was intended as a guard to the outer side of the fourth plate. The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly more than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, except for five aśkharas in lines 9, 10, 11, the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about 1 inch thick and 4 inches in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part, shaped like a boat and probably intended to represent an expanded water-lily, of a flat circular disc, about 2½ inches in diameter, which takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc, there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant, as if on the top of a pillar; and on each side of the Nandi, in the surface of the disc, there is what seems to be an elephant-gead, or a chaūri with a long handle; and also a ṣaṅkha-shell, on the proper right side. Possibly there were originally also other emblems, as in the case of No. 179 below, now not recognisable. — The total weight of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 4 lbs. 2½ oz. — The characters are a variety of what Dr. Burnell has named the South-Indian Nāgari alphabet; and they belong to the same stock with the characters used in the grants of Dēvendravarman and Satyavarman, though with differences in several essential points. The engraving is good and fairly deep; and the letters show through on the outer sides of the first and fourth plates. The interiors of the letters show marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit. And the whole record is in prose, except for three verses in lines 26 to 33. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are: (1) the doubling of ṝh, by Ṣh in the usual way, after the anudeśa, in ṛṣṭeṣhchhata, line 8; (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by bh, after v, in chhūḍmāṇaḥ-ḥhbhabhagatō, line 6; and (3) the use of v for b throughout, e.g. in āvuda, line 8; āvadeśa, line 14; āhadāna, line 25; and āhṛya, line 32.

This inscription, which contains a good deal of genealogical information, is a record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chōdagangādeva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the city of Kalingapura. It is a Sāiva inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of the village of Chākivāḍa, in the Saṃvṛ vihāya, to the god Śiva under the name of Rājarājēvara, whose temple was at the village of Bṛnguṭṭā, — i.e. to a Śiva-form of that god established at the village in question by Rājarāja, the father of Anantavarman, and named after him.

Lines 30 to 33 give the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chōdagangādeva. The details are: — Saka-Saśvata 999, expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; while the sun was standing in the sign Kumbha, i.e. in the solar month Phālguṇa, in the bright fortnight; on Bāvijadina or Saturday, joined with the third tiṅā; under the Āvesati nakshatra; and during the Maṅgala lagna, i.e. during the rising of the
sign Mithuna. Here the given year has to be applied as an expired year. Thus, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, I find that —

In Saka-Saṅvat 999 current, the Kumbha-Saṁkrānti occurred on Sunday, 22nd January, A.D. 1077, at about 32 gh. 21 pallas, after mean sunrise, for Kalingapataṁ, and on this day there ended the amanta Māgha kṛishṇa 10, at about 28 gh. 48 p.; and the Mina-Saṁkrānti occurred on Tuesday, 21st February, at about 21 gh. 4 p., and on this day there ended the amanta Pālghuna kṛishṇa 11, at about 54 gh. 57 p. The third tithi of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was the lunar Pālghuna sukla 8, which ended, not on a Saturday, but on Sunday, 29th January, A.D. 1077, at about 48 gh. 43 p.

But in Saka-Saṅvat 1000 current (999 expired), the Kumbha-Saṁkrānti occurred on Monday, 22nd January, A.D. 1078, at about 47 gh. 52 p., and on this day there ended the tithi Māgha sukla 6, at about 11 gh. 59 p.; and the Mina-Saṁkrānti occurred on Wednesday, 21st February, at about 36 gh. 55 p., and on this day there ended the tithi Pālghuna sukla 7, at about 31 gh. 41 p. The third tithi of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was again the lunar Pālghuna sukla 8, which ended, as required, on Saturday, 17th February, A.D. 1078, at about 54 gh. 12 p. Calculating by the Sūrya-Siddhānta and for apparent sunrise, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, that on this day, the tithi ended at 54 gh. 12 p.; there was the Rāvaṇ nakshatra, ending according to the equal-space system, at 44 gh. 25 p.; and there was the Nṛyugma lagna, lasting from 18 gh. 23 p. to 58 gh. 41 p.

Lines 40 t. give the actual date of the grant itself. And here the details are: — Saka-Saṅvat 1003, again expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; the month of Māsha, i.e. the solar month Vaiśākha; the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight; on Ādiyavāra or Sunday. As with the preceding date, applying the given year as an expired year, in Saka-Saṅvat 1004 current (1003 expired) the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti occurred on Tuesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1081, at about 44 gh. 4; the Vriśabhba-Saṁkrānti occurred on Friday, 23rd February, at about 40 gh. 29 p.; and the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight in this period was the lunar amanta Chaitra kṛishṇa 8, which ended, as required, on Sunday, 4th April, A.D. 1081, at about 35 gh. 19 p.

This inscription, and No. 180 below, which mentions the month of Vṛishchika, i.e. the solar month Mārgaśīrṣa, are of special interest on account of their quoting the solar months, in accordance with what is still the usage in at any rate the Tamil calendars in the Madras Presidency. With the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Chōla king Rājarāja II., and which, by the expression “the sun being in Śūsha,” indicates the solar month Bhādrapada, these are the only published epigraphical instances that I can quote for the use of the solar without any reference to the lunar month.

**TEXT.**

1 Om Svaastī Sramata[m-s]*kha-bhuvasa-vinuta-naya-vinaya-daya-dama-
dakshi.
2 nya - saitya - sauca - sauryya - dhanrey - adi - guṇa - ratna - pavitrakṣaṇām-Ā-
3 tṛya-gotragaṃ vimala-vichārāḥ-āchāra-puñya-saliśa-prakāśā.

* For the term lagna, see the Sūrya-Siddhānta, iii. 48, 49, and the notes in the Rev. E. Burgess’ translation. The unqualified lagna seems always to denote, as it has here been taken, the keśitya-lagna or the occurrence of a point of the ecliptic on the horizon. There is another kind of lagna, viz. the mādhyā-lagna, which denotes the point of the ecliptic on the meridian.
1 The times here are for Kalingapatam, all through.
1 For instance, the Śrīvatsa-Paciṣṭhānagam and the Vṝṣa-Paciṣṭhānagam, quoted ante, Vol. XVII. p. 348 and note 12, which use the solar year.
1 In the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (ante, Vol. VII. p. 16, lines 31-34), the solar month Pausa is indicated by the words “the sun being in Dhanu,” but the principal item is the mention of the lunar month Mārgaśīrṣa.
1 This ṭā was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. This omission accounts for the omission of the following ma.

GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.

Second Plate: First Side.

14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

Second Plate: Second Side.


Third Plate: Second Side.

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* Read maḥbhūjāt. — In the last syllable, first a visarga was engraved, and then it was corrected into the anusvāra by partial erasure of the lower circle.

* In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this name is given as Gūpama; but the second syllable is distinctly sāda.

* Read tviṅkādāt.

* In the place where this person is mentioned in No. 179, line 74-75, the text has gūpama-rāja; which gives him the same name, Gūpama, with his grandfather. In No. 180, line 14, however, the reading is the same as here. And though in both places we might assume the proper reading to be gūpamēn-maḥaṇāt, on the understanding that the second me was omitted in accordance with a frequent tendency of Hindu scribes, yet it is equally possible that Gūpā is a justifiable shorter form of Gūpamā. I therefore take the text as it stands, without making any emendation.

* In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this part of the name is given as Mucchā; but, both here and in No. 179, line 75, the second syllable is distinctly dā. Also, in his notice of No. 179, Mr. Sewell gave the prefix as Mucchā; but the first syllable, in both places, is distinctly me.

* Here, in the second syllable, we distinctly have the dental d; but in No. 180, line 15, the lingual ḍ is used.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the Mahârâja Gunamahârâna (II.) (line 13), who adorned the family of the Gaṅgas (line 11),—who are of the Átrîyas götra (l. 3); who through the favour of the divine Gâkarpavâman (Śiva), (l. 7) established on the summit of the great mountain Mahândra (l. 4), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 5), and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (l. 6), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the paśchamahâsâda, the white umbrella, the golden châmara, and the excellent crest of a bull (vrisahabha-lâichhana) (l. 9); and who are the kings (of the country of) Trikaliṇga (l. 11),—the son, the illustrious Vajrahastadêva (III.) (l. 14), protected the earth for forty years.

His son, king Guṇḍâma (l. 15), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, Kâmârâva-vadêva (IV.) (l. 16), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, Vina-yâditya (l. 17), for three years. Then Vajrahasta (IV.) (l. 18), the son of Kâmârâva (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, Kâmârâva-vadêva (V.) (l. 21), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king Guṇḍâ (Guṇḍâma II.)18 (l. 21), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, Madhu-Kâmârâva (VI.) (l. 22), for nineteen years. Then to Kâmârâva (VI.), from Vina-yamahâdêvi (l. 24) who was born in the Vaidumva19 family, there was born Vajrahastadêva (V.) (l. 24), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king Râjarâja (l. 27), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (agramahâja) was Râjasundari (l. 28), the daughter of Bâjendrachâla. And she bore him a son, king Chôdâvanga (l. 33), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is the Gaṅga family (l. 33), who was anointed king in the Saka year (l. 30) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with

17 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.  
18 See note 11 above.  
19 Or perhaps Vaidumva, with the lingual ś; see note 13 above.
Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Rāvati nakshatra, and during the Niṣyoga lagna.

From the city of Kālingasagara (I. 33), he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahāvaṇa, the Paramabhatāraka, the Mahārājaśīlīru, the supreme lord of Trikaliṅga (I. 34), the glorious Anantavarman (otherwise called) Chodagangadeva (I. 35), being in good health, having called together all the people, headed by the Āṃḍīya, issues a command:—

"Be it known to you (I. 36) that, in the Saka year (I. 40) that is numbered by the eyes of Hara (three), the sky (nought), the expanse of heaven (nought), and the moon (one), on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight in the month of Māsha, on Sunday (I. 41), the village of Chākivaṇḍa, in the Šamvā viṣaya (I. 37), has been given by us to (the god) Rājarājaśīvara (I. 42), residing (in a temple) at the village of Bāgūjed (I. 41), (for his use) and for the purpose of performing the oblation of ghee, the worship, the perpetual oblation, and the festival (of the god).

No. 179.—Vizagapatam Copper-Plate Grant of Anantavarma-Chodagangadeva.

Saka-Samvat 1040.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the Archæol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 33, No. 19, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of Vizagapatam.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about 2 1/2 by 4 1/2 at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about 2 1/4 thick and 5" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat circular disc, about 2 1/4" in diameter, similar to that of No. 178 above, which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant; and, cut in the surface of the disc, there are, in front of him, the sun; in front of his left fore-leg, the moon; by the side of his right fore-leg, a liṅga, on an abhisheka-stand; below the liṅga, what seems to be a double umbrella; below the latter, a saṁkha-shell; behind the Nandi, a double drum; on the left side of him, what seems to be a single umbrella; and above it, between it and the moon, some emblem that I do not recognise. — The total weight of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 8 lbs. 14 oz. — The characters in this instance are ordinary Old-Kanarese, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. The engraving is good, and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. The interiors of the letters show marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is entirely in verse as far as line 44; and after that, verses occur in lines 61, 77, 80, 81, and 84 to 103. — In respect of orthography, the points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the anuvṛtta instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in kalankha-kārtti, line 1; though instances of the correct usage occur, and among them, the rather unusual employment of the guttural nasal in anuvṛtta, for anuvṛtta, line 14; (2) the doubling of g after the anuvṛtta, once, in gahgaga, line 105; (3) the use of v for b, once, in avadhā, line 87, though in other places the b itself is used; (4) the use of b for bh in chaṭṭhābhis, line 4, and, again, when preceded by r, in five similar instances in lines 12, 56, 84, 91, and 96, and probably in line 34; and (5) the use of bhārāya for bhārāya, line 46.

This inscription which contains still more genealogical and historical information, is another record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chodagaṅga-deva, of the later Ganga dynasty of Kaliṅga; in this instance, the city from which the charter was issued, is not mentioned. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of the village of Tamaraḵhanḍa, in the Šamvā viṣaya, to a person named Mādhava.
In lines 93 to 96, we have the same verse that occurs in No. 178, giving the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Choḍagangadēva. And line 114 gives the actual date of the grant itself, which is simply mentioned, without further details for calculation, as a meritorious day in Saka-Saṅvat 1040, expressed in numerical words and not distinctly specified either as current or as expired, but equivalent, as an expired year, to A.D. 1118-1119.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

2 rśadadānāḥ prā̄dṛ-sūbhāvva bhuvana-tritayaṁ vidhīsatv-viśvā-prasā̄dā-jara-
3 tō(ā) bhagavān-Anāṁtaḥ 11 Tān-nabhi(bhi)-sādalad-babhauvva bhuvana-prāraśh-bha-
4 ḍalā-ratō
dhur-āhīruḍa(dha-)
5 mahasām-Ātrīr-ṣununām prabhur-vijāṭas-sarvavyajani(n)na-divya-tapas(m) vṛtō
6 nivā 11 Ātrī[ha]3 putrol̄ha babhauva Tripurahara-jātā-jāṭā(ta)-nēpatya(thya)-ratna-
7 nētra-vyāpā
dēśā[ha] Smara-charita-mahā-nādi(i)kṣāṭtiḍhāraḥ dhiṣṭāmō dākṣhipātaya-μα-
8 kha-mukura-ruchāḥ sarvanvā-ji(i)vit-ēas-trālokā-ānaḥkāmad-gagana-tala-ma-
9 dhiṭ-bhūdhō-biśākhaḥ-Saṭāḥ[he]11 kha(l) Tatō7 jagat-tāpa-bhāhaṣjita-viśāha-subha-grahō-
10 bhūd-vibudh-agraśīr-Buddhāh Pūruravāt-tat-tanayō yad-ulassad-bhūja bhujī-
11 sūkhi bhūhuj vauṇūndhāraṁ(11) Tasmā[1]jā Ayus-suhhaṁ yas-trībhuvana-vidītō
tanaṁ lebbē
dādyō putrō-bhūj-jā(jal)Ra-bhūr-Unuhaṣa-narapati-βhū(bhū)bhrītām-sgra-graṣyāḥ
12 yav-yav jājā-hū sūkhi bhūhuj vauṇūndhāraṁ(11) Tasmā[1]jā Ayus-suhhaṁ yas-trībhuvana-vidītō
tanaṁ lebbē
dādyō putrō-bhūj-jā(jal)Ra-bhūr-Unuhaṣa-narapati-βhū(bhū)bhrītām-sgra-graṣyāḥ
13 prithvīyām-īkha-patnāṁ-anubhava-vinmukhō bhūri-jāta-prajāyāṁ svar-ṛvēẏāṁ kha-
14 ṣūḍā-ṣūḍā praṇa-saraśaṁ prauṁśēṁ-anvāmbu[i]k Ta Tatō7 Yāyātir-
15 vijītāri-
tanaṁ lebbē
dādyō putrō-bhūj-jā(jal)Ra-bhūr-Unuhaṣa-narapati-βhū(bhū)bhrītām-sgra-graṣyāḥ
17 aham-sa Gaṅgaṁ-ārādhyaṁ niyata-gatir-arādhya varā-dāṁ ajēyaṁ Gaṅgēya-
18 m satam-alabhat-ārabhya cha tadā kramas-tad-varaṁvāṁ bhuvi jayati Gaṅga-anva-
19 ya iti (11) Asya[1]dāśvat-tanayō Viśvaḥ-vaṁhr-viḥ-viṣṇυ-gaṁ-gaṁ-astāchala[h]8 khaṇḍi(n) nā-
20 tha-la(i)kta-patra-makār-lagn-āṁ gūri-rūṇ(?)-u(r)ka la(k&a-[sa])
21 suvēdyam-udvāginaḥ Śaṁvēdyam samaj(ji)janat-at sa nripatir-Gaṅga-anva-yāttat-
22 suvēdyam-svat[1]14 maṇirais[m]a nāmā bhaśānāṁ bhupeal-mauλ-kaṣapun-upalalani(n)ya-

1 On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178.
2 From the original plates.
3 Metro, Vaṇāntilaka.
4 Metro, Śrīdhāvīkṣṭīta.
5 Metro, Vaṇāntilaka.
6 Read putrol.
7 Metro, Vaṇāntilaka.
8 Metro, Pādāraka.
9 Metro, Upāṭatī of Indravajī and Upendravajī.
10 This vowel ā was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather indistinctly, over the lower part of the n.
11 Metro, Śrīkharīga.
12 Metro, Śrīdhāvīkṣṭīta.
13 Metro, Vaṇāntilaka.
14 The use and position of the word nama might possibly be held to indicate that the name of Śaṁvēdyas son is to be found in the word bhaśā; in which case the first four syllables of this verse would be taken as one word, with an ablative sense, and the translation would be "from Śaṁvēdyas there was born Bhaśāvata by name, (resplendent) like a jewel." But on the whole it would seem that the name Śaṁvēdyas is intended; and that this name, and that of Daśasena, were purposely placed at the beginning and the end of the stanza.
GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMACODAGANGADEVA.

23 ḫ tras-ādi-dōhasaha-rahitas=sa bahbha va putrī yat-sampadān-midhir=aṣaya Datta-
24 sēnāh (11) Taṣyāl5a-śvīvī(ṛvīvī)jēvāra-maulī-māgran-śaṃśe=ādāśābhaṛṣāṁ bhṛṛāpō
nripa-
25 ti-āryam priya-sutam=Sōmāt=tirāny-śkrītih taṃśap=sudādhārya maṇīja-
26 gach-chakrō = mūdattasa = tatas = Sō(sau)raṅgō = bhavad = anya-rāj-gaja-gaṁ-[ā]*pātā-
kṛī(ṃ)ṛa-pāka-
27 lab (11) Taṃsāchāh6Chiṭrāṃbarōḥ-bhūt=kṣitiśiśi-talayavē rája-sabd-aika-vābhyac(ḥya)=
sūnī=Sārādhvya-
28 jē-syābhabhav-akḥīla-bhṛavām=dāṃhipasty-prasūti[ḥ*] Dhammēbā7 tat-tanūjī nripa-
29 naya-
30 padavī(vi)-pānīthā-mukhyā virējē bahbrēj-āpātyāḥ(tya)m=saṣa kahiti-jaya-paravān=ēka-
31 dhanvā Parikṣhit (11) Sa8 mahipaṭis-sutam=apā(vi)pa mānīnaṃ Jayasēnam=an-
32 nripa-darppā-sātanaṃ abhavat-sutō=ṣya Jayasēna-sāmījītaḥ prathaya diśā-
33 sita-dukūlīta[ū*] yaśāb (11) Jitāvīryam9=saṣv=ajjanat=ṣa cha bhūpā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

33 laviṣānaṃ Viṣhadvajānaṃ saha-ākṣtam=alanghyā-sāsananāṃ vijīgilshum sa(sa)-
34 vīrodi-bhīl-
35 shanānaḥ (11) Taṣya10 Pragarbāhisa(ḍha)sa=nātyō bahbhva kahitiśa-mārgg-ācharpa-
36 pragalbhaḥ ya[ḥ*] kha-
37 dga-dhārā-jala-dhauta-vairī-nārī-kapōlasthala-patrabhāṅgaḥ (11) Aśkī12eva sit-ātapa-
38 trā-tila[kha*] kahōniḥbhir=ṣaṣa-stajjā vīnaum-vanītā-vayaḥvīnjīta-parīt=dēvās=kā-
39 lāhahā nirmāyā-ौरिताः Gāṁgavyādi-viśhayā Kōlālahā-ākhyāṃ puraṃ ya=cha-
40 krē sura-sadma vi(vi)kšhaṇa-ṛasa-pratīyāḥam-akshāṃ Hariḥ (11) Tak32-sutō dhṛita-
35 sārāsana-ya-
40 aṣti=ṛggaṃ=arakahad=apavāryjīta-chaury[a*]ṁ śāsanā-prathita-pāṣa-vidē(ḥē)yaṁ=eke-
41 eva sa Viṭāchana-sāmījīha [11*] Gāte24 tatra nareṇḍraṃ Kōlālahā-purī(vi)-
42 bhujāṅ-
41 ēk-aśityāḥ cha tad-varṇyā Viśrāsinā=bhavan=nripaḥ (11) Taṣya Kāmārna(rnna)-
43 vas=ṣul-
44 nur=Danārna(rnna)va-Guṇāṇvavā Marasimha iti khyātā(tē) Vajrahaṃ-
45 akhya-pāchha-
46 māḥ (11) Atha Kāmārna(rnna)vō dat[a*]va pīṭrivīyāya niyām=mahāḥ prāyāt-
47 prītvī(ṭvī)ṁ bhuvān jē-
48 tam=Ma(ma)kāṭdambrāh bhṛṭādhirīgirī (11) Tatra cha sakalā-sāra-saiddha-
49 sādhyā-kīrtī-kōṭī-
50 viṅghaṅgha-maṃga-chaṣapaṅgham-ārādhya Gökṛṇḍāvāminam=asya prasaḍāt=samā-
51 sādita-vra-vrīshhabhālāḥcha(ḥ)na=samapalabha- sakalā-saṃbrā(ta)ya -chiṁḥ(ḥnai)r= 
52 upa-
53 bōbhamānas=sa nareṇḍraṃ(ḍrō) Mahēndrāchala-ākharad=avatīryā Yudhiṣthira iva
54 chaturbbhir = anujair = anugamyāmanas = samara - ni(ni)rasika - Balādītyan = ni[r*]jītya-

Third Plate; First Side.

49 Kāmārnavaḥ Kālingān-agrahit i taṣya ch-āpahasita. Surēndra-puraṃ Jāntavura-
50 nāmā nagari rājadhānyā-āṣīt i saun Danārnna(rnna)va=anujair kauṭhikā-
51 bandhura-

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15 Metro, Sārālavikṛśita. 16 Metro, Śrādha. 17 Read probably dharmam-ṭi hyah.
18 Metro, Māryabhiṣiṇī. 19 Metro, Vañallīṇa. 20 Metro, Upājaṭā of Indravajra and Upēndravajrād.
21 A correction is necessary here. On the analogy of chaturbbhir for chaturbbhis, line 4, and some similar instances in this record, we might take the real name to be Pragarba. But I do not find this word in dictionaries. And Pragarba is indicated by the use of that word in the context.
22 Metro, Śrādha-śekōīta.
23 Metro, Śrādha-śekōīta. 24; and in the next two verses.—Here, instead of gāte, we ought to have gatiyaḥ, in apposition with ēk-aśityāḥ in the next line.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

51 kaññhara[ñ*] nīdhāya Guṇārṇavāya-Āṃbavādi-vīshayaṃ Mārasimhāya Sō(?se)-
52 dā-maṇḍalaṃ Vajrahastāya Kamīṭaka-varttani(n)adāt 1 evaṃ cha kramēga
   sat-trī-
53 niśad-varṣān Kalihāgān=apālayat 1(l) Tasyā cha śrīmatām-aśēba-bhuvana-bhū-
54 pāla-maṇi-mālāriyāga-yaśaśaṁ niṣa-raja-sampad-apaḥasita-Mahēm-
55 dṛmagā Mahēmāṇḍ-āchāri-āmala-śikharā-pratīṣṭhitasya sakalā-bhuvana-nirmanā-aika-sū-
56 trdhrārasya [sa*]char-āchāri-gurū-ṛ-bba(bh)gavatō Gōkaraṇasvāminas-samārdhāna-la-
57 bhavā-nikkīla-vañṇorvāhanām Āṭṛṣya-gotraṇān Gāmgaṇaṃ kulam-a-
58 laṅkāriṇēhṛ-Viśvāśo-īvavā-ākrānta-sakalā-mahīmaṇḍalasaṃya Kāmārṇa-
59 vasy=ānujo Dañārṇavāvah=chatvāriṃśatam-abdakān rājya-saṅkarṣhit 1(l) Tat-sū-
60 nur=ḍvitiyaḥ Kāmārṇavāh pañcāsād-varṣān=mahīmaṇḍalal=ṣaṃḍayat 1 tasya
tiraksṛta-trivishya-
61 pañḥ Nagaraṇa-āma puram=ṣati 1 Tatmin 155 =ṣi= pi madhēka-vṛkṣa-jananād-īsasya
   līṅg-ākṛtiḥ kṛtī=ākhyām
62 Madhukṣaśa ity=araḥcaya=prāsādam=abhraṇakaśaṁ yad-[d*]yār-ōrdha-vichitra-patra-
   latikās-chirāpi vā paṣāya-
63 tāṁ sandhāny=ambara-varttiniṁ hridi bhavēn=nūnaṁ vimān-ārcaḥi 1(l) Tat-tanayō
   Rāñārṇavāḥ pañcha va-
64 rahān mahīm=āharahayat 1(l) Tat-sūnur=ḍvitiyaḥ Vajrahastāḥ pañchadāsa samāḥ
   kahamān=araḥkhat [1*]
65 Tasy=ānujaś=tri(tri)tya[ḥ*] Kāmārṇavāḥ=rūḍavavāmikhalām=ek-ōna-vimśati-saṃvatsarān=
   samavardha

Third Plate ; Second Side.

66 yat 1(l) Tat-sūtō Guṇārṇavas=sapa-vimśatiṃ-abdān=abdhiṃśanām vaśām=
   anaisht 1(l) Tat-āṭmajaḥ Jī-
67 tāṁkutsāḥ pañcāsād vatsaras mahīn=niṣpatnam=ākārṣhit 1(l) Tat-sū-tad-bhrātus=
   sū(su)taḥ Kali-
68 galāṁkū ṣā ḍvādāsa vatsaraṇa Kalihāgān-alaṃchakāra 1(l) Tat-sū-tasya pitī-bhrāta
   sapya varṣaṁ
69 Guṇḍa-maṇiḥ mahīmaṇḍala-maṇḍanō 156 babhūva [1*] Tasya=ānujaś=chaturthtaḥ
   Kāmārṇavāḥ pañcāha-
70 vīṃśati-varṣān vasaṃtvhadārā-anubabhuva 1(l) Tatō[ḥ*] kani(n)lāyan=vinayādītyō
71 varsha-trayaḥ dharitīm=ātrayat(ta) 1(l) Tat-sū-taj-[j*]yēśhāsya Kāmārṇavasaya
   sutas=oha-
72 turtthō Vajrahastāḥ pañcāha-trīṃśatam-abdakān 1 yad-dasta-daṃti-sahara-
    ṇ dāna-vāriṅa cha kuvālayaḥ paṃśiklām=āsīt 1(l) Tat-sū-taṣṭāḥ
73 paṃchama[h*] Kāmārṇavāḥ-rddha-samaṇā 1(l) Tat-sū-tad-anujo dvitiyō Guṇḍa-
74 ma-rajan 157 triṇī varṣāhi 1(l) Tasya dvaiṃśaturo bhrātā shahṣṭhop Madhu 158.
   Kāmārṇa-
75 va ek-ōna-vimśati-varḥāpi 1(l) Tat-sū-taṣṭā-ananda Vajrahastā-śriṃśa-
77 tām=abdakān 1 Tad-vṛṣṇana 1 Vyaṭī 159 Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaṇāsā dīk-
   chakravāle
78 śaśi-pradyot-āmaliṃṇā yaṣaya bhuvana-prahlīḍa-saṃpādā saṃīduṇarāt-i-
79 śaṇḍra-paṭalā-paṇjaḥ kumbhaṃtath-paṭakēṣho-vāлимśaḥ puṇaḥ-punāścha hari-
80 tām=ādhaṃśa vāraṇān 1(l) Anūraṃgē 150 guṇinō yaṣaya nā[va]kaḥo-mukh-d-
81 bjayōḥ āśiṇē Śrī-Sarvasvātēv-anukāle vīrājahā 1(l) Na 151 nj[ā*]mataḥ ke-

155 The pronunciation of certain letters is not clear from the script.
156 This syllable is uncertain.
157 These eight syllables are engraved over some cancelled letters. The reading is a little doubtful, but seems to be as I give it.
158 See page 163 above, note 11.
159 See page 163 above, note 12.
159 These eight syllables are engraved over some cancelled letters. The reading is a little doubtful, but seems to be as I give it.
Fourth Plate; First Side.

82 valam-arthat-o-pi sa 23 Vajrastas-Trikalimga-nathah y' Vajri-hastad-apatham(m) prithi-
83 vyam vajra matad-varayitun samartthah[\*] t(i) Tat-su'to Rajarajaj[\*] 33-sehta-va-
84 vasun r Tad-varayan[\*] Sa 24 Rajaraja pratthama yaja-sriyah patir-bhahbu(bh)-
85 va Drumilihuv-otsavir virajamanam-atha Rajastra(su)darima uriudhaha(bh)-
86 vam=Choda-mahishuj-dmtajam (i) Tyaktv[\*] 35 Vengi[m] sapadi parin[\*] m-odaye dy-
87 m=iv=nyam Choda-vyajeh mahatii Vijaya-dityam-avaddhu(bdhun) mima[m]* kshhu[m]* a-
88 pannan mara-pra=sa=ram= Rajarajoh vichitram lakshmi-bhaja[m]* su
89 chiram-sakro=pa=chimayaam jisayam t(i) Tasya[k]* abu(bh) d=agra-sunuh prithula-
90 niha-bhujiy-Vikramditya-saras satya-tyag-aika-sim a
91 =sa=chaumik-dhauta-loka warrior-ula=ha prajapa=sa=chutha-charitra-nidhir-bba=bba=nya=
92 sanbhaya-rasiih ksho=pra=ag=dinathas=akila=ri=man=lo=ha=da=Chodaga-
93 nga (i) Sak-abdo nanda-ra=ma=dra=gra=ha=na=ga=na=ga=nu=te= Kumbha=san=thhe
94 dini=sa su-
95 kel pakshie tritya-juji Ravija-din= Rewati=bbhu= Nriyugma iagn= Gaaj-
96 anva-
97 yah-am=bu=va=ma-dnakridvi=siva-vishavabharaya=chakr= sainkakshi=thu
98 sad-gupa-nidhir=padha=Chodagahd=bhi=shikrta=II Vira=37=sir=bbi=bhd=bbu=da=an=da=
99 yugma
100 lalita yasi=ari-darpp=chhhida[\*] staambha=da=mand=va=niyantr=ai=ka=karin=s-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

101 drityam=akli(klir)pyati[\*] yat-pada=dvitas-aniutika-praparyin[\*] th= khoshbijurim=mau-
102 laya[\*] sphayat-padma=yug=anuk=ch=ri-madhupar-sri=siy=mb=mbhurat
103 Sri Ganga-chudamani=II Sa shraddh-Antanvari=ma=maharjyo rujibhi-
104 rajo jajaparamesvara=parammahatara=ram= paramavaishvah=ram=paramab-
105 hnya=h=10 mupati=pard-ad=adhyat=sa[\*] Sri-Chodagangadheva=Sanv-
106 vishay= rapurk\hat{u}=41=pramukdh= kuta=mn=sa=savv=sa-
107 mohya purhit-amaty=yyavarak=shamihivi-
108 grahi= dauvarika= pramukha= paripana= samaksham = ittham = ajna=payati [1*]
109 Viditama=v yath=II Asi=araiya-kul-oddhay= Vasadeva=n-
110 nakas=tad-bharyya Gaandama-nayik= tat=putr Bhimaya=nam= tad-bha-
111 ryya Ma\hat{a}=ma=nayik= tat=putr Madhavas=tas=mai[\*] nat=pad=pa=ivin=ma
112 bhavd-vishay= Tamarakha=ci=nama=gramas-satata=pratibhdbh=avi=ch=chhina=
113 samopabho=bbhi=cha pallibhis=sar=da=na=sa=la=sthala= sar=pp=ra=va=raih-

Fifth Plate.

114 ma=chajandr-arka-pratisbh=mandapitri=atmanasad=pu=nya=yad=bhrridhay= viya-
115 d-udadi-ku=chndu=ganitadesu luks=va-saras=luks=han= sakul=Otkala=sam-
116 jy-padav=virajaman=sa=indrapsara=nvisibhir=amadhip=ddhara=purvaka[m]* da-
117 titasad-bhahvibh=api bhunipalai pari=pan=iy a=II

23 This is a very anomalous character, more like a mark of punctuation than anything else; but it can only be meant for sa.
23 Read rajarajājī.
24 Metre, Vasāsanta.
25 Metre, Mandakrānta.
26 Metre, Śrīdāivikrīḍita; and in the next verse.
27 Metre, Śrīdāivikrīḍita; and in the following verse.
28 According to the Dictionaries, the root kriḍ is of the first class only, and is conjugated in the ātmanepada.
29 Here, in composition with a, it is conjugated in the pramanepada of the fourth class.
30 Read tēnāmā.
31 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
32 Read rājārāja.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Desirous of creating the three worlds, there became manifest the divine (god) Ananta (Vishnu) (line 3). From the water-lily (that grew from) his navel, there sprang (the god) Brahman (l. 4), reciting the Vadas with his four mouths. From him there was born Atri (l. 5), the lord of sages. The son of Atri was Svaraka (the Moon) (l. 9). From him was born Buddha (l. 10). His son was Puruvravas. From him was born Ayus (l. 11). His son was king Nāhusha (l. 12). From him there was born Yayati (l. 14). From him, king Turvasu (l. 15); he came to maturity on the breast (of his mother) through the power of the ancient preceptor of the gods, his maternal grandfather (Sukra).

Being without sons, and being excessively distressed for a long time (on that account) (l. 16), he (Turvasu), the best of kings, practising self-restraint, propitiated (the river) Gangā, the bestower of boons, who is worthy to be propitiated, and obtained a son, the unconquerable Gangēya (l. 17); and, from that time forth, the succession of his descendants has been victorious in the world, under the name of the Gangānaya (l. 18).

The son of this person was Virōchana (l. 19). He begat Sānvēda (l. 21), the glory of the Gangānaya. From him there was born Sānvēdin (l. 22). He became possessed of a son through the birth of Dattasena (l. 23). His dear Son was Soma (l. 25). From him there was born Amudatta (l. 26). From him, Saurāṅga. From him, Chitrāmbara (l. 27), who, alone, in the whole circuit of the earth, was worthy to be spoken of by the title of ‘king’. His son was Sāradhāja. His son was he who had the appellation of Dharma (l. 28). And his son was Parikshit (l. 30). He obtained a glorious son, Jayasena (l. 31). And his son again was named Jayasena (II.) (l. 31). He begat Jitavirya (l. 32). And he, king Viśvadhāja (l. 33). His son was Pragalbhā (l. 34). His son was Kōlāhala (l. 36), who built the city named Kōlahalapura (l. 37), in the great Gangāvādi vihaya, and made a temple of the god Hari. And his son was Virōchana (l. 40).

When there had gone by in that city eighty kings, who enjoyed the city of Kōlahalapura (l. 40), in his lineage there was born king Virasimha (l. 41). His sons were five in number: Kamārṇava (l.), Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava (l.), Mārāsinha, and Vajrāhasta (l.) (l. 42). Then Kamārṇava (l.) gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle (l. 43), and, with his brothers, set out to conquer the earth, and came to the mountain Mahendra (l. 44). Having there worshipped the god Gokarnavāmin (l. 45), through his favour he obtained the excellent crest of a bull (viśhakha-lāṅkhanā); and then, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, having descended from the summit of the mountain Mahendra (l. 47), and being accompanied, like Yudhishthira, by his four younger brothers Kamārṇava (l.) conquered (king) Baladitya, who had grown sick of war (l. 48), and took possession of the Kaliṅga countries (l. 49). And his capital (rājadhan) was the city named Jantavura (l. 49), which quite surpassed the city of (the god) Surēndra. Having decorated his younger brother Dānārṇava with the necklace (kaṃśikā) (of royalty, as a token that he should succeed him in that kingdom) (l. 50), to Guṇārṇava (l.) he gave the Ambavādi.

43 Accordingly, these Gangas were comprised in the Vaiśhavadāna or lineage of Vishnu.
44 And thus they belonged also to the Sn̄navāda or Lunar Race.
45 I have not succeeded in obtaining an explanation of this verse. The story of Yayati is given in the Vaisnav-Purāṇa, book iv. chap. 19; and may be briefly stated thus — By his wife Devashtī, the daughter of Sukra, he had two sons, Yadu and Turvasu; and by his other wife Sarmishtā, the daughter of Viśhavapuran, three sons, Drupu, Anu, and Puro. Being cursed by Sukra, in connection with his marriage to the second wife, he became old and infirm before his time. But subsequently appeasing his first father-in-law, Sukra, he obtained permission to transfer his decrepitude for a thousand years to anyone who would bear it in his place. With the exception of Puru, all his sons refused, and were cursed by him in consequence. Puru, however, relieved his father of the infliction, and in return, when the time had expired, was made by his father his principal successor in the sovereignty; his brothers being appointed viceroys under him. — The preceptor of the gods is properly Brihastapati. But the epithet seems here to be applied to Sukra, the preceptor of the demons.
46 Here the descent branches off from the Purānic genealogy. According to the Vaiśnava-Purāṇa, book iv. chap. 16, Turvasu’s son was Vahni; his was Gobhikā; and so on; and no reference is made to the circumstances mentioned in the present verse.
47 See note 14 above.
48 See note 17 above.
49 See note 21 above.
vishaya (l. 51); to Márasiníba, the Sóda or Sóda manḍala (l. 52); and to Vajrabhasta (l.), the Kanṭaka vartani. And thus for thirty-six years he governed the Kalinga countries (l. 53).

Of him, Kámarñava (l.) (l. 58), who adorned the family of the Gangas (l. 57),—who obtained the fulfillment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gòkàraśvàmin (l. 56), established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahèndra (l. 55), who is the sole architect for the construction of the universe, and the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 56); and who are of the Aṭrèya gotra (l. 57),—the younger brother, Dànràvava (l. 59), reigned for forty years.

His son, the second Kámarñava (l. 60),\(^4\) reigned for fifty years; his city was the city named Nagarà (l. 61), in which he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the god Ísà (Siva) in the liṅga-form, to which he had given the name of Madhakèśa (l. 62) because it was produced from a madhùka-tree. His son, Bañárñava (l. 63), made the earth happy for five years. His son, the second Vajrabhasta (l. 64), protected the earth for fifteen years. His younger brother, the third Kámarñava (l. 65), caused the earth to be prosperous for nineteen years. His son, Gunàrñava (l. II.) (l. 66), held the earth in subjection for twenty-seven years. His son, Jitànkùsa (l. 67), kept the earth without a rival wife in his affection for fifteen years. Then his brother’s son, Kaligalánkùsa (l. 67), adorned the Kalinga countries for twelve years. Then his father’s brother, king Gùḍamà (l. 69), was the ornament of the earth for seven years. His younger brother, the fourth Kámarñava (l. 69), enjoyed the earth for twenty-five years. Their younger brother, Vinayāditya (l. 70), protected the earth for three years. Then the fourth Vajrabhasta (l. 72), the son of his elder brother Kámarñava (l. IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; and made the earth as soft as clay with the water that was the rut of a thousand elephants given away by him. Then his son, the fifth Kámarñava (l. 74), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, the second king Gùḍamà (l. 74), reigned for three years. His maternal half-brother, the sixth Madhù-Kámarñava (l. 75), for nineteen years. Then his son, Vajrabhasta (V.) (l. 76), for thirty years; the whole earth was filled with the fame of him, the ornament of the Gaṅgakula (l. 77); and he, the lord of Trikalinga (l. 82), fully deserved the name of Vajrabhasta (‘he who holds a thunderbolt in his hand’), because he was able to ward off a thunderbolt which, missing its proper path, was falling from the hand of the god Vajrín (Indra) onto the earth. His son Bàjaraśa (l. 83), reigned for eight years; he first became the husband of the goddess of victory in battle with the Dramilas (l. 85), and then wedded Bàjasundari, the daughter of the Chòda king (l. 86); and when Vijayàditya (l. 87), beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Veṅgi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chòdas, he, Bàjaràśa, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (l. 89). His eldest son, equal to (the ancient king) Vikramāditya in the prowess of his mighty arm (l. 90), was Chòdagàṅga (l. 92), who was anointed king of the whole world in the Saka year (l. 93) that is numbered by the NANDAS (nine), the apertures of the body (nine) and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Bévati nakshatra, and during the Nriyugma lagna. He, the ornament of the Gaṅgas (l. 103), first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the eastern region (l. 100), and then the waning lord of Vëngi in the western region (l. 101), and propped up their failing fortunes.

And he, the illustrious Mahārāja Anantavarman (l. 103), the Räjādhräja, the Rājasa-parnàvëvara,\(^{49}\) the Paramabhãṭṭåraka, the most devout worshipper of the god Viṣhṇu,\(^{50}\) who is most

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\(^{4}\) It should be noted how, in most cases, in a very exceptional manner, this record uses the ordinal adjectives to distinguish the different kings of the same name.

\(^{49}\) Here, line 104, rejasparaivaiva seems to be a fuller form of the usual supreme title paraivaiva. But, on the analogy of similar epithets in other dynasties, it may be a birads of Anantavarman, meaning ‘a very Paramëviva (Siva) among Kings.’—It is rather curious that, along with one at least of the paramount titles, the feuudatory title of Mahàrāja should be attached to the name of Anantavarman.

\(^{50}\) See also, contrasted with the bändi or the title of the, paraivaivaiva, here is rather peculiar. But the grantee, Mādrava, and his grandson father, Viśnu-deva-nāyaka, were plainly Vaiśhnavas. And the sectarian title in question was possibly assumed out of compliment to them.
kindly disposed to Brahmā, — he, (otherwise called) the glorious Chodagaṅgadeva (I. 105), who meditates on the feet (padā-vākhyāta) of his parents, having called together the cultivators, headed by the Reḍkaṁhāgas (I. 106), in the Samvā vīṣaya, issues a command in the presence of the Purūrata, Amāya, Yuvāru, Saṃvītiṣvāk, Āpsūrīka, and other officials of his retinue:

"Be it known to you (I. 109) that there was Vāsudēvanāya, born in a noble family; whose wife was Gāpṛaṅgāyikā (I. 110). Their son was Bhīmaya; whose wife was Mājānaṅikā (I. 111). Their son is Māḍhava. And to him, my dependent (padā-vājetiṁ), for the increase of the religious merit of our parents and of our (I. 114), in the Saka year (I. 115) that is numbered by the sky (nought), the oceans (four), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), on a meritorious day, with libations of water there has been given by us, decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkal (I. 115), and residing at the town of Sindhūrapūra (I. 116), the village of Tāmarakhaṇḍi (I. 112), in your vīṣaya, together with the hamlets that have always belonged to it and have been uninterruptedly enjoyed with it, — including its water and dry land (I. 113); free from all exactions; and constituted to endure as long as the sun and the moon. Therefore it should be preserved in grant by future kings also."

No. 180.—Visagapatam Copper-Plate Grant of Anantavarma-Chodagaṅgadeva.

Saka-Samvat 1057.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sowell in the Archeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 32, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Senior Assistant Collector of Visagapatam, and as belonging to the trustees of the temple of Saṅgam.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 9½ by 4½". The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about ½" thick and 5½" in diameter; it had been cut when the grant left my hands again. The edges of it are secured in the lower part of a flat oval disc, similar to that of No. 178 above, and measuring about 2½ by 1½", which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant; and on the surface of the disc there are visible the same emblems as in the case of No. 178. — The total weight of the three plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 6 lbs. 8 oz. — The characters belong to the South-Indian Nāgarī alphabet. As far as the end of line 12, they are of exactly the same type with those of No. 178; but from there to the end they follow a different type of the same class, presenting older characteristics, especially in using the superscript form of the vowel i in combination with a consonant. This change in the characters occurs, it will be noticed, at the beginning of the second plate; but the context runs on quite properly; and for this reason, as well as from the uniform size and appearance of the three plates, and from the fact that the ring had not been cut, there seems to be no doubt that the first plate is the one which belongs properly to the second and third. The engraving is good and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all. As usual, the interiors of the letters show marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for five verses in lines 18-23, and 27-31, and one of the customary benefactive verses in line 38. The formal part of the record, as far as the end of line 26, agrees almost word for word with the corresponding portion of No. 178. In line 37, the word gali-vantra, or possibly gali-vandha, requires explanation. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvara, before r, in trisatam, lines 13 and 17; and in viṁśati, line 15; (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by b, after r, in chodagaṁṇaṁ-abhagavat ś, line 4; and (3) the use of r for b throughout, e.g. in avda, line 5; samuspavūpa, line 6; avadakā, line 9; avdāya, line 22; and kusumudha, line 26.
This inscription is another record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chōdāganga-dēva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga; and, as in the case of No. 178, the charter recorded in it, is issued from the city of Kaliṅga-nagarā. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of the village of Sumuḍa, with its hamlet, in the Sammug or Sammaga vihaya and in the Kaliṅga dēsa, to a person named Chōdāganga, — evidently a name-take of the king.

In lines 20 to 23, we have the same verse that occurs in Nos. 178 and 179 above, giving the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chōdāganga-dēva. And line 32 f. gives the actual date of the grant itself, which, without full details for calculation, is in the month of Viśčikha, i.e., in the solar month Margaśīrha, in Śaka-Śaṁvat 1057, expressed in numerical words. Here, again, the given year is not distinctly specified, either as current or as expired. As an expired year, it is equivalent to A.D. 1135-36.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1 Ōm Svasti Śrīmatām-akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dīya-dāna-dākṣaḥṣya-saṃpuṣṭa-saṃ
2 ryya-dhārry-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrā(tra)kāṣṭam-ācakṣam-gōtrāṇām vimala-vyāḥ(chā)r-āchāra-puṣṇya-saṃlā
3 prakāśāḥ-sahā-Kalika-kalma-mahīṃ mahā-Mahāndr-āchāra-śikha-pratīṣṭhitasya sācari-ācara-gau
4 rōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmanā-aikā-sātṛadḥāraṣṭra sasāṃka-chūdāmanīḥ(pṛ)ṛ-bḥbha(bhba)-gaviṭo Gōkṛṣapavāmi
5 naḥ ṭra praśādāt-saṃśādāt-aikāsāṅkha-bhṛtṛ-paśchamahā-saṅvada (bda)-dhaṭvala[ḥ(chh)ṣ]atra-hēmāḥmaṇa-vaṟavirīṣa
6 bhalālīcha(aḥcha)na-saṃu[ḥ(chh)] va-la-saṃasti-sāmrājaiva-mahīṃ anēka-samara-saṅga(aṅga)-tīsam(ṣu)ṣu-palavda(bha)-vi
7 jayalakṣmi-saṃālīṅgīt-ō(ṭṭa)[ḥ(chh)]ūga-bhujadaṇḍa-majjitaṁānāt i ś Trikaliṅga-mahībhubāṇāt i Ga
8 ūgānām-anvyavam-alakaśāriyaḥ-pūrī- Viścikha-viṣṇu-akramā-ṛbhaṃ-ṛbharāma-prādayaṣṭi Guna
9 mā(ma)hāṛṇya-
10 va-ma(ma)ḥāṛaṣṭra putraḥ [[śrī-Vaijrayastadēvaḥ-chatuṣ-chatuṣvarīṣatam-avda(bda)] kāṁ kāṣṭham-aḥraṣṭat
11 [[Ṭaṭ-taṇyāḍu Gaṇḍama-rajaṃ(jhō)] varsha-trayaṃ-saṭṭhaya[ḥḥ] [tīṛ] Ṭad-anuḥ Ṭad-anuḥ Kaṁāraṇa-vadēvaḥ pa-
12 śa-trīṇāḥ-saṁrāḥ u Tasy-anuḥ Ṭad-anuḥ Vaiṣṇavādityaḥ samās-tīsraḥ [hṭḥ] [hṭḥ] Kaṁāraṇa-
13 tanayā Vaijrayastadhāḥ[ḥḥ] yō mada-galita-galān-gajana(n) sahasram-satrīḥbhyāḥ samadāt-sa

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**Second Plate; First Side.**

13 paṇcīni-trinās(ma) ṭan-avda(bda) kāṁ Ṭaṭas-tad-aṅruḥ Kaṁārṇas(rṣṇa) vadēvaḥ-
14 Ṭaṭas-tad-anuḥ (nu) Gaṇ(guṇ)a-mahāpatis(trīṇi) va[rṣ]ahāpi il Tad-anuḥ (nu) jaś-cha
15 dvaimāṇa Kaṁa-
16 [rṣ]vāya ekō(ō)na-vina(ma) va-varhaṃ śa Ṭaṭas-tu Kaṁa[rṣ]vānād-Vaidumv-
17 Ṭaṭas-samudhavāyaṁ
18 Vinayamahādāvyāṁ jātiḥ śrī-Vaijrayastadhāv [ḥḥ] divaḥ pājantam-stibhibhaṇa-

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1 On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178 above.
2 From the original plates. 3 Bead dayū. 4, 5, and 7 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
4 See page 163 above, note 11. 5 See page 163 above, note 18.
Second Plate; Second Side.

23 rāyāś-chakraṁ saṁrakshitaṁ sad-gunā-nidhirś-adhika (pa)ś-Chāḍagaṅgho-bhishiktāḥ ॥

Kalūga-naga- ॥

24 rāṭ-paramamāhēśvarāḥ paramabhaḥ[ṭ]*āraka-mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati[ḥ]* śrīmad-Ana-

ntavarmā Chāḍagaṅghadēvaḥ kuśālikī samast-ānāyā-pramukha-janapadān-

Sammag-śiha- ॥

26 ya-vāsinaḥ kuṭumṇān[ṛ]*sarvaṁ-samāhāya ittham-ajjāpayati [ṭ]* Vidi[ta]*m-sat ukhavatāms ॥

27 Śrīmad[ṭ]* Pervaṁrāja dvishaad-avaṇibhrītāṁ sōnīt-ānīṁbhāh kavāṁkarmān ājvarvāṁ yā-an-

samārāḥ vadamāva[ś]*mājantya-sarvaṁ tūrṇaṁ[ṛ]mānāṁ ripu-

narakapatyaṁ kē ॥

29 samarathe vādavatvam[ś]*mājantya-sarvaṁ tūrṇaṁ[ṛ]mānāṁ ripu-va(ba)laya-vipine-

praudha(ḥa)-kāntāra-vahno ॥ Bhāry[ṛ]pī ॥

30 ya tasya [sa]*mājana(?)-rūpā sat-putra-sūr-Māṅkama-nāmandaḥyā putras-tayōś-sad-

gunavṛttā śrī-Čhō-

31 ċāgaṅgha prathit-ōru-paṁtaḥ ॥ Tasmā Chāḍagaṅgha-āśmākam-āpta-kṛi(kry)āyā Kaliṅga-dēśe ॥

32 Sammaga-śiha-ye  Sumuda-nāma-grāmas-Tittillirīgi-śa-nāma-中关村am grāmāśe-śa-

śalt [ṭ]* śrī[ś]*-Sak-āvēdo(bbē)-

33 shu muni-sa(sa)ra-viyan-oha(cha)ṁdra-ghanītōshu Vrischika-māse sa-jala-

sthulāh-sarva-pīṣā-vivarjītām-ā-chāmad-ārka[sa]*mu-

34 pabhūṅnaṁ-mātāpitrōr-ātmasaṁcha puṣya-yaśo-bhi[ṛ]*ddhayē dhārā-pūrvakam-

āsambhir-datta iti ॥

Third Plate.

35 Asya grāmasya simā-liṅgnī liḫyanṭe ॥ Pūrvvataḥ Vēṇgim-viḷva-sētu[ḥ]*

āgran[ya]*taḥ Go-

36 iṅga-rāpi[ṛ]* tātā Domūkēṇḍa । dakshinī(ṣ)aṁtaḥ trīkūta-vaṇa-rājī-śotāḥ । paschima-

taḥ kṣa(sa)-va(ba)dāra-sē-}

11 This śī was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather faintly, between the eyd and tās of tasya-ātma-

bhrīd in the next line.
12 First śī was engraved, and then it was corrected into sa by partial erasure of the 4.
13 Medium, Vaḥṣastha.
14 Medium, Śrālaṅkāra.
15 In line 13 below, this name is written Sammaga.
16 Read kṣaṃbhūtāsya. I owe this emendation, without which the verse was unintelligible, to Prof. Kleinhorn.
17 Medium, Indravajra.
18 This marks of punctuation is unnecessary.
19 Or perhaps the text is grāmāśe-śiha-ye.
GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMA-CHÔDAGANGADEVA.


38 tuḥḥ Va(ba)hubhinŚa-vvauddhā dattā rājaḥhi-Śa-ga-ādhiḥhi śa yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā pa(ph)alāṁiḥ ii

39 Mahādevi(vi)-tattāk-ābhyanṭara-Gaṅga-Śkhya-vāpi(pl) ii

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the Mahārāja Guṇamahārāṇava (II.) (line 8), who adorned the family of the Gaṅgas (l. 7), — who are of the Ārāya gōtra (l. 2); who, through the favour of the divine Gōkarnaśyāmin (l. 4), established on the summit of the great mountain Mahēndra (l. 3), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (l. 4), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the pāścchamahākāsha, the white umbrella, the golden chāmara, and the excellent crest of a bull (ṛishabhamālaṅgha) (l. 5); and who are the kings of (the country of) Trikalinaga (l. 7), — the son, the illustrious Vajrahaṣṭadēva (III.) (l. 9), protected the earth for forty-four years.

His son, king Guṇḍama (I.) (l. 10), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, Kāmāraṇavada (IV.), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, Vinayaditya (I. 11), for three years. Then Vajrahaṣṭa (IV.) (l. 12), the son of Kāmāraṇa (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, Kāmāraṇavada (V.) (l. 13), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king Guṇḍa (Guṇḍama II.) (l. 14), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, Kāmāraṇa (VI.), for nineteen years. Then to Kāmāraṇa (VII.), from Vinayamahādevi, who was born in the Vaiḍūnya family, there was born Vajrahaṣṭa (V.) (l. 15), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king Rājarāja (l. 18), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (agjaramahēśī) was Rājasundari (l. 20), the daughter of Rājendracholā. And she bore him a son, king Chôḍaganga (l. 23), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is the Gaṅga family (l. 22), who was anointed king in the Śaka year (l. 21) that is numbered by the Nandasa (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Rēvati nakṣatra, and during the Nṛṣiyumga lagna.

From the city of Kaliṅganagara (l. 23), he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahēvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the Mahārājadhārāja, the supreme lord of Trikalinaga (l. 24), the glorious Anantavarman, (otherwise called) Chôḍagangadēva (l. 25), being in good health, having called together all the cultivators, headed by the Aṃdityas, in the Sammag vihāya, issues a command:

"Be it known to you (l. 26): — "O illustrious Permadirāja (l. 27), what hostile kings are able to cross the stream that is the edge of thy sharp sword, when in the battle-field it is eagerly thirsting to drink the tepid water which is the blood of inimical princes? say thou, (since none other can answer the question): straightforward they are drowned in it, O thou mighty

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36 In Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, unara is given as meaning 'a co-partner, a co-heir.' Here, however, it may perhaps be a mistake for vandha, i.e. bandha. The preceding two syllables, gali, may perhaps represent the Kanarese knali, 'a valiant man, a hero.'
37 Here we should probably read trikūta-vaṣṣa, as in the preceding line.
38 Metre, Śīkṣa (Anushṭabha).
39 See page 183 above, note 11.
40 The proper context is "to him, Our trusty agent, Chôḍaganga," &c., in line 31. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis, introducing the greater, and giving his parentage.
41 The Western Chälkaṇya king Vikramaditya VI., whose reign ended only about ten years before the time of this grant, had the name of Pormki; but he does not seem to be the person mentioned in this parenthetical verse. At any rate, the name of Miśkamadēvi does not occur in the list of his known wives, who were seven in number (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 49 f.)
forest-fire for (consuming) the thicket that is the forces of (they) enemies [33]. His (Purnāditya's) wife was she who had the name of Māṅkama- (l. 30). [33] And their son is the illustrious Chaudagāṅga (l. 31). To him, Our trusted agent, [34] Chaudagāṅga, the village named Sumunda (l. 32), with the hamlet named Tittītītī, [35] in the Sambhagā vishaya in the Kalāga dōta, has been given by Us, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our parents and and Ourselves, in the Śaka year (l. 33) that is numbered by the Sages (seven), the arrows (of Kāmadēva), five, the sun (nought), and the moon (one), in the month of Vṛṣchikā; including all the water and dry land, free from all restrictions, and to be enjoyed as long as the moon and sun may endure."

The boundaries of this village (l. 35) are:—On the east, the bridge or causeway (śetu) called Vaṅgīnīvilvaśātu; on the south-east, the irrigation-well called Gaṅgavāpi, and then (the village of) Dommihēnda; on the south, the bridge or causeway running along by the wood called Trikūṭāvāna; on the west, the bridge or causeway of the kēsā and bādara-plants; on the north, . . . . . . . . . . . . [36] and on the north-east, the bridge or causeway on which there are a fig-tree and a nandī-tree of the wood called Trikūṭāvāna (?) (l. 37).

Line 38 contains one of the customary benedictive verses. And the record ends with the statement, in line 39, that the irrigation-well called Gaṅgavāpi, spoken of in line 35-36, is in the interior of the tank called Mahādāyā-taṭāka.

SOME FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLE, P.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

Kāyāvatāra.

In my article on the Bagumārā grant of Dāda II., ante, Vol. XVII. p. 193, note 36, I objected to Dr. Bhagvānīlāl Indrājī's identification of Kāyāvatāra with Kāvé, because the latter town is called Kāpikā in the Rādhā inscription of Gōvinda IV. I was, however, unable to offer a definite counter-proposal. I think I can now make up the deficiency, and show that Kāyāvatāra is probably the modern Kārvān, a large village situated at the junction of the B. B. and C. I. and Dabhāl Railways in lat. 22° 3' N. and long. 73° 10' E. According to the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII. pp. 550-551, it is an ancient place of great sanctity, famous for its Śaiva temples. The local Mahāśānya, the legends of which look modern and apocryphal, still retains the tradition that the name of the village is connected with Kāyā. It asserts that Kārvān is derived from Kāyavrāhān or Kāyavrāhun (p. 19). Philological reasons make it impossible to agree with these derivations. But it is very possible that the first syllable of the word Kār-vān represents Kāyāvatāra. For in Prakrit the latter would become Kiāvāra, which in Gujarāti must be contracted to Kār, and, on the analogy of Vaṣpadra-Vardila, Rāivaka-Rāy(mālā), and so forth, might even become Kār. The termination vān has probably to be taken as the adjectival suffix corresponding to Sanskrit vatu. The whole name would thus mean 'the village possessing the Kāya-manifestation.' Now this appellation would suit particularly well, because in Kārvān the chief deity is Brahmēsvāra-Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēsvāra, because Ka and Brahman are synonyms. An ancient līga, which, as the Gazetteer states, was found some years ago, shows how the name Brahmēsvāra arose. Its front part is "shaped into an image of Brahman with a small Vishnu on its head." I may add that Kārvān is very distant from the village of Sāmri where Jayabhāṣa IV. granted a field while encamped at Kāyāvatāra.

[33] In giving me the emendation which cleared up the meaning of this verse, Prof. Kielhorn has adduced the following analogical verse by Hūmacandra:—

Mūlari-ākā-dhāriyā nīmāni yā mahīśhujāh
Umajjantā rīvīyantī śvārga-bāṅgā-jalabhā tēh

[34] Owing to the construction of the text, this name has a masculine termination. Her real name may be taken either as Maṅkamādēvi (Sanskr.,) or Maṅkamma (Kanarese).


[36] Or perhaps Trilūṣā; see note 33 above.

[37] The meaning of gaṅga-rumu-ram-rum, line 37, is not apparent.
The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 4.

The Chaulukya grant No. 4, ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, plate II. 1-4, disposes of two objects, (1) of the village of Sāmpāvāḍa in the Varvī (read Vardhi) Pathaka, (2) of the piece of land “out of the middle of the village at Śeshadēvati, (but) belonging to the village of Dōdiyāpāṭaka in the Gambhūṭa Pathaka” (tataḥ Gambhūṭapāṭakē Śeshadēvatigrāmanamadhyat Dōdiyāpāṭakasataksabhamikhaṇḍa 1. The following lines 6-11 describe the boundaries of the village and of the piece of land. A comparison of their contents with the actualities on No. 77 of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, Gujarat Series, yields the following results:—

According to the inscription.

(1) Sāmpāvāḍa,

bounded east by Śeshadēvati
“” south Phūmchāḍi
“” west [names lost]
“” north Rājōḷōya

(2) Land in Śeshadēvati

belonging to Dōdiyāpāṭaka

bounded east by Kāḷhari
“” south Phūmchāḍi
“” west Bhaṭṭārakā Śeshadēvati
“” north Dōdiyāpāṭaka

According to the map.

Sāmpawāra { lat. 23° 33' N.

Dōriwāra { long. 72° 3' E.

Itilā1

Kāḷhari

Bochar [Map No. 78].

Šāmpawāra { lat. 23° 33' N.

O

Hasalpur [Viramgām Tālukā].

Khambēl.

Aḍivārā.

Indiā.

O

Čālī.1

Phēcharī.

Dōriwārā.

O

The Trigonometrical Survey Map does not give the names of Śeshadēvati and Śeshadēvati, it still indicates their sites. For it marks about a mile south of Dōriwāra a nameless temple near a tank. This is the Śeshadēvati of our grant, as may be recognised from the two statements, 1st, that it lay east of Šāmpawāra; 2nd, that it lay west of the land in Śeshadēvati, which itself lay south of Dōriwāra. Śeshadēvati was, of course, a hamlet built close to the temple and lay just east of it. The grantees of the village and the piece of land were according to the grant, loc. cit. II. 5—6, the temples of Anāḷēvara and of Saḷakhaṇḍēvara in Saḷakhaṇḍapura. The latter village is without a doubt the modern Sankhalpur in lat. 23° 2' N. and long. 72° 4' E. As happens frequently in Gujarāi words, two letters in this case, a and l have been transposed. As regards the districts named, the Vardhi Pathaka is the modern Vadiār (eridihārāra) which according to popular usage is the name for the eastern coast of the Ran of Kachh, and comprises parts of the Viramgām Tālukā, of the Gaṅgāvāḍi division of Kaḍi, and of Rāḍhānpur. Our inscription shows that Śāmpawāra—Sāmpawāra lay on its eastern boundary. For Dōdiyāpāṭaka, Dōriwāra and Śeshadēvati immediately to the east of Šāmpawāra belonged to the Gambhūṭa Pathaka. The latter, therefore, corresponded with the eastern portion of the Vāḍāvī sub-diśion of the Kaḍi district. According to the colophon of MS. 13, described in Prof. Kielhorn’s Report of 1880-81, App. p. 11, it was a rather large district, containing one hundred and forty-four villages (Gambhūṭachakatvātvarhakhatapathakē). If the village Chaḷharspallī mentioned there, is identical with Chaḷölī in lat. 23° 24' N. and long. 72° 14' E. (Trig. Survey Map Guj. Ser. No. 78), it extended chiefly southwards. Its name appears to be derived from a village or town called Gambhūṭ, which is identical with the modern Gāmbhu, just south-east of Vāḍāvī in lat. 23° 36' N. and long. 72° 14' E. The names correspond exactly according to the

1 This is a mis-spelling for Inilā, which form occurs in grant No. 3.

2 The names agree exactly, but there may have been another Chaḷölī which has disappeared.
principles of Gujarati phonetics, and it is still a considerable place with 1813 inhabitants according to the Trig. Surv. Map. This Gambhūṭa-Gāmbaru is, of course, the place where Śrīnākāraṇa wrote his Āchārjā śāstra, ante, Vol. XV. p. 183. Mr. Fleet’s suggestion, loc. cit., that Gambhūṭa might possibly be Cambay, appears to me untenable also for other reasons. For the word Gambhūṭa can never be corrupted to Cambay. Moreover, the correct name of Cambay is Khambhāyāt; and the Prākṛti form is Khambhāittha, derived from Khambhāittha. The latter is a synonym for Stambhātṛtha, the usual Sanskrit name of Cambay in the Prabandhas and the inscriptions.

The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 10.

In the Chaulukya grant No. 10, ante, Vol. VI. p. 208ff., Tribhuvanapāṭha presents to the Sattrā ṣvara in the Talapada of Māḍa,3 (1), the village of Bhāṁshara in the Vishaya Pathaka (plate I. l. 13); and (2), the village of Rājapūrī in the Daṇḍāli Pathaka (plate I. 1. 13). The boundaries of the two villages are described with great accuracy on plate II. II. 3–9. Nearly all the places named there are found on Nos. 76 and 78 of the Trig. Survey Map, Gujarāt Series. A comparison of the statements in the inscription with the actualities on the maps, gives the following results:

**According to the inscription.**

(1) Bhāṁshara

bounded east by Kurali

" south Kurali

" west Arāṭhāura

" north Dāsayaja

(2) Rājapūrī

bounded east by Kūlaṇa[saṇa]

" south-east Dāṅgaraṇa

" south Āḥrāṇa

" west Sirasāvi

" north-west Uṁṭiiyā

" north Naṁdāvasaṇa

" north-east Kūlāla

I may add that Kurali probably exists. The map, No. 4, on which it ought to stand, is at present not accessible to me. I suspect that there is a mistake in one of the two names, Kūlaṇa[saṇa] and Jhulāsān, which do not properly correspond. Possibly the sign on the inscription has been misread. In Kūlāla-Kiōl, the transposition of the second and third letters ought to be noted.

The results show that the Vishaya Pathaka included the districts south-east of Sāhāpur, and the Daṇḍāli Pathaka those east of Kaudi. The meaning of the first name is clear; that of the second I am unable to explain.

3 As the chief priest in Maṇḍali-Mūḍal (plate II. line 19) is made the manager of the villages, Māḍa probably lay close to the latter town.
4 The correct name is Athōr, see Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII. p. 619.
SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGUPTA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which, at Mr. Fleet's request, I edit from rubbings supplied by General Sir A. Cunningham, was discovered in 1874 by Mr. Beglar, at a temple of the village of Sirpur, or Sircup [sic], as it is called in the inscription itself, about forty miles east by north from Ráypur, in the Central Provinces; and an account of it, accompanied by a photo-zincograph, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. XVII. pp. 25-26, and Plate xviii. A. When first discovered, and when the rubbings were taken, it was complete; according to Sir A. Cunningham, in 1831 the upper proper right corner of the stone had subsequently peeled off, carrying away the beginning of each of the first three lines.

The inscription contains 17 lines. The writing covers a space of about 13½'' broad by 14½'' high, and was, at the time when the rubbings were taken, in a fair state of preservation; judging from the rubbings, about ten aksharas were even then almost completely effaced; but every one of these can be readily supplied, so that the actual reading of the inscription, in my opinion, does not admit of any doubt whatever. The size of the letters is between ⅝'' and ¾'' The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; they resemble those of the Ghósraśā inscription, of which a photo-lithograph is given ante, Vol. XVII. p. 319, and may be referred to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory śrāmaḥ Śrīdyā, the inscription, composed by Kṛṣṇānandana, the son of Dēvanandana, is in verse. In respect of orthography, I have only to note that b throughout is denoted by the sign for v.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record that two persons, named Nāgaṛēva and Kēśāva, subjects of a prince Sivagupta, assigned certain funds for providing garlands of flowers for the worship of Siva at the town of Sircupra. And, by way of introduction, it is stated that Sivagupta, also styled Bālrjuna, was a son of Harṣagupta, the son of Chandragupta, who was a son of Nāmaḷēva, also called Nānēswara, the son of Indrabala, who was a son of the prince Udayana, of the family of Śāyadhara, 'the Moon,' i.e. of the lunar race; not, as has been stated elsewhere, in consequence of a misreading, 'of the race of Savaras' or 'of the Savara lineages.' Considering the promise given by Mr. Fleet in Corpus Inscre. Ind. Vol. III. p. 294, I will only state here that, of these princes, Indrabala and Nāmaḷēva are clearly the two chieftains who are mentioned in line 16 of the Rājim Copper-plate Inscription of Tīvārēva, ib. p. 298.

The inscription is not dated, but it may, as intimated above, on palæographical grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grant of Tīvārēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700.

In Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. XVII. Plates xviii. B, and xix. C.D., Sir A. Cunningham has given photo-zincographic copies of three other (fragmentary) inscriptions from Sircupra, the characteristics of which closely resemble those of the present inscription, and which also are undated. Of these, the inscription B has the name of Sivagupta in line 11; and C, the name of Harṣagupta, which was followed by that of his son Sivagupta, in line 4, and also the name of Sircupra, in line 8; as has been pointed out already by Sir A. Cunningham. I cannot attempt to edit these inscriptions from the published photo-zincographs.

TEXT.

1 Om śrāmaḥ Śrīdyā Pāyād-sālingitā yushmān-ka[śtha]-māchaka-rāchishā śatbhūṭa[ś-bhā].

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2 This photo-zincograph appears to have been taken from a rubbing so much touched up by hand that some of the letters are quite disfigured and spoiled; notably, at the end of line 2, the first ś of śāyadhara-sāyaś. It is a matter for regret that the rubbings before me are not suitable for photo-lithography.
3 From the rubbings.
4 Expressed by a symbol.
5 Metre, Śūkha (Anuśūkha); here, and throughout.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

[June, 1889.

2 am-dāgarāgaśa chchhāyā-kṛi[saḥ] ta[nu]cchhhaviḥ || Āska=Udayanaḥ nāma nirvā[ha][Sa]u.-

3 sadhar-anvayaḥ abhūd-Valabhād tulaṣ-tasmād-Indrava(ba)lo va(ba)|l || Tataḥ ār̥.

4 Nannadēvō-bhūd-abhimāna-mahādayaḥ purnaṁ Nannēśvar-ākhyaḥ yaśe-chakār-ō[r][y][v][I]n[Si ?].

vālayaḥ Chandragupto bhūvō gēptā tasya jayāt sut-ōttamaḥ || tata[h] ||


7 Sivagupto mahipatiḥ dhanur-vvijāśa-mukhyaḥ yaḥ khyātō Va(ba)la-||

8 rjuna-khyāyaḥ Śyāmām-sat-latāṁ saṁkhyā kṛitvā yaḥ kara-saṅgin[I]n[.] ||

9 priyām-ivaśāṅkurūtō maṣṭa-māṣṭaṅga-maṅkikaiḥ || Tasya nirjjitya nirjjitya

10 su-bṛhiṣṭa iva sāyakaḥ || [vyy]ttitaṁ rājakam-iva strāṇam-arppayati

11 Smaraḥ || Tasya bṛhiṣṭa-[vyy]tāḥ-sti Nāgādevō dvīj-ōttamaḥ || Kēśava-ṣaḥ

12 kal-ōdagnṛ vyagraḥ sukṛṣa-karmānabhiḥ Tābhyaṁ saṁbhūya sādhuḥbhayaṁ grīhitvā
tvā vitta-viṣṭarāḥ || sarva Sripura-vaśībhya maṁkēbhyaḥ-Trisūlinē || Kṛi-

14 [ten]a[k]śiva-vighnāya kauśa-āpat-pratīgāhānī || puruṣa-pranāmaṁ dattaṁ [ku]ja-

15 ma-srak-sha[cha]tuḥtayān[.] || Īśaṁ-dā mādākāmōdh-ōmada-śaṭapadāṁ || astu

16 ahaṭpada-kauṭhaya Sṛiṣaṭhaya-ārōchānākṛitē || Praṣastim-anātōd-ētāṁ vaidya-

17 ār̥. Dēvanandinadh || ār̥. Kṛiṣhṇanandāḥ tanayo naya-praśaya-kētanaṁ ||

TRANSLATION.

Ūn! Adoration to Siva!

(I. 1.)—May the hue of the body of Sambha, who covers himself with ashes, guard you,—which is darkened as it were by a shadow, encircled as it is by the dark-blue lustre of (his) neck!

(I. 2.)—There was, of the family of the Moon, a prince named Udayana. From him sprang the mighty Indrabala, equal to the destroyer of Vala. From him sprang the illustrious Nannada, the possessor of self-reliance; who, called 'Nanna, the lord,' filled the earth with temples of (the lord) Siva. As his most excellent son, there was born Chandragupta, a protector of the earth; (and) from him sprang the illustrious Harshagupta, a cause of joy to the world. To him was born the lord of the earth, Sivagupta, fond of war; who, foremost in the knowledge of the bow, is famous under the appellation of Balārjuna; who in battle, holding the dusky creeper-like sword in his hand, decorates it, like a mistress, with the pearls (struck out of the frontal globes) of infuriated elephants; (and) to whom the god of love, like a good adherent, hands over the women-folk, having repeatedly conquered them with (his) arrows, like unto the lawless kings (subdued by his master Sivagupta).

(I. 11.)—His devoted servant is Nāgadēva, a distinguished twice-born; and Kēśava, highly proficient in the arts (and) zealous in the performance of good deeds. These two good men together have given four garlands of flowers, of the measure of (the height of) a man, to the bearer of the trident, who takes away all sin (and) counteracts misery and misfortune, having obtained them for abundant money from all the gardeners dwelling at Sripura. Until the

4 These akṣaras are almost completely effaced.

5 This akṣara is faintly visible, but sufficiently clear to enable me to say that it is śa, and bears no resemblance whatever to the ś in Sir A. Cunningham's photograph. The second akṣara of the following line, too, is distinctly śa, and cannot possibly be read va (or ba).

8 These akṣaras are almost completely effaced.

9 i.e. Indra.

10 mahādaya = odhavi, a meaning for which the dictionary has no quotation.

11 Or Nannēśvara.

13 i.e. the young Arjuna; Arjuna was famous as an archer.

14 In connection with the verse in line 15-16, I understand this to mean that they provided funds for always decorating the idol of Siva with four garlands, or made a payment to that effect to the gardeners of Sripura.

15 i.e. Siva.

16 I take the word sarva of the text to refer to mādākāṁ.
destruction of the earth, may these (garlands), the fragrance of which intoxicates the bees, serve for the worship of Śrīkaṇṭha, whose neck is (black) like a bee!

(L. 16.)—The illustrious Krishnanandin, a home of prudence and kindness, the son of the illustrious Dévanandin, the physician, has composed this eulogy.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 343.)

7. kuślaparishāriyaṁ bhūsā V, kuślaparishāhā, with 30 vv.; sarvē jīvāṁ sukhāvīnaṁ.
8. vīriyāṁ with 26 vv.; of bāla and of paśūdya; in v. 25 buddhāḥ in a good sense = jñātātātāvās.
9. dhammā with 33 vv.; in v. 1 māhāpaṇa maimayā, bāhmatāna matintā referred by the Schol. to Vīra. It concludes: gūraciīya ya savēdā nivarit̐a mukhāṁ muni ti bāmī [264].
10. samāhī, samāṭhī, with 24 vv.; it concludes: nā jīvāṁ co maraṇaṁ bhikṣukkhi charejjā bhikkhu vālaṇī vimukko ti bāmī; in place of vīlaṇī we find in 12.32, 13.32, where the same conclusion recurs: vālaṇī, and in the schol. vālaṇāṁ is explained by bhavavālaṇāṁ, māyā, sampāṭhā.
If this reading is correct, perhaps Vedic vālaṇā might be thought of. 3
11. maggā, marga, with 33 vv.; in v. 1 māhāpaṇa matintā as in 9, 1.
12. samāṣaraṇaḥ, samāṣa, with 22 vv.; kunāgbhayaṇāḥ, four samāṣaraṇāṁ paratthikdhūpapakāsamaṁ viharayāṇāi, i.e. the 180 charyayā etc. (see p. 200, 266).
13. ahatahāṁ, yathātathāham (hence by the ampliative ika or ya also): dhatamhī, dhittihī, āhatamhī; avihāva (śva), with 23 vv.; samyakchārtam.
14. gāṇthā (gāndhō V), grāntaḥ, with 27 vv.; grāntaḥā dhanūdikān tajako. ...
15. jam-ām, yam āttam (according to the opening words), or āditya-hāṁ; with 25 vv.
16. gāhā or gāthahādāsakāṁ; 3 despite this name, a prose explanation of the names māhaṇa, samaṇa, bhikkhu, nigaṇṭha and their identical signification (ekartha).

b. Second krutaskandha.

1. puṣṭarā, "riyaṇ V, puṣṭarā." 4 Comparison of the bhikkhu with a lotus flower in the middle of a pond; it begins (see above, p. 248): suhā mē ās ṅaṁ, ḅhāṅgāvāya [265] evaṁ akkaṇḍam: ika μuṇa puṣṭariya nāmaṁ ajjhaṇaṁ, tasaṁ yaṁ ayaṁ aṣṭhaṁ pannatī. This introductory formula, the second part of which occurs again in aṣṭa 6 et seq., is repeated with corresponding modification in aṣṭa. 3 All four aṣṭa are in prose.
2. kiriyābhāṣaṁ, of the 12 or 13 kiriyāsthāna.
3. āhrāparinā, "pārijā. In the schol. a variant of the scholars of Nāgarjuna is added with the words Nāgarjunyām tu paṭathānti. Nāgajñavāya, or "pārijā, "pārśa, is mentioned with great honour in the opening of the Nandi and of the Ave, in the list of teachers v. 39, 40, 45, and in fact as separated by three gradations merely— Bhūdārvina, Lōhichchha and Dāṣagaṇi — from the author himself, whom the scholiast calls Dévarévāchaka = Dévarēdēvēgaṇi, Jacobi, Kalpas, p. 15n.
4. pachehikkhaṇḍaparī, pratīyābhāṣaṇaṁ, 4
5. in S. Ave. V. aṣṭāghanā "rasūya S"; here however correctly aṣṭāghanatam, anāṭāghanatam, in 34 vv.; it opens as follows: ādāya bimbhācherāṁ cha āsūpāṇe (āsūpraṇaḥ paṇḍitaḥ) imaṁ charaṁ; asi (asām) dhammā aṣṭāghanāṁ nāyareyyā kāyā i vi il
6. ādājījāṁ, Āndrākāyaṁ, in 55 vv. A sermon of Āndrāka, the son of a merchant who, according to the scholiast, from the sight of a picture of Jina sent to him as a debt of

1 Or, simply, the learned. 4 mōkhaṁ sarvadākyāt.
2 cf. also the manner of death vālaṇṣayakam up. I. 70, "death by magic arts!" Little can be made out of the commentaries. See the excellent glossary of Lenemann which reaches me, May 1889, while these sheets are in the press.
3 gāthābhāṣākhyayānāḥ bālāśaṁ aṣṭhaṇāṁ. In V.: pāṭhābhāṣāṇaṁ nēmāṇāṁ.
4 cf. aṣṭa 6, 1, 19.
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gratitude by Abhayakumāra (the son of the king Śrēṅgaka of Rājagriha), obtained jātiṃmarαṇaṃ and turned to pravrajyā so as to receive the pratikṣeṣabuddha dignity, etc. The sermon appears to be addressed to Gōkāla. In the last verse: buddhaṃ suṇāt manvantaraṃ (tattvaśāsya śrī Viśravasya dīnāyān . ..), buddha is used directly as a name of Vīra [266].

7. Nālandājīvan, "dā V., Nālandīyana," in prose; āvākavatihīp. Legend of Udāya (Udakā) Pēṣhālaputra Mātājī, a Pāśvacchihījja, Pāśvāpatyā, i.e., scholar, or follower of Pāśvā, whom the bhagavāna (Indrabhūti) leads to Mahāvīra, after he has heard the same from the Kumāraputtīya (Kumāraputtīya), saṃsāra nīgāntāh. Udāya thus leaves the chaṭṭhājāma dhamma of Pāśvā and accepts the pañchamahāvartaṃ samādikkaṃpanaṃ dhammaṃ of Mahāvīra.

The table of contents in aṅga 4 (or Nāndī) is as follows: — kiṃ tān sūyakañca? sūyakañca

The categories comprise successively subjects or conceptions conceived as one, two, and so on up to ten. Hence the whole text consists of 10 ajjhayāṇa, which are called ekasthāna, deisthāna, etc.; ajjh. 2—4 each contain 4 udd., ajjh. 5 three udd., the rest of the aṇāj. have no such sub-division, and exist as ṣaṣṭasāraṇī (V) of one udd. each.

From the miscellaneous contents of this compendium I extract the following: — the naksatras: addā, chittā, sāti [268] are designated as ēgatārē, and then the number of the stars of the other naksatras is enumerated. In an enumeration of the divisions of time in 2, 4 — beginning with āvaiṣya and reaching to āsapaḥātiya, paḷivāma, saṅgavaṃsa, āsippini, mippini. — the
yagna is inserted between the year and the century as intermediate gradation and the quinquennial yugam is thereby still used as a means of calculation. On the other hand, we have here the same enormous extension of periods of time, which we find in upāyga 6 (Janabuddhisappannati), and in the Anuyāgadasrāstrā; see Bhaqav. 1, 427,28 though the latter works contain some modifications not present here. The existence of the above-mentioned upāyga is furthermore recognized directly in 4, 1 chatārī pannattī añghabhākhyirya paññattāya, taṅk (jātā): chandapannattī, sūrapannattī, Janabuddhisappannattī, divasāyārapannattī. The three pannattī, which are here mentioned in addition, occur again in 3, 1: tuṅ pannattī kilēgam ahīrjita, taṅ: chandapannattī, sūrapannattī, divasāyārapannattī. Here and in 4, 1, are found the titles of upāyga 7, 5, 6, in 3, 1, those of up. 7, 5; to which in both cases the dīvasā is joined, which, though not an independent member of the Siddhānta, appears however as a section of the third upāyga. That we have here to deal with the upāygas respectively named so and not merely [269] with homonymous doctrines, is proved by one circumstance especially; that besides the above-mentioned enumeration of the periods of time, the abhiṣikt series of the nukahatras, which belongs to these works, is here already known — see aijh. 7 near the end.29 And even if the direct mention of upāyga texts is in this case doubtful because such mention in the aṅgas does not occur in the text, but in the insertions at the hand of the redactor, in this case the designation (in 4, 1) of the four texts as añghabhākhyira is so distinct and so points to their actual existence apart from the aṅgas, that all doubts are put at rest. How far the existing texts of upāyga 7, 5, 6, are meant by this, is, as we shall soon see, still an open question. One circumstance is worthy of note — the order of names here is different from that of the existing texts; and the fourth name is equivalent merely to a part of the third upāyga and not to the upāyga itself.

We find in chapter 10 a second and more important statement or mention of texts existing apart from the aṅgas. In that chapter are specified not merely the names [270] of ten dasaṅga (i.e., texts containing ten aijhakayasas), but also the names of each of the 10 aijh. Among these are the names of four aṅgas (7 — 10), references to a fifth (11), and the name of the fourth chhēdasrātra; the other four names have in our Siddhānta no place whatever (saṅkāmak aprītātā, Abb. fol. 285a).

At the head stand the kammanvīyāgadasrātra; by this name the eleventh aṅga is meant — viyāganas, vipaññāratam; it contains, however not merely 10 but 20 aijh.; and the names added here as being those of the ten aijh. are found only in part in aṅga 11. Two of them, at least, are exactly the same (1, 4) and three partially so (6—8); so that we cannot gainsay that there is some connection27 between these dasaṅga and aṅga 12. The names of the ten aijh. here are: Miyāputte,28 Guttāsa,29 añže,30 Sāgāo "ti dā varā31 mānās, Naṁśīṇāya,32 ya, Soria33 ya, Uduñārā; sahasuddi śūlaya34 kumāre Lēchāl "ti ya. It is well to be noted that in aṅga 4 (§ 8) too a text entitled kaṇṇaṃvīyāda is mentioned, [271] though 43 aijh. are ascribed to it; and in the Kalpasūtra Jinaśchara. (§ 147) 55 aijh. are attributed to the pācaphalavīyādūm alone: this was a subject which invited repeated working over !

The titles of aṅgas 7 — 9 appear as dasaṅga 2 — 4; and complete agreement exists in reference

28 According to Leumann's communication this occurs also in aṅga 5, 8, 1, 6, 7, 23, 5.
30 Ābh. identifies them directly with the first ārūṣikānātha of the eleventh aṅga and the names and the contents of the single 10 aḍhā. as being all in harmony with the contents of the 10 aḍhā, found there.
31 Miyā, wife of Vijaya, king of the city Mrigānandana.
32 gāma inānāśana iti Gōčhe; — idam eva cha "ijjatekha māna Viyākasute vijjatikham ucyate.
33 cf. aṅga 6, 1, 3, 5, kukkudāyānaśāviddhanālakābhisāvatvavrāhānīpū. Viyākasute cha bhagavāṇa iti 'dām adhikayana ucyate.
34 saṅkāmak aprītātā.
35 Viyākasute cha Naṁśīṇāsā sāvadhātā eva ucyate.
36 sahasuddā A (with A fallen ote), sahasuddhe B: sahasā sāvadhātā uchānā prakṛitāgānā ābhāsābhaśāpānā va lōkṣāya ʻābhāsā sahasūddhāhām, āmāra iti rāstrē karārit ity āmārakāh sāvadāya mā śīrī 

37 Saṅkāmak aprītātā.
to the uṣṭaṇḍāsā (aṅga 7), even as regards the names of the ten ājēyāṇas. The eighth and ninth aṅga, the aṅṭaṇḍāsā and the aṅṭaṇṭarvaṇāduṇḍāsā have been here however only ten ājēk, allotted them, whereas in the Śūdrāṅga they have 93 or 33. The names of the ten ājēk are for aṅṭaṇḍāsā : Naṁśa Muṇaṅga Somellī Raṁputturā. Suddihāsāvī śēvā Jāmalī yā Bhagāli yā Kūkānāmī Pillāte ti yā Puṭi śūdrāṇaṭhaṭīyam yā śmv (śmvam) ātē āśa āhīya ii Among these I can discover but one name, Bhagāli, which shows any connection with aṅga 3, 4, 5 (Mayāli) ; or perhaps we may extend the number to two names connected with 9, 10, 11 Puḷāḷa, Raṁputturā. The names of the ten ājēk of the aṅṭaṅgī are, Isidāsā yā Dhānā yā Sunakṣhāṭi kattitā (Kārttika) ti yā Śaṅkīhāsā Śālīhaddē yā Āṣaṅgī Tēyāli12 ti yā Ā Dasaṇaḥhaddē Aṁmūṭi śmv ātē āśa āhīya ii Among these there are at least three names which recur in aṅga 9, 10, 11.

It is perfectly manifest that the author of aṅga 3 possessed entirely different texts of aṅgas 8, 9, than those in our possession. The same holds good in the case of aṅga 4, since it ascribes to these aṅgas only ten ājēk, each. See below. The means made use of by Abhayādeva to reconcile this discrepancy are very simple. He says, on aṅga 8, after [272] recognizing the fact of the discrepancy : - tatē vāchanaṭṭaraṇāpēkṣāyāni (kani ?) 'mānti' ti sāmāndvādā, navaśajādāṭharaṇam apēkṣāyāni tāṇi bharīṣayāni ti vāchiga, jāvamāḍāṭharaṇān ti tāṭā 'nadhīkṣā \\
māṇavē tī - and likewise on aṅga 9 : - tatē śmvām ti 'pi vāchanaṭṭaraṇāpēkṣāyā adhyāstavāni bhāgā ukti, na punār upalabhīṣavānāvāchanaṭṭaraṇāpēkṣāyā 'ti. His statements in reference to the stories themselves are given with tolerable detail on aṅga 9.

As the fifth member of the ten dāsāṅ the āyāradasā are enumerated. The names cited for the ten ājēk belonging to these are identical with those of chhēdāṅgārā 4. This therefore prove that the latter is to be understood by the āyāradasa.

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.


Dr. Bhāndārkar's Second Report is a worthy successor of the first. It shows the most conscientious devotion to the Search, and is full of instructive and interesting matter. The beginning describes the results of a journey to Anhilvād-Pāṭan (this, not Pāṭan, is, p. 1 note, the correct spelling), which Dr. Bhāndārkar undertook in 1883 together with Professor A. V. Kāṭhā of Ahmadābād. The two scholars visited the old Jaina Bhandār, which I saw in 1875 and 1879, and obtained access to some hitherto unknown important Brahmansical libraries. In the Bhandārs they found at least something to glean, though most of the works, which Dr. Bhāndārkar enumerates as inspected, are represented by one or several copies in the earlier portions of the Deccan College collection. To these books, known already some years ago and partly compiled for Government from the Pāṭan MSS., belong the important Vyaṭtuttidāpikā, the Prāmāṇyamaṇjīrika, the Vijayaprabhakti, the Śeshaśāṅggra, the Kumārapalcharitas of Jijhāmāyāna and, if I mistake not, of Jayasimhaśri, the Saṁjñāsarakti, the Aṭṭamāṇḍaṁlaṅkāra, and the Kṛṣṇabali-palasēṭṛi. Among the new finds, on the other hand, may be mentioned a particularly valuable good old copy of the rare Kirtikumudī and a mutilated Abhilokahatcindmāna. Dr. Bhāndārkar had also made a catalogue of the Bhandār of the Taṇḍārachcha and prints it in Appendix I. Another copy, which I had prepared in 1875, ought to be in the Deccan College. I did not print it, because the descriptions of the books are too imperfect. I merely marked certain books which Pandit Nāruśāṅkar examined, and some of which, e.g. the Vijayaprabhakti, and the Naranḍrayānmāndangākṣya by Vasanāpāla, recte Vastupāla, I then had copied, and included in the collection of 1875-77. Among the Brahmansical libraries discovered at Pāṭan by Dr. Bhāndārkar, that of Javantarā Gopāla seems to be the most important, as it contains six of the, in Western India, rare Saṁhitās of the Bhāgvat-Pāṭhanātra sect.

106 Rāmaputtra, with the Digambaras, see the Tātavadhavārakti in Prof. Peterson's Second Report, p. 157. Also the existent Svetāṅgāra text presents Rāmaputtra, see below p. 324.-L.

107 Thus B. Aveddha A. With the Digambaras we find (1. c.) Yamāli kavālika-Nishkambala-Pāṭhanāṭhāputtra. In some better MS. the first name might turn out to be Yamāli and in the second some name corresponding to Bhagāli may be hidden.—L.

108 Taittirīyānta ity jātābhāyayāpāk (aṅga 6, 1, 14) śrīvātā sa nā 'yaḥ, tasya siddhiṣaṁsāraṇavāṭā. We have here in all probability an intentional variation.
Dr. Bhānḍārkār's important new views on the doctrines and the age of the Bhāgavatas will be noticed below. His discoveries make it desirable that all the sacred works of the sect should be collected and be carefully studied. I would recommend that copies of those not yet procured be obtained from the Śrāvastī Bhaṅḍāgāra of the Mahārāja of Mysore (see Dr. Kielhorn's Supplementary Catalogue). The great Bhāgavata Maṭh at Mulher in Khandesh, which I have never been able to visit, might also be tried.

Two MSS. acquired at Pāṭan, a copy of Hālidī's Kavirāhasya and a curious fragment of a brief history of Gujarāt from the beginning of the Chāpōṭakāta dynasty down to the reign of Aurangzeb, induce Dr. Bhānḍārkār to offer some historical remarks. With respect to the former work he maintains, in my opinion correctly, that it was written during the reign, not of Krishnārāya of Vijayānagara, but of an older Raṣṭrakūṭa prince, called Kṛṣṇa. The verses printed in App. III are found in all MSS. from Bombay and Gujarāt, and occur also in a copy of my private collection, (now in the India Office Library), which is accompanied by the commentary of one Ravidharmān. The Dekaṅha text, which leaves out the name of the Raṣṭrakūṭa, is, as Dr. Bhānḍārkār shows, not worth much. I also agree with Dr. Bhānḍārkār in believing it probable that the Abhidhāna-ratnāmālā has been written by the author of the Kavirāhasya. It is an ancient Kūṣa, as it is quoted by Hāmāchandra and his pupil Mahendrā, and probably has been used by Yādavaprakāśa for his Vaiṣṇavāstrī about 1000 A.D. Which of the three Raṣṭrakūṭa Krishnārājas is the theme of Hālidī's laudation, cannot be determined for the present. It may have been Krishnārāja I., as Dr. Bhānḍārkār thinks, but there is no proof for the assertion. The Kavirāhasya is, however, certainly more than 900 years old.

A full account of the contents of the historical fragment is given in pp. 9-16 and App. III. I. The piece is certainly very interesting. But I doubt that it describes the great confidence which Dr. Bhānḍārkār places in it. Among its dates and statements which we can control, there are numerous errors. In the Hindu period the dates of Kumārapāla and Mūlākāja II. are, as Dr. Bhānḍārkār admits, very much out. Its assertion, too, that Kumārapāla's mother was a sister of Siddhārāja-Śrīvajīnī is incredible. Tribhuvanaprāla, the father of Kumārapāla, was Śrīvajīnī's second cousin. Hence a marriage with the sister of the latter would have been opposed to the sacred law and to the custom of the Rājputs, who all practice exogamy and are very strict in this respect. Jinaṃāpaṇā's state-

ment in the Kumārapāla-Charitā, that the mother of his hero was a Kāśmirian princess, is more plausible. In the statements on the Muhammadan period there are a number of very bad errors. Mudāpar (Muzafrār) began to reign, not in V. S. 1418 or 1531-02 A.D., but in 1536 A. D.; Ahmūd (Ahmūd I.), not in V. S. 1436 or 1537-80 A.D., but in 1412 A.D. The reigns of Sultan Muhammad from 1443 A.D. and of Kubl from 1451 A.D. have been left out. Dād Shāh did not reign 36 years from V. S. 1468 or 1411-12 A.D., but for seven days in 1458 A.D. Under these circumstances I cannot consider the new document more trustworthy than the Vichārānārī of Mārunṭunga, for my reliance on which Dr. Bhānḍārkār blames me. The text of the latter work no doubt contains mistakes which are due to clerical errors in the original of the bad copies of the Government and Bād Dājī's orations. (Thirteen or fourteen years ago I saw a really good copy at Barōdā, but could not obtain it.) But late researches have convinced me that the mistakes are not as formidable, as I formerly thought, and as Dr. Bhānḍārkār holds. I am now able to prove that an old tradition existed, which asserted the existence of eight Chāpōṭakāta kings, and assigned a long reign to the last of them. Hence I do not attach any weight to the new dates for Tribhuva-
pāla, Visalādeva, and the other Vaghelā kings. The latter, though corroborated by another late writer, Dharmaśāgra, p. 150, are contradicted by a Paṭṭāvalī, an abstract of which Mr. Bād Dājī published in the Jour. Bo. Dr. R. A. S. Vol. IX. p. 137. According to this work, Tribhuvaṇapāla ruled not four years but two months and twelve days, Visalādeva 18 years, 7 months and 11 days, Arjunādeva 13 years 7 months and 26 days, Śrāṅgādeva 21 years, 8 months, and 8 days. These circumstantial statements look more trustworthy than the round figures of the other sources. But I would not now pin my faith on any Paṭṭāvalī or Pṛambandha, whose assertions, like those of the Purāṇas, can only be accepted provisionally in the absence of really historical information from contemporary works, inscriptions, and MSS.

On his return from Pāṭan, Dr. Bhānḍārkār looked over some portions of the Jain Bhaṅḍāra at Ahmādābād. His personal examination of their contents was rewarded by several very interesting discoveries. The most important find is a large fragment of a second copy of Bīṣṇa's Vīra-

mānakārī, including canto 62 to vii 76. The MS., though much younger than the Jēsamūnī copy, is yet, as Professor Bhānḍārkār says, 'very valuable. On examining the variātas lectiones given in App. III. E., I find that it allows us to correct the printed text in 41 verses, while in some
other cases it confirms the corrections which I
pointed out as necessary in the Addenda and
Corrigenda. Two of these various readings are
also important in other respects, as they make it
probable that Bilhana wrote the first copy of his
poem in the Sāradā characters of his native
country. The Jāsolemīr copy reads, v. 7, सम्मचरि
रसायनार्थिणि तत्त्वाकारणं चक्रास्ति स, while the
Ahmadābad MS. has उम्नि. The latter is without
doubt the correct reading. The error of the
writer of the Jāsolemīr MS. is most easily explained,
if it is assumed that he transcribed a Sāradā MS.,
because in that alphabet न और न are almost
indistinguishable. The same supposition explained in
vi. 49 the mistake दहतमूलकपर्याय
हस्तक्षेपन for असत्तमूलकपर्याय
प्रकाश. For in the Sā-
radā alphabet there is very little difference be-
tween न and न and between न and न. The
majority of the remaining 180 or 190 new readings
are made up of mistakes, or due to the rage of the
Pandita for altering the old texts, which has caused
so much mischief in most classical Sanskrit works.
I trust that at some future visit to Ahmadābad
Dr. Bhāndārkār's hope of finding the missing
portion of the MS. may be realized.

Another very valuable find is Sōmēśvara's
second Mahākāvyas, the Surathōtēsas, pp. 19-20,
App. III. S, which in its fifteenth canto gives an
account of the author's ancestors, the Purōhitas of
the Chaulukya kings, and contains various impor-
tant notes on the history of Gujarāt. The name
of Sōmēśvara's family was, according to the Sans-
krit text, Gulecha, not Guleva, as Dr. Bhāndārkār
dubiously writes on p. 20, and this race belonged
to the Nāgara sub-division of the Gujarāt
Brahmans. Even this note possesses considerable
interest, as it shows that the Nāgara were in the
tenth century as influential as they are in the
present day, and that the modern Gulechas, whose
name I remember to have met with in Gujarāt, can
boast of a prouder pedigree than most of the noble
houses of Europe. The first member of the family
who attained to the dignity of domestic priest
to the sovereign of Gujarāt was Sōla, and the king
who appointed him was Mālārāja I, the founder
of the Chaulukya dynasty. These statements too
possess a considerable significance. The appoint-
ment of a new Purōhita proves that on Mālārāja's
accession considerable changes in the royal royal
hold were made. Such things would not have
happened, if the Chaulukya prince had ascended the
throne of Gujarāt by the right of succession on
the extinction of the Chāndā line. But they were
only too natural, if Mālārāja I., as his land-grant
asserts, "conquered the Gājraramāṇḍala by
the strength of his arm." Among Sōla's descendents
was Āma who saved the life of the sixth
Chaulukya prince, Karna. Regarding him it
is said that he made a Kṛitya or evil spirit
which the Purōhita of the king of Mālāva had
raised, turn against its author. The reason
which moved the Mālāva priest to use his magic
skill is stated to have been, that the territory of
his master was harassed by the king of Gujarāt.
Here we have again an indication that the reign
of "goodman" Karna, was not as peaceful as the
Dyasārayamahakāvya and the Prabandhas
represent it to have been. While these works do
not mention any wars, Bilhana's drama, Kāraśa-
darā, which Pandit Durgāprasad has lately
discovered and published in the Kātyāmadā, speaks
of a successful expedition against the Muhammadan
rulers of Sind and their Kābōli allies. Now we
learn that the hereditary feud between Mālāva and
Gujarāt did not sleep during Karna's reign. I
will add that a contemporary of Sōmēśvara makes
the same assertion, as a paper to be published in the
Transactions of the Vienna Academy will show.
It is also interesting to see that in the eleventh century A.D. the Purōhitas had
to show their skill in the four rites of the Atharvaveda, which made their office the object
of much obloquy. In the names on the exploits of Siddharāja, the employer of Āma's son,
Kumāra, the assertion that the king humbled the prince of the Saapadalaksha country, or of
Sākambhari-Sambhar in Rājpūtanā, deserves
attention. Curiously enough Hēmāchandra,
Siddharāja's court Pandit and annalist, does not
speak of this war, nor do the later Prabandhakāras.
Only Sōmēśvara mentions it in the Kritikasamudrā,
and again in the Surathōtēsas. In spite of Hēmā-
chandra's silence it is perfectly credible, because
it helps to explain Arṇāraja's attack on Gujarāt,
which occurred immediately after Jayasinhaha's
death. It may, however, be doubted whether the
result of the war was as favourable to Gujarāt as
Sōmēśvara asserts. It is more probable that
Jayasinhaha tried to extend his sway also to the
north-east, but failed. That would explain Hēmā-
chandra's otherwise inexplicable silence regarding
the event. The next name in the list of
Sōmēśvara's ancestors, that of Āmiga, is chiefly
interesting because it occurs in the Prabandhas.
Mērutunga's Prabandhāchāntadigāni, p. 205 (Bomb.
edition), and the Prabhāvakancharita, tell of a
squire of his with Hēmāchandra. The latter work
places the event in the reign of Jayasinhaha, while
Mērutunga, I think with Dr. Bhāndārkār, more
correctly assigns it to the time of Kumārapāla.
Both works mention that Āmiga held the office of
Purōhita. The remarks on Āmiga's sons contain
too, something new. First, the statement that
from a MS. of the Madras Government Collection, gives too Kāṭikā, not Kāṭikī.

The next portion of Dr. Bhāngārkar's Report, pp. 23-157, contains very full and most instructive notes on the MSS. purchased for Government in 1883-84. The number of his acquisitions amounts (see App. II.) to 737, 325 of which come from Gujarāt and North-Western India, and 412 from the Marāthā Country. Under the heading Vēdas, there is, besides some not very important works, at least one curiosity, a MS. containing portions of the Vījñānānāthadhātu in the Krama- and Jājā-pāṭhas. I have seen a similar MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society in Bombay.

In the second section we have large fragments of the Srautasūtras of Áśvalāyana, Bādhāyana, Ápastamba, and Kātyāyana, accompanied by the glosses of ancient commentators, and a host of Kārikās and Prayōgās, together with a sprinkling of works belonging to the other Áṅgas. Dr. Bhāngārkar offers short remarks on the majority of their authors, and gives a full analysis of the authorities quoted by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana-Bhāskarāmithra, of whose important Kārikās he has obtained a complete MSS. He shows that Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana is quoted by Hēmādri, and must therefore be anterior to the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. His authorities, of course, date from still earlier times.

To them belong Karka, the commentator of the Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Dhārtarāsvāmin, the author of a Bāhāṣya on Ápastamba, Gārgya-Nārāyana, and Bhavānaka, commentators of Áśvalāyana, and Bhavāsvāmin, the commentator of Bādhāyana. Among these Bhavāsvāmin must be particularly ancient, because he is quoted by Kēśava, the author of the Prayōgasadra, who himself is one of the authorities of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana.

Bhavāsvāmin must therefore have flourished before the tenth century. The same may be said of Dēvasvāmin, according to whose commentary on Áśvalāyana [Gārgya-] Nārāyana composed his own Vṛtti on the Srautasūtras. Dr. Bhāngārkar further remarks that among the ancient commentators and writers on Mimāṃsā, as well as in ancient inscriptions, the title svāmin is common, while it does not occur during the last six centuries. He therefore thinks with Professor Weber that it is a mark of antiquity. With respect to Sabaraśvāmin, the most ancient commentator on Mimāṃsā, he shows that he cannot be placed later than 400 or 500 A.D., as his Bāhāṣya was explained by Kumārila, who lived about 700 A.D. He finally conjectures that Bhavāsvāmin, Dēvasvāmin and Agnīsvarāmin flourished about the same time. I can only say that I fully
agree with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar in thinking that most of the Bhāṣyas on the Śūtras belong to a very much higher antiquity than European Sanskritists usually assume. With respect to Nāidhrvua-Nārāyaṇa, the son of Divākara and the author of the Gṛihyaśūtī, and Dēvaśāmin, this may also be proved by means of the Aevāladya-grīhāyakārikā by Bhaṭṭa-Kumārīkāsvāmin, a copy of which, No. 509, is in Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar’s collection of 1885-84. This work, which I know through a MS. of my private collection (now in the I. O. Library), frequently quotes the opinions of Nārāyaṇa, of Jayanta, the author of the Vimalādīyamad, and of the Bhagavadgītākāra. In the verses appended to the printed Vṛtti of Nārāyaṇa (Calcutta ed., p. 264), it is stated that the Bhāṣya of the Gṛihyasūtras was composed by Bhagavat-Dēvaśāmin, and that the Vṛtti was written by his favour, i.e. cribbed from the Bhāṣya. Now it seems to me from the style of the Kārikās that they really belong, as Dr. Burnell too says in his remarks on the Tānjoṇe copy, to the great Māṁśaka Kumārībhaṭṭa. Thus we obtain the sequence: Kumārila, cīcīrīt 700 A.D., quotes Nāidhrvua-Nārāyaṇa, who in his turn quotes Bhagavat-Dēvaśāmin. The title bhagavat given to the latter, indicates that he was in Nārāyaṇa’s times a half-mythical personage and lived centuries before him. As Nāidhrvua-Nārāyaṇa himself cannot be placed later than 600 A.D. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar’s estimate that Dēvaśāmin flourished about 400 or 500 A.D. is very moderate, — in fact too moderate.

In Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar’s notes on the Śrautaśūtras quoted by Tīkṛṣṇāmāṇḍana, pp. 29-30, the discovery that Upavāraha, the Māṁśakā, wrote a work of this class, is valuable. He probably belongs to the historical times of India, and if his works were recovered, we might get a chance of settling a portion of the chronology of the so-called Vēdic period. The discovery of the existence of a Pāṇīniya-Charana is also interesting, though it could be inferred from the quotations from a lawbook by a Pāṇini. With respect to Dēpaḷa’s commentary on his Gṛihyaśūtra, it contained 39 Adhyāyas. The Bhāravāja Śrautaśūtra is not so very rare as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar thinks. There is a copy of nine Praṇinās in the Bombay University Library, another in Munich, and a third in Berlin, all three of which are transcriptions of the Barōḍa MS. And Dr. Oppert’s Catalogue enumerates various MSS. in the Madras Presidency, the original home of the Charana. A portion of the Gṛihyaśūtra with the commentary of Kapardiśāmin is in the Elphinston College Library Collection of 1866-68.

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar next turns, pp. 32-44, to a brief description of the Śrauta rites, interspersed with remarks on their development. His views on the latter show that he may be reckoned as an adherent of the critical and historical school of philology, and is a good deal ahead of most of his compatriots. There is only one point on which I must differ from him. I do not think that the arguments which he brings forward on p. 34, are sufficient to show that Baudhāyana is younger than Bhāravāja and Āpastamba. There is too distinct a current of tradition, corroborated by much circumstantial evidence, that Baudhāyana, the Pravachana-kārvār, wrote the first Śūtra of the Taittirīya school. It is, however, quite a different question if his Āpastātras have not been largely added to. This is certainly the case with the Dharma and Gṛihya-śūtras.

In the third class there is a copy of the Nīlamūtaka-Purāṇa or, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar prefers to call it, “the Kaṁśiramāhāmya according to Nīlamūtaka,” which, he says, is complete. If so, it is a very valuable acquisition, because the copies which I brought from Kaṁśī are, with the exception of that restored by Sāhebrām, certainly full of lacunae, especially in the beginning. In this portion occur the statements which Kaṁśī used for his Bājātavāsakṛṣṣṭh, and it would be well worth the while to print them. I would ask Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar to do this in the Appendix to his next Report. As regards the title, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar will find one of the reasons why I have called the work a Purāṇa at the end of the extract in my Kaṁśī Report, p. lx. 10. Another reason is that in Kaṁśī, its home, all the Paṇḍīta call it a Purāṇa, not a Māhāmya, though, as I have shown at length in my Report, p. 41, its contents are the same as those of a Māhāmya. The larger Māhāmyas are sometimes, gauvārdhāsm, called Purāṇas; compare e.g. the so-called Sthala-purāṇas of Southern India. Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to alter the title of the work.

Under Dharma also there are some valuable acquisitions, such as a second copy of the Kaṁśī text of Manu (the first being that which I acquired in 1876), two Kāśyas of Aparāditya’s commentary on Yājñavalkya, of which the Deccan College has now a fine store, a MS. of the Mānana-pārjīdā, of the Aevāladyagṛihya-kārikā of Bhaṭṭa Kumārīkāsvāmin, as well as numerous more modern treatises, the dates of which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar mostly settles very satisfactorily. In connection with the subject I am glad to point out that Mr. Śrīdhara R. Bhāṇḍārkar’s date for Viśvēsvara exactly agrees with that which I have given at p. cxxvi of the introduction to my translation of Manu on the strength of Dr. Schram’s calculations. I took the
verse from Mr. Sarvâdhikârîn’s Tagore Lectures, but have since verified it, as well as the pedigree of Madanapâla in the copies of the Madanarâdanidhâra preserved in the India Office Library. Vishvâsra’s date is of some importance, because his commentary on the Mûldhârâ is held to be of authority, and because his patron rescued the Mûnabhadhyâ of Medhâsîthi from destruction. The remarks on the Vîvidrânasabhaṭâja have been made before in Dr. Peterson’s Second Report, p. 53.

In the next class, — Poems, Plays, and Fables, there are some new anthologies, one of which comes from Kâsîrî, and a new commentary on the Kâtanârâka by Balabhadra. The Vîrttis on Kâlidâsaa’s and Bhrâvî’s poems are already represented in the earlier collections, and among them Jûvarâja’s commentary on the Kârttârâsastra, by five copies which I brought from Kâsîrî. Dr. Bhânâlîkar shows that Jûvarâja wrote this work in Saka-Saṅsvîta 1370.

An ancient copy of a portion of the Kâtâkî-Vîrtti on Pâṇini’s Sûtras permits Dr. Bhânâlîkar, p. 63, to slightly modify the prevailing opinion as to the share which each of the two joint authors took in its compilation. Jâyâyâya, it now appears, wrote the notes on Adhyâyas i.-v. and (not i.-iv.) and the remainder belongs to Vâmâna. The general results of an elaborate note, pp. 59-60, on the family of Râmaçandra, the author of the Prakrâtyâkamsudâ, are, that it belonged to the Tailângi sub-division of Brâhmans, and that it counted among its members several writers on the Sûtras. From the copy of the Pûna Sanskrit College Collection it appears that Râmaçandra wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Under the heading Kâshâs, p. 61ff., Dr. Bhânâlîkar gives, in connection with the description of a copy of Râyamukta’s Pâdaçandaśikâ, a list of the authors and works quoted by that voluminous scholiast in his notes on Kânâja i. of the Amarakâsî. This list is further extended to Kânâja ii.-iii., on p. 467ff., by Paṇûlî Durgâprasad. It seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. Bhanâlîkar that the same task had already been done according to three MSS. by Professor Aufichret in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 109-121, still more elaborately and on principles which make the verifications of the quotations much easier.

In the next section Dr. Bhanâlîkar discusses the contents of the philosophical works purchased, among which those on Râmânâj’s system and on Kâsîrî’s Saivism are particularly interesting. Here we have also, pp. 69-74, the nucleus of his new theory on the Bhrâgavata sect, which has been set forth more fully in his valuable paper inserted in the Abhandlungen der Arisaren Section des VII. Intern. Orientalisten Congressus, pp. 101-109. He shows that the Viśistâ Advaita system of Râmânâja is a somewhat modified and more methodical form of the ancient Bhrâgavata, Pâcâcharâtra or Sûttârasastra religion, which is named and described in the Sûttaparâsastra of the Mahâbhrâkara. This creed, which inculcates the worship of the supreme Viśnû and teaches the doctrine of bhakti, has originally nothing to do with the Viśadas and Upanishad. It arose from the same current of thought from which the Bhrâgavâdgitâ sprang. Its sacred books are the Saṁhitâs of the Nâradapaçcharâtra, some of which turned up at Anâilvâvî, while one has been printed and known long ago. Its founder was a Kshatriya, like Sâkya-muni-Gôtama and Vardhamâna, the Jîlîrîka who originated the systems known as Buddhism and Jainism. He seems to have been Viśnûdâva of the Sûttârasastra sub-division of the Tâdyâ tribe. Or it may be that this Viśnûdâva was a king of the Sûttârasastra, who, after his death was deified, that a body of doctrines grew up in connection with his worship, and that the religion spread from his clan to other classes of the Indian people. In its origin this religion must have developed into the Pâcâcharâtra system of the Saṁhitâs. Then it was mixed with other elements, indicated by the names of Viśnû, Nârâyaṇa, Krîshna, Bûma, gods and deified heroes, who were identified with Viśnûdâva. Hence arose the various forms of modern Vaishnavism. In order to prove the great age of the original worship of Viśnûdâva, Dr. Bhanâlîkar points to the oft-quoted Sûtra of Pâṇini, iv. 3, 98, where the formation of the name of a devotee of Viśnûdâva is taught, and to the remarks of Patañjali thereon, who states that the Viśnûdâva meant is tattva-bhrâgavat. He further shows that the Pâcâcharâtra system was known to Saṁkarâchârya as well as to Bûma, and that one of the Saṁhitâs is quoted by Râmânâja.

I believe that Dr. Bhanâlîkar is on the right track, and that, if he fully works out his ideas with the help of all available materials, he will be able to offer the outlines of the earlier history of Vaishnavism. The task is of course a very difficult one. It will require a careful study of the Saṁhitâs, and of their history, and a careful utilization of the hints contained in Brâhimânic, Jain, and Buddhist literature, as well as in the inscriptions.

It will, I firmly believe, eventually appear that both Vaishnavism and Saivism, which Dr. Bhanâlîkar too declares, p. 76, to be perhaps as old as the worship of Viśnû, are coeval with even the earlier portions of the so-called Viśd period.
Already in my discussion of the great Nānakāthā inscription of Queen Nāyānā, *Arch. Surv. W. Indica*, Vol. V. p. 74, I have pointed out that the invocation namā Śatāṇaṇa-Vāsudēvarānam Chandāsā[nd]anāv furnishes additional proof for the age of the worship of Kṛṣṇa in India. Of late an apparently still older inscription has been discovered in Rājputāna and published by Kavirāj Śyāmalādāśa and Dr. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. VI. p. 77ff., in which “the worship of Bhagavat Śatāṇaṇa and Vāsudeva,” and a Vaishnava temple, are mentioned. This is another valuable piece of evidence for the antiquity of the worship of Vāsudeva. The earliest mention of the Śātātra sect, known to me, occurs in the Tuṣām rock inscription, *Corp. Inscr. Indic.*, Vol. III. p. 270, where an aṅgā Śātātra-vyāghṛa is mentioned; Mr. Fleet assigns it to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Professor Kern, who too is convinced that Vaishnavism does not date from modern times, states, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, Vol. I. p. 17, that the Ājivikas, who existed in Buddhism’s times, and who received caves from Asōka, and from his son, Daśarathe, were Brāhmaṇical ascetics worshipping Nārāyaṇa. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar will, perhaps, be able to say in a future report whether this assertion receives support through the Saṃhitās of the Pāṇḍavrātra religion.

No less interesting are Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar’s remarks on Kaśmirian Saivism, which show that the doctrines of the Spandakārikas, in spite of numerous points of resemblance, yet differ from Śāyāna’s Saśādāstra, with which I identified it in my Kaśmir Report. The system is, it now appears, non-dualistic, and a pure idealism like the Pratyabhijñādārśana, of which it seems to have been the forerunner. In his notes on its literature, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar tries to make out that the Spandakārikas belong, not to Vaṣugupta, but to his pupil Kallata. As the tradition is conflicting, the point must remain doubtful. With respect to Utpala’s *Spandaprāṇīs*, he shows that its author is different from the Utpala who wrote on the Pratyabhijñā-system. The former was the son of Trīvikrama, while the father of the latter was called Udayakara.

The MSS. on Kaśmirian Saivism purchased in 1882-83 are eleven in number, and they are all represented in the earlier parts of the Deccan College collection. But Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar was right in taking them, as they come not from Kaśmir itself, but from the Pañjab, where frequently better texts are obtainable than in the valley (see my Kaśmir Report, p. 83).

In the 13th section there are no works of any great importance. But the extracts from a Kaśmirian Khāṇḍakāṇḍyādārśaṇa are interesting, as they furnish new rules for converting Laukika into Śaka years. Their results agree with those obtained by means of the verse given to me by the Kaśmirian Jōhīs, if the Kali years are considered as past, and the Laukika years as current. I believe it will be advisable to test these and all other statements regarding the Saptarṣi era by calculations of the numerous dates with week days added, which are found in the MSS. of the Deccan College collection and elsewhere. Dr. Kielhorn’s articles on the Chāndi and Nēpēl eras show that the labour expended on such calculations is by no means useless.

Under the heading Tāṇṭrika literature, p. 87, we find twenty works written in the Śārāda character, more than half of which, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar remarks, are not included in my collection of 1875-77. The very clear sketch of the *Śimba-nārāśa*, pp. 89-90, is interesting and most amusing. One of the aims of the faithful student is, it appears, to imagine that he is a woman. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar adds—“There is a Sākta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona, who, as I am told, dresses herself like a female.”

The purchases in the first sub-division of Class XVII. Digambara literature, amount to about forty, and contain several important novelties, such as the *Niyyaṇasra* of Kundaṇḍadaśa, one of the ancient teachers of the Nāgāraṇas. The *Pravacana-sra* of the same author, which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar takes to be a new acquisition, is already contained in No. 639 of my Collection of 1875-77. The steady growth of the store of Digambara books in the Bombay collections is most satisfactory. Both Dr. Peterson and Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar have made year by year very important additions, the purchases being chiefly effected at Jaypur and in the Pañjab. I think it would be advisable if efforts were made to obtain also books from the Southern Marāṭha country, Kanara, and the Maṇḍra Presidency. The operations will be somewhat more difficult in these districts, but they will eventually yield ample reward, because a very large number of the more ancient Digambara works have been composed in Southern India, and the northern MSS. are transcripts from southern copies written in Kanarese, Telugu, or Grantha characters. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar’s extracts from the Digambara works, which he purchased, pp. 92-126, are most judiciously and carefully made, and furnish much important new information. His analysis of the contents of the *Pravacana-sra*, of Sakalakāta’s *Tattvārtha-srāpikā*, and of the *Kūrtṭikāyānuprāṇah* with Subhacandra’s commentary, gives a very clear and intelligible view of the religious teaching of
the Digambaras and of their tradition regarding the Jaina literature; while the extracts from a number of Prāṣastis furnish a considerable number of new dates and statements regarding the succession of the teachers of the sect. In between we find also other valuable historical and literary notes, such as, pp. 104-105, those on the Paramārā princes of Mālvā in the thirteenth century, under whom that most fertile author Āśādīraka wrote his numerous works, and those on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Amoghavarsha and Akhałavarsha, p. 121; see also Corrigenda, p. II. It is impossible for me to notice in detail all the important points in this portion of the Report, but I strongly recommend its study to scholars interested in the religious history of India. In connection with his abstracts, Dr. Bhānḍārkār gives us also his views on the origin and the history of the Jaina sect. Like Professor Jacob, myself, and other Sanskritists, he denies, p. 102 and p. 125, that the Jainas are a Buddhist sect, and admits that their founder may have been a contemporary of Śākyamuni-Gautama. But he holds that Jainism as a system is later than Buddhism, that it was remodelled about the first century of our era, after the men who knew the original doctrines by heart, had died, and that it received a new set of sacred books about the year 139 A.D. He thinks that the sect must have been unimportant up to that period, and adds that this view is corroborated by the scarcity of ancient Jaina inscriptions. It would lead me too far if I were to enter on a discussion of these views and the arguments by which they are supported. I will only say this much, that I am glad to note our agreement as to one of the main points,—the independent origin of the Jaina religion. With respect to the other points, on which I must differ from Dr. Bhānḍārkār, I will add that the Āśoka inscriptions, which speak of "countless religious communities consisting of ascetics and householders," mention by name only three, the Buddhists, the Nigāṇṭhas or Jainas, and the Ājīvakas, which therefore must have been those most noteworthy in the 3rd century B.C. and that the Mathurā inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period which confirm the Svētāmbara (not the Digambara) tradition regarding the old teachers and schools, become very year more numerous. Last year brought us Dr. Burgess's important inscription, dated in the seventh year of Kanishka; this year Dr. Führer has unearthed four very valuable documents of the same period. Among the thirty-seven Svētāmbara MSS. pur chased in 1883-84, there does not seem to be anything new or very important. In making his extracts, pp. 144-155, from Dharmasāgara's Pravacanaprakāśā or Kāpāyanaśāstra, Dr. Bhānḍārkār seems to have overlooked that Professor Weber has published an elaborate treatise on the same work in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy. A great portion of the extracts, p. 138 ff., from Samyayānanda's commentary on the Kalpasūtra had already been given by Professor Jacob in the notes to his edition of the Kalpasūtra.

The concluding pages of the Second Report are directed against a remark which I made in my review on Dr. Bhānḍārkār's First Report, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 62. I there pointed out that it was not safe to refer every date in the MSS. to which the word Saṅvat is prefixed to the Vikrama era, because at least some cases occurred in which the word referred to the Śāka era, and I gave two instances to the point. Dr. Bhānḍārkār answers that the meaning of the word Saṅvat admits of no dispute, and during the last five centuries has always been used to denote the Vikrama era. He maintains that, if the usual interpretation of the word Saṅvat leads to wrong historical results, the cause must be a mistake of the writer, and he suggests that the writer may have copied a real old Saṅvat date from his original, and have added some historical note regarding his own time, or that he may have put in a wrong date by a slip of the pen. With respect to one of my cases, that of the MS. of the Ijlār copy of the Mahābhāṣya, he thinks that it will not do to take Saṅvat 1514 as equivalent to 1592 A.D., because Rādā Nārāyanaḷāsa lost his throne in 1576, and Mr. K. Forbes immediately after speaks of his successor Vīramādeva. Dr. Bhānḍārkār then goes on to prove his main point by giving a number of Saṅvat, i.e. Vikrama-Saṅvat dates which in MSS. occur together with Śāka dates, and by quoting a passage from a commentary on the Bhāṣaṅkārava, composed in Śāka-Saṅvat 1577, where the author declares that the era of Vīramādeva bears the name Saṅvat.

The question whether particular dates in the MSS. to which the word Saṅvat is prefixed, do refer to the Śāka era, cannot, it seems to me, be decided on general grounds, but only on the merits of each single case. I therefore deal first with Dr. Bhānḍārkār's objections to my two cases and with his attempts at explaining them in a manner differing from mine. As regards the difficulty about Rādā Nārāyanaḷāsa II. 1 the fuller informa-

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1 As the Gazetteer, loc. cit. pp. 402-403, shows, there was an earlier Rādā Nārāyanaḷāsa I., who began to rule in 1489 A.D. He died (the date is not mentioned), before 1445 A.D., in which year Rādā Bhūmā was on the throne.
tion in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. V. p. 404, shows that he was conquered by Akbar in 1576 A.D. and that his capital fell into the hands of his foes. But the Gazetteer adds:—“Following his usual policy, Akbar, asking for no more than an admission of his supremacy, restored the Rāo to his state, and made him commander of 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry.” His reign did, therefore, not come to an end in 1576, and there is no reason why he may not have been alive and ruler of Idrā in 1592. Unfortunately the Gazetteer does not give the date of the beginning of his successor’s reign, and I have no means to supply the omission. As regards the suggestion that the writer may have put in an older Sānvat date and have added an historical note referring to his own time, that is, in my opinion, very improbable. For the fact that an historical note is given, shows that the man did not work mechanically, but did think about the date, and it is hence not likely that he made so absurd a mistake. It is, however, unnecessary to continue this discussion of the probabilities, as there is another case in which no doubt or other explanation than that given by me is possible. This is the date of the oldest MS. of the Gaṅgārāmaṁaḥ-bādha, i.e. Professor Eggeling’s edition, p. v. Its colophon runs as follows: saṅwak (i.e. saṅvat) 1151 viroḍhi (i.e. viroḍhi)-saṅvatara kārttiṅa vadi (i.e. budi) 5 budi. That this is a date of the Saka-Sāvat is proved, as Professor Eggeling has first stated, by the mention of the Viśdhī saṅvetara of the Sixty-Year Cycle, which corresponds only to Saka 1151, according to the southern luni-solar system. It is further proved by Dr. Schram’s calculation of the tithī and of the week-day, the whole being equivalent to 7 Nov. 1299 A.D., which was a Wednesday. In this case the figures of the date cannot have been copied from another MS. dated Viṅkara-Sāvat 1151, because the Gaṅgārāmaṁaḥ-bādha was composed when 1197 years of that era had elapsed (Eggeling, loc. cit. p. viii.). Nor is an error of the copyist in the figures possible, because the details agree accurately with the requirements of the Saka era. The fact that this writer uses Saṅvat, or to be quite exact Saṅwak, for Saṅkūṭa or Saka-saṅvat, is therefore indisputable, and it is very remarkable, because Colonel Tod obtained this MS. from one of the Jain libraries of Bājputān. The Jain school has since even earlier times than the thirteenth century A.D. very frequently used Saṅvat for the era of Viṅkara-dīya, and this era alone has been the official and the popular one in Bājputān as well as in Gujarāt, at least since the tenth century. Yet we have here an indisputable deviation from an otherwise hard and fast rule. Whatever the explanation may be, the fact, it seems to me, makes it advisable to be cautious with Saṅvat dates, even if they occur in MSS. coming from districts where the term Saṅvat is usually understood to denote the era of 58 B.C.

Dr. Bhāḍjārkar’s assertion that the Saṅvat is used in the present day and has been used since some centuries for the Vikrama era is, with certain restrictions, perfectly correct. The restrictions are that the conventional use of the term does not extend to Kaṁśir and the adjacent Hill-states of the Pāñjab nor to Nēpāl. In Kaṁśir and the hill territory Saṅvat still refers as a rule to the Saptarashī era or Lōkākāla, and in Nēpāl to the era of A.D. 573-9. In the other parts of India of which I have personal knowledge, the majority of the Pāñjetis and Jōshis would unhesitatingly make the same remark about Saṅvat which, as Dr. Bhāḍjārkar shows, a commentator of the Bhāva-viśvāraṇa has put down in writing. This point I have not disputed and do not dispute. What I mean to say is that in spite of this state of things, there are cases in which the writers of MSS. have used Saṅvat for Saka-Saṅvat, and that it is advisable to make certain of the meaning of Saṅvat in all cases where it is worth the while and possible to do so. For as long as these apparent counter-instances are not removed, the popular usage creates only a strong presumption, not an absolute certainty, that in each given case a Saṅvat date is a Vikrama-Saṅvat date. If Dr. Bhāḍjārkar succeeds in removing them, I shall be glad of his success, as he will have eliminated one of the many elements of uncertainty which have to be taken into account by those dealing with Hindu dates.

In conclusion, I cannot but give expression to my conviction that Dr. Bhāḍjārkar has again proved by his Second Report how eminently useful the search for Sāmakrit MSS. may be made for Oriental philology, and that he is entitled to the gratitude of all his fellow-workers for his patient industry and for the ability with which he has utilized his materials. I would add the request that his Third Report may not be delayed too long, and that his promise to issue preliminary annual lists of his purchases may be kept. I would also ask both him and Dr. Peterson to extend their operations to the South of India, at least by procuring MSS. from the Madras Presidency. Dr. Oppert’s Catalogue shows that many valuable works not yet represented in the Deccan College collection, and probably not obtainable in the Bombay Presidency, are extant in Madras; and in Bombay agents are available to whom, it seems, na kiśchid agamyam.

G. Bühler.

Vienna, 20th February, 1889.
THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

While engaged in calculating or verifying Hindu dates in which the year of one era or another is coupled with a year of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, I have had frequent occasion to resort to the third memoir of Warren's invaluable Kāli-Saṅkalita, pp. 197-216, and I have often admired the ingenuity and clearness with which that great scholar has treated his subject. At the same time, I cannot but confess that the use of Warren's Tables is somewhat troublesome; and it has appeared to me that the process of finding the exact beginning and end of a cycle-year, according to the different rules, might be simplified by giving certain fractions of days, etc., in decimals of days, and by expressing the epochs of the several eras, as well as other items, in days of the Julian period, a method which has been followed successfully by Dr. Schram in his Hilfsatlas für Chronologie. Besides, Warren's book is now difficult to obtain. The following simple rules and Tables may therefore not be altogether unwelcome to scholars who either do not possess a copy of the Kāli-Saṅkalita themselves, or have no large public library within easy reach.

A.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta.

(a)—According to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, the epoch of the Kaliyuga, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is—

588 465 7500 days.

(b)—The length of one solar year is—

365.2587565 days.

(c)—The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, without Bṛja or correction, is—

361.02572103 days.

(d)—The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, with Bṛja or correction, is—

361.0346511 days.

Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Kaliyuga, in accordance with the Sūrya-Siddhānta, multiply (b), i.e., the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add 588 463 0024 (i.e., the epoch of the Kaliyuga diminished by 21476, the time by which the apparent Mēsha-saṃkrānti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, according to Warren, preceded the epoch). Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Kaliyuga 4871, current, we find—

365.2587565 × 4870

1778 810.1441550

588 463 0024

2367 273 7466 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and II. correspond to

9th April, A.D. 1769, new style, 17 h. 55.1 m.

In other words, the solar year Kaliyuga 4871, current, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, commenced 17 h. 55.1 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 9th April, A.D. 1769, new style.

1 That portion of Dr. Schram's work which has reference to the Hindu lunar-solar calendar, has now been re-cast by the author, and will be published in a following number of this Journal. Dr. Schram's Table for converting a day of the lunar period into the European date, (the use of which will appear from the examples given at the end of this article) is, for the sake of ready reference, by the author's permission, appended also to the present paper (Table I.).

2 i.e., midnight between the 17th and 18th February, 3102 B.C.

3 These figures (b), (c), and (d) are based on the following data:—The number of civil days in a Mahāyuga is 1577917785; in the same period there are 320000 revolutions of the sun: revolutions of Jupiter (without correction) 594200; and revolutions of Jupiter, as corrected by the Bṛja, 564612.
2. To find the end of any one year of Jupiter's cycle, without or with Bija, multiply either (a), i.e. the length of one cycle-year without Bija, or (b), i.e. the length of one cycle-year with Bija, by the number which that particular year holds in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the beginning of the Kaliyuga (and which, as will be shown under 3, below, in practice can be readily ascertained), and to the product add (a), i.e. the epoch of the Kaliyuga. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II., as before.

Thus, assuming a year Vilamba to be the 4926th of Jupiter's years, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find—

(a) for the end of Vilamba without Bija:

\[
\begin{align*}
361 \times 4926 & = 17784176279378 \\
+ 5884657500 & = 23668833778 \\
\end{align*}
\]

days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and II. correspond to 15th March, A.D. 1768, new style, 9 h. 4 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba without Bija ended (and the following year Viksrin commenced) 9 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 15th March, A.D. 1768, new style.

(b) for the end of Vilamba with Bija:

\[
\begin{align*}
361 \times 4926 & = 17784566913186 \\
+ 5884657500 & = 23669224413 \\
\end{align*}
\]

days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and II. correspond to 23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style, 10 h. 35-5 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba with Bija ended (and the following year Viksrin commenced) 10 h. 35-5 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style.

Having found the end of Vilamba, we find the commencement of Vilamba by deducting the length of one cycle-year, without or with Bija, as the case may be, thus:

end of Vilamba without Bija, 23668833778
less one year without Bija, 3610267
remainder 23668223511,

i.e. 20th March, A.D. 1767, new style, 8 h. 25-6 m., beginning of Vilamba without Bija;

end of Vilamba with Bija, 23669224413
less one year with Bija, 3610347
remainder 23665614066,

i.e. 28th April, A.D. 1767, new style, 9 h. 45-5 m., beginning of Vilamba with Bija.

3. How to find the number of any year of Jupiter, mentioned in a date, in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, may be best shown by two examples:

First Example.

An inscription on a Sati-pillar at 'Boram-Ddeo' in the Central Provinces, (Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XVII, Plate xxii.) is dated—

Samvat 1445 Bhava-nama-saunvasa(ts)rer Aesvi(esvi)na-sudi 13 Soma;

i.e. 'the Vikrama year 1445, in (Jupiter's) year named Bhava, the 13th of the bright half of Asvina, on Monday;' and the corresponding European date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1445) is Monday, 14th September, A.D. 1388, when the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

The question here is: — Which year of Jupiter, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, was the year Bhava (the 42nd year in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; see Table III.), which is mentioned in this date?
To answer this question, we substitute for the Vikrama year (1445) of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga (4489), obtained by adding 3044; this year of the Kaliyuga (4489) we divide by 85; and we add the quotient to the dividend, counting fractions exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ as 1, thus (4489 divided by 85) $\frac{2}{85} = \frac{53}{85}$; 4489 + 53 = 4542; dividing the sum (4542) by 60, the remainder will be, approximately, the number which we are concerned with holds in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; (4542 divided by 60 leaves remainder 42). Where the remainder actually corresponds with the number of the year of the date in the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya, (as is the case in the present instance), the sum previously divided by 60 (here 4542), is the very number sought (here 4542). But where the remainder falls below or exceeds that number (which would have been the case here if the remainder had been 41 or 44), the difference (in the assumed case, either 1 or 2) must be either added to, or subtracted from, the sum (here 4542) divided by 60 (in which case the year sought would have been either 4543 or 4540, respectively).

In the present date, then, Bhāva was the 4542nd year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and we now find, by the rule given under 2, —

(a) for the end of Bhāva without Bija:—

\[
\begin{array}{c}
361 \times 36272103 \times 4542 \\
+ 588 \times 4657500 \\
+ 588 \times 4657500 \\
\end{array}
\]

2223 249-1169, i.e. 12th August, A.D. 1388, 2 h. 43.3 m.;

(b) for the end of Bhāva with Bija:—

\[
\begin{array}{c}
361 \times 3346511 \times 4542 \\
+ 588 \times 4657500 \\
\end{array}
\]

2223 285-1383, i.e. 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14.8 m.

The result is, that the year Bhāva, whether without or with Bija, was current at the commencement of the solar year Kaliyuga 4489 (= V. 1445) expired; and that, with Bija, it actually included the day (the 14th September, A.D. 1388) which is mentioned in the inscription.

Second Example.

My manuscript of the Kāśīkā-Vṛtti is dated —

Sāvatik 1464 varbhe Āśadhā-vadi trītyāyān tithan Manmatha-saṁvatsara Budhā;

i.e. ‘in the (Vikrama) year 1464, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Āśadhā, in (Jupiter’s) year Manmatha, on Wednesday.’

Here it so happens that, had the year Manmatha not been mentioned in the date, the corresponding European date might be either, —

for the northern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the pārvimāṇa reckoning, Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, when the third tiḥi of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; or —

for the southern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the amānta reckoning, Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408, when the third tiḥi of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

In fact, the question as to which of these two dates is the date on which the writing of my MS. was finished, must and can only be decided by the year Manmatha.

Manmatha is the 3rd year of the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya; and proceeding as before, we have: — Vikrama 1464 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4508; 4508 divided by 85 = 53, $\frac{83}{85}$; 4508 + 53 = 4561; 4561 divided by 60 leaves remainder 1; this being 2 less than Manmatha.

* It will be clear from the above that, the first thing to do. is always to substitute for the year of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, and in this respect it makes no difference whatever whether, the Vikrama year of a date is a northern or southern year. Should the year of the date be a Śaka year, we should also first substitute the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, obtained by adding 3173; and we should proceed similarly in the case of any other era.
(3), we have $4561 + 2 = 4563$ as the number (from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) of the year Manmatha of our date. We now find —

(a) for the end of Manmatha without Bijja:

$361\cdot 02672103 \times 4563$

$1647 \cdot 36492805989$

$+ 588 \cdot 4657500$

$2235 \cdot 8306781$, i.e. 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16.5 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha without Bijja, by deducting one year without Bijja:

$2235 \cdot 8306781$

$- 3610267$

$2235 \cdot 4696514$, i.e. 19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m.

(b) for the end of Manmatha with Bijja:

$3610346511 \times 4563$

$1647 \cdot 4011129693$

$+ 588 \cdot 4657500$

$2235 \cdot 8668630$, i.e. 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42.7 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha with Bijja, by deducting one year with Bijja:

$2235 \cdot 8668630$

$- 3610347$

$2235 \cdot 50583283$, i.e. 24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52.8 m.

The year Manmatha, without Bijja, therefore lasted from —

19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m., to 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16.5 m.; and the same year, with Bijja, from —

24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52.8 m., to 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42.7 m.; and it is clear that of the two otherwise possible European equivalents of the Hindu date (Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, and Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408) only the second can be the true date, because only this date falls in the year Manmatha.

4. It is apparent that the above rules may be combined to ascertain or verify the occasion of a kshaya or expunged year of Jupiter. Thus it may be shown that Subhakrit, the 10th year of the cycle, counted from Vijaya (inclusive), with Bijja, was such a year in Kaliyuga 4873, current. By the above we find that Kaliyuga 4872 ended, and Kaliyuga 4873 began —

$3652587565 \times 4872$

$1779 \cdot 5406616680$

$+ 588 \cdot 4636024$

$2368 \cdot 0042640680$, i.e. 10th April, A.D. 1771, new style, 6 h. 20.3 m.;

and that Kaliyuga 4873 ended —

$2368 \cdot 0042640680$

$+ 3652587565$

$2368 \cdot 3695228$, i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 12 h. 32.8 m.

We also find that (since Subhakrit in Kaliyuga 4873 must have been the 4930th year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) Subhakrit with Bijja commenced, or the preceding year Plava (4929) ended —

$3610346511 \times 4929$

$1779 \cdot 5397952719$

$+ 588 \cdot 4657500$

$2368 \cdot 0055452719$, i.e. 11th April, A.D. 1771, new style, 13 h. 5.2 m.;
and that Subhakrit with Bija ended —

\[
\begin{align*}
&2368 \times 005 \times 3452719 \\
+ &361 \times 0345611 \\
= &2368 \times 366 \times 3799, \text{i.e. 6th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 13 h. 55\text{'}}1 \text{m.}
\end{align*}
\]

It is therefore clear that Subhakrit, since it commenced after the beginning of Kaliyuga 4873 current, and ended before the end of Kaliyuga 4873 current, was a kahya or expanded year in 4873. And by deducting the sum of days for the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 from the sum of days for the commencement of the year Subhakrit, we find that the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija was due 1 day, 6 h. 44 m. 54 s. after the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 current.

5. By Warren’s Rules and Tables the Jupiter’s years will be found to begin and end about 21476 days, = 2 days 3 h. 32 m. 30 s., earlier than by the above rules. Thus, according to the Kāla-Saṅkalita, p. 201, the commencement of the year Vikkirin (or the end of Vikirin), with Bija, (above, 2), fell on 21st April, A.D. 1768, new style, instead of falling on the 23rd April; and the solar time of Vikkirin expired, at the commencement of Kaliyuga 4871 current, according to Warren, was —

\[
353 \text{ days 27 d. 10 p. 31\text{'}}0640 \text{ c., i.e. about 353 days 10} \times 52\text{'}2 \text{ m.} = 353\times 4529 \text{ days,}
\]

whereas by my rule it was only 351\times 3633 = (353\times 4529 - 2\times 1476) days. Similarly, by Warren’s Tables, the year Bhava, with Bija, (above, 3, First Example), would end on the 14th September, A.D. 1388, 23 h. 42\text{'}2 \text{ m., whereas by my rule it ended on the 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14\text{'}8 \text{ m., i.e. 2 days 3 h. 32\text{'}6 \text{ m. later.}}}

And according to the Kāla-Saṅkalita, p. 266, Plava, with Bija, was an expanded year in Kaliyuga 4872, current, while by the above rules Subhakrit was an expanded year in Kaliyuga 4873, current.

The reason of this difference is that Warren has calculated the Jupiter’s years from the apparent Māsha-saṅkrānti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, whereas they should have been calculated from the mean Māsha-saṅkrānti or the vulgar epoch of the Kaliyuga, which, according to Warren, was 21476 days later than the apparent Māsha-saṅkrānti. This important correction I owe in the first instance to Mr. Sh. R. Dikshit, and I have found Mr. Dikshit’s remarks on the subject confirmed by the practice of four MS. calendars in the Royal Library at Berlin. Thus, to give only one instance, in a calendar for the expired northern Vikrama year 1841 we read —

\[
\text{Saṁvat 1841 Śiśā 1706 . . . . . Rākṣasā-nāma-saṁvatasara-pravṛttiḥ | Tasya gurumānāna māḥāt prāg bhūtekā-maśādi 3 2 33 36 1;}
\]

i.e., at the commencement of the (expired) Vikrama year 1841 or the (expired) Saka year 1706 (= Kaliyuga 4885, expired), the year’s current is Rākṣasā (the 4943rd year of the commencement of the Kaliyuga); and of this year there have elapsed at the time of the Māsha-saṅkrānti (of Kaliyuga 4885 expired) 3 months, 2 days, 33 daṇḍas, 36 palas, = 925600 days, of Jupiter’s own time.

By my own rules, we have —

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{end of Kaliyuga 4885, current,} & = 2372 \times 752 \times 6279 \\
\text{— beginning of Rākṣasā, without Bija,} & = 2372 \times 659 \times 8053 \\
\text{remainder} & \text{9258226;}
\end{align*}
\]

i.e., the beginning of the year Rākṣasā, without Bija, preceded the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by 9258226 solar days. To convert these into days of Jupiter’s own time, say, as 361.0267 solar days (the length of the Jupiter’s year without Bija) to 360 days of Jupiter’s own time, are 9258226 solar days to 925586 days of Jupiter’s own time. Deducting 925586 from 9258226, the remainder will be 0.004 days = 2 minutes, by which the year Rākṣasā, according to my rule, will commence later than it does according to the MS. calendar. According to Warren, the commencement of Rākṣasā, without Bija, would precede the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by about 949721 solar days, i.e. Rākṣasā would commence about 2 days 3 h. 33.3 m. earlier than it is made to begin by the MS. calendar.
B.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Jyotistattva.

(a)—According to the Arya-Siddhanta, the epoch of the Saka era, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —

1749 621:1979 days.

(b)—The length of one solar year is —
365:25886055 days.

Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Saka era, in accordance with the Arya-Siddhanta, multiply (b), i.e. the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add (a), i.e. the epoch of the Saka era. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Saka 1690, current, we find—

\[
\frac{365}{25886055} \times 1679
\]

613 269:3464345

+ 1749 621:1979

2362 890:5225, i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1757 new style, 12 h. 32:4 m., which differs by six seconds from the commencement of Saka 1680, current, as given in Warren's First Chronol. Table, p. xxiv.

And similarly, for the beginning of Saka 1311 expired (or 1312 current) we find—

\[
\frac{365}{25886055} \times 1311
\]

478 854:13020105

+1749 621:1979

2228 475:3281, i.e. 26th March, A.D. 1389, 7 h. 52:5 m., which agrees to the very second with the result obtained from Warren's Table XLVIII., Second Part.

2. The Jyotistattva rule yields, for the commencement of any expired Saka year, the last expired Jupiter’s year; and since it furnishes the means of determining what portion of the current Jupiter’s year had elapsed at the commencement of the said Saka year, it enables us to calculate accurately the moment when the last expired Jupiter’s year ended or the current one commenced. The rule is given by Davis (Asiat. Res. Vol. III. p. 214) and Warren (Kāla-Sarakalita, p. 202), as follows:—

“The Saka year note down in two places. Multiply (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient (its integer) add to the second number noted down, and divide (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will show the year last expired, counting from Prabhava (inclusive) as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left by the divisor 1875, may be reduced to months, days, etc., expired of the current [Jupiter’s] year.”

Applying this rule, e.g. to the expired Saka year 1311, we find—

\[
\frac{1311 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 17 \frac{1358}{1875}; \text{ and } \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22 \frac{8}{60}.
\]

Here the numerator of the second fraction \(\frac{8}{60}\) shows that at the beginning of Saka 1311, expired, the last expired year of Jupiter was the 8th, counted from Prabhava (inclusive), i.e. Bhāva. And the first fraction \(\frac{1358}{1875}\) indicates that the end of Bhāva occurred \(\frac{1358}{1875}\) of one solar year.

This may be seen from the fact that 1875 reduced to days by Table IV. yields one solar year (in accordance with the Arya-Siddhanta)—

\[
\begin{align*}
1000 & = 194:60433 \text{ days.} \\
500 & = 135:54870 \text{ “} \\
250 & = 12:03632 \text{ “} \\
50 & = 6:27452 \text{ “} \\
1875 & = 365:25867 \text{ days.}
\end{align*}
\]
before the commencement of Saka 1311, expired, (or the end of Saka 1311, current). This fraction may be reduced to days by my Table IV. (which is based on Warren's Tables XIV. and XVI.), as follows:—

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{numerator} \\
\quad 1000 = \text{19480463 days.} \\
\quad 200 = \text{389693} \\
\quad 50 = \text{974023} \\
\quad 8 = \text{155844} \\
\quad \frac{129}{1972} = \text{24506423 days.}
\end{array}
\]

And deducting this amount from the commencement of the expired Saka year (which in the present instance has been found already under 1), we find exactly when the year Bhāva ended, or, which is the same, when the following year Yuvan began:

Saka 1311 expired — 2228 475-3281

— 24506422

2228 230-2639,

i.e. 24th July, A.D. 1383, 6 h. 20 m.—end of Bhāva or commencement of Yuvan.

Or, to give another example (Kāla-Saṅkalita, p. 203), for the commencement of Saka 1 current, = Saka 0 expired, we find—

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{0 \times 33 + 4201}{1973} & = 2 \frac{361}{1973} \text{ and } \frac{0 + 3}{30} = 0 \frac{3}{30} \text{; i.e. Jupiter's year expired } 2 = \text{Vibhava.} \\
\text{And numerator } & 500 = \text{974023 days;} \\
& 40 = \text{779218} \\
& 1 = \text{0-19480}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\frac{541}{1973} = \text{10538929 days;}
\end{array}
\]

i.e., at the commencement of the Saka year 1 current, there had elapsed of the current Jupiter's year 3 = Sukla, 105 days 9 h. 20-6 m., which agrees with Warren's result to the very second.6 and the year Sukla began—

epoch of Saka era — 1749 621-1979

— 1053893

remainder — 1749 515-8086,

i.e. 19 h. 24-4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 29th November, A.D. 77.

3. The working of the Jyotiśiṭaṭa rule shows that, according to the rule, the length of the ordinary Jupiter's year is \(\frac{183}{1973}\) of a solar year, i.e. 360-9730 (or, more accurately, 360-972978706) days; and, having found the end of one Jupiter's year, we therefore find the beginning of the same year, or the end of the following year, by simply either deducting that amount from, or adding it to, the number of days previously found (without starting afresh from the preceding or following Saka year). For instance,—

end of Bhāva (under 2) — 2228 230-2639

— 360-9730

remainder — 2227 869-2909,

6 In a note on pp. 203 and 204 Warren has shown by an elaborate calculation that, by the Śāra-Siddhānta rule, there had elapsed of the year Sukla, at the end of the Kaliyuga 3179 or the commencement of Saka 1 current — 70 days 8 d. 56 p. 30-9865 c. = 70 days 3 h. 34 m. 36c. = 701490 days.

As the year Sukla (the 37th year of the cycle, when counted from Viṣṇu) in Kaliyuga 3179 was the 3217th year, and the preceding year Vibhava the 3216th year of Jupiter, from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find—

end of Kaliyuga 3179 = 1749 621-1893

less end of Vibhava = 1749 553-1873

remainder — 68-0015.

i.e. the end of Vibhava or commencement of Sukla preceded the end of Kaliyuga 3179 really by only 68-0015 days (or by 21475 days less than was found by Warren).
i.e. 29th July, A.D. 1387, 6 h. 5:59 m., — beginning of Bhāva;
end of Bhāva (under 2) |
| 2228 | 230-2639 |
+ 360-9730 |
| sum 2228 | 391-2369 |

i.e. 20th July, A.D. 1389, 5 h. 41:1 m., — end of Yuvan.

And in a similar manner it would be possible, without starting a new calculation, to ascertain the end of any previous or subsequent year (as will be shown below, not separated from the year the end of which has already been found, by an expunction), by either subtracting or adding one ordinary Jupiter's year multiplied by the difference in the Sixty-Year Cycle between the year the end of which we know and the year the end of which we wish to find. For instance, given the end of Bhāva (No. 8), we find the end of the year Tārāṇa (No. 18), by adding 360-9730 (or 360-97298) \(\times 10\), thus:

end of Bhāva ...... 2228 230-2639
+ (360-97298 \(\times 10\)) = 3 600-7298
| sum 2231 | 839-9937 |

i.e. 11th June, A.D. 1398, 23 h. 50:9 m., — end of Tārāṇa (No. 18).

4. Were we to calculate the Jupiter's years, e.g., for the expired Saka years 60 and 61, the result would be as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
60 \times 22 + 4291 &= 2 \quad \frac{1891}{1753} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{60 + 2}{60} = 1 \quad \frac{2}{60} \\
61 \times 22 + 4291 &= 3 \quad \frac{1892}{1753} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{61 + 3}{60} = 1 \quad \frac{3}{60}
\end{align*}
\]

Here the numerators of the second fractions \(\left(\frac{2}{60} \text{ and } \frac{3}{60}\right)\) tell us that, at the commencement of Saka 60 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was No. 2 = Vibhava, and the Jupiter's year current was No. 3 = Sukha; and that, at the commencement of Saka 61 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was \(\text{not No. 3, but}\) No. 4 = Pramōda. The year Pramōda accordingly commenced after the beginning of Saka 60 expired; and since it ended before the close of the same year, it was a kāshaya or expunged year. And from the first fractions \(\left(\frac{1891}{1753} \text{ and } \frac{3}{1753}\right)\) we see that the duration of the year preceding the expunged year amounted to exactly one solar year, as may also be clearly demonstrated by the following figures:

Numerator 1861 by Table IV. = 369-53141
8 = 1-56544
Beginning of Saka 60 expired = 1771 536-71873
Deduct for \(\frac{1861}{1753}\) = 362-53141
End of No. 2 = Vibhava = 1771 174-18732
Beginning of Saka 61 expired = 1771 901-97741
Deduct for \(\frac{8}{1753}\) = 1-56544
End of No. 4 = Pramōda = 1771 900-41897
Deduct for end of No. 2 = Vibhava = 1771 174-18732

remainder = 726-23165 days;
which is made up of one solar year = 365-25868
\(\text{and one ordinary Jupiter's year}......... = 360-97297
| sum 726-23165 days |

With the above data, and assuming the occasions of expunged years to be known, we might now of course calculate the end of any of Jupiter's years whatever, taking as our basis the end of any one year which may happen to be already known to us. For instance, the end of the

\[\text{Expunged years fell within the expired Saka years 60, 145, 231, 316, 340, 486, 571, 627, 742, 827, 912, 998, 1088, 1168, 1253, 1339, 1424, 1509, 1594, 1679, 1765.}\]
year Bhāva, which precedes Saka 1311 expired, being known, we find the end and value of the Jupiter's year immediately preceding the present year, Saka 1311 expired, thus:

(Saka 1311) end of Bhāva . . . . . . . . . . . 2228 230:2639
(Saka 1311—1311 = ) 500 ordinary Jupiter's years . . . 180 486:4888
6 solar years, for six expunctions between
Saka 1311 and 1811 . . . . . . . . . . . 2 191:5521

sum 2410 908:3048;

i.e., 27th September, A.D. 1888, new style, 7 h. 18:9 m.,—end of the Jupiter's year which preceded the commencement of Saka 1311 expired. And since Bhāva was the 8th year of the cycle, the year, the end of which we have thus ascertained, is \( (8 + 500 + 6 = \frac{514}{60} = 8\frac{44}{60} ) \)

Sarvarin, the 34th year of the cycle.*

C.—The Brihat-Samhita rule.

The Brihat-Samhita rule (Kern's translation, Jour. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. V. p. 48, agrees with the Jyotistattva rule, except that,—instead of multiplying by 22, adding 4291, and dividing by 1875,—we are directed to multiply by 44, to add 8589, and to divide by 3750. Applying this rule to the Saka year 1311 expired, we find:

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{1311 \times 44 + 8589}{3750} &= 17 \frac{2523}{3750}, \text{and } \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22 \frac{3}{60}.
\end{align*}
\]

The fraction \( \frac{2523}{3750} \) being equal to \( \frac{1681}{1875} \), is converted into days by Table IV. as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{numerator} 1000 &= 194\,80463 \text{ days}; \\
&\quad \text{200 = } 33\,96003 \text{ } \text{ } , \\
&\quad \text{60 = } 11\,68828 \text{ } \text{ } , \\
&\quad \text{1 = } 0\,19450 \text{ } \text{ } , \\
&\quad \frac{1}{4} = 0\,04950 \text{ } \text{ } .
\end{align*}
\]

Deducting this amount from the commencement of

Saka 1311 expired = 2228 475:3291

we obtain 2228 225:5821,

i.e. 23rd July, A.D. 1388, 13 h. 58:2 m., for the end of Bhāva or commencement of Yuvan, according to the Brihat-Samhita rule.

In other words, the Jupiter's year, by this rule, ends earlier than it does by the Jyotistattva

* Calculating in the ordinary way, we have—

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{1811 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} &= 23\,1008 \text{ } \text{ } , \text{ and } \frac{1811 + 23}{60} = 30 \frac{34}{60}.
\end{align*}
\]

Year last expired: 34 = Sarvarin, the end of which precedes the beginning of Saka 1311 expired by

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{numerator} 1000 &= 194\,80463 \\
&\quad 8 = 1\,55844 \\
1008 &= 196\,36307 \text{ days.}
\end{align*}
\]

Beginning of Saka 1311 expired: 392 23960105 x 1811

\[
\begin{align*}
651488-4704665 \\
+1740621-1979 \\
\quad 2411104-66877
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{deduct for 1008} &= 196\,36307 \\
\text{1875} &= 2410096-3053; \text{ which differs from the above result by 42 seconds.}
\end{align*}
\]

I may state that handy Tables for the Jupiter-years according to the Jyotistattva, based on the above data, and similar Tables for the Sārya-Stiddanta, will be published in a following number of this Journal.
rule (B 2, above), exactly as much as \( \frac{8289}{3756} \) is larger than \( \frac{4291}{1875} \). The difference between these two fractions amounts to \( \frac{7}{3759} = \frac{31}{1875} = \frac{2}{7} = 0.58411 \text{ days} \).

and this is the very difference between the results of the two rules; for end of Bhāva by Jyot. t. rule 2228 230-269; deduc... Bri. S. rule 2228 289-3821; end of Bhāva by Jyot. t. rule, later by... 0-6818 days = 16 h. 218 m.

D.—The Cycle-year according to the so-called Teliṅga rule.

According to this rule, the Jupiter's year coincides with the luni-solar year; and the name of the current Jupiter's year may be found thus:—To the expired year of the Kaliyuga add 13; to the expired Saka year, 12; and from the expired Vikrama year subtract 3; divide (the sum or the remainder) by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current Jupiter's year, counting from Prabhava (inclusive). Thus—

for K. Y. 4490 expired, = S. 1311 expired, = V. 1446 expired, we have:—

\[
\begin{align*}
4490 & + 13 & \rightarrow 4503 \\
1311 & + 12 & \rightarrow 1323 \\
1446 & - 3 & \rightarrow 1443 \\
\end{align*}
\]

divided by 60 in every case the remainder is 3 = Sukla.

Simplification of a portion of the preceding Rules.

The working of the Sūrya-Siddhānta and Jyotisāttva rules, as described above, is rendered somewhat tedious by the various multiplications which have to be gone through to find the ends of the several years. To facilitate this part of the process, I append Tables V. and VI., from which the ends of the years may be found simply by addition. In these Tables the figures for the epochs of the eras have been included in the figures for the days corresponding to the units of the years; and, as regards their use, it need only be observed that the figures for the days corresponding to the year 0 must necessarily be added up with the rest, whenever the unit of the figures for the year is 0.

To show the working of these Tables, we will ask:

(a) On what day of the Julian period, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, did the solar year Kaliyuga 4870, current, end (or the year 4871, current, begin)?
(b) When did Jupiter's year 4926 (Vilambha), without Bija, end?
(c) According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, when did Saka 1311, expired, begin?

9 So far as I can see, the only important difference in the results obtained by the Brihat-Samhitā rule is that, in accordance with it, expuncts take place in the expired Saka years 229, 397, and 1889, instead of taking place, as is the case by the Jyotisāttva rule, in the expired Saka years 221, 996, and 1839.

10 When I wrote the above, I had not seen the following passage in Alberuni's India, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 139:—"This is the method for the determination of the years of the shakśayaka, as recorded in their books. However, I have seen Hindus who subtract 3 from the era of Vikramaśīra, and divide the remainder by 60. The remainder they count off from the beginning of the great yuga. This method is not worth anything. By-the-bye; it is the same whether you reckon in the manner mentioned, or add 12 to the Sakadān."

11 The results obtained from Table VI. for the commencement of the Saka year, in accordance with the Ārya-Siddhānta, agree exactly with the beginnings of the years, as set down in Warren's First Chronological Table, pp. xxii—xxv. As regards the results obtained from Table V., A., for the commencement of the solar year in accordance with the Sūrya-Siddhānta, I may state that they will be found to be uniformly later by 23 minutes 56 seconds than the results obtained from Professor Kera Lakhman's and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshita's Tables, published ante, Vol. XVII., pp. 299-372. Professor Kera Lakhman's results being for Bombay time and my own for Ujjain time, the real difference is 15 minutes 36 seconds, by which my results are uniformly later, and by which, accordingly, Kera Lakhman has put the Māha-āsrakṛatita at the commencement of the Kaliyuga earlier than I have done. Taking the difference between Ujjain time and Bombay time to be 15 minutes, Kera Lakhman's Māha-āsrakṛatita, expressed in days of the Julian period, would be 358 462 916 days.
### TABLE I.

For converting a day of the Julian period into the European date.

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<th>Day of Julian period</th>
<th>A.D. Year</th>
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#### New Style

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<th>A.D. Year</th>
<th>A.D. Year</th>
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12 When calculating for one of the secular years 1700, 1800, 1900, new style, use the line 06 i.e. K.: not 00.
End of Kaliyuga 4870

End of Jupiter's year 4926, without Bija, by Table V, B.

Commencement of Saka 1331, expired, by Table VI.

4000 = 1461 035:02600
800 = 292 207:00529
70 = 25 568:11295
0 = 588 463:60240

4870 = 2367 273:74655

4000 = 1444 106:38412
900 = 324 924:04893
20 = 7 220:53442
6 = 590 631:91033

4926 = 2366 883:37780

1000 = 365 259:68055
30 = 109 577:60416
10 = 3 632:58851
1 = 1749 986:45658

1331 = 2228 475:32810

just as has been found above, pp. 193, 194, and 198, by multiplication and by the addition of the epochs.

The Sāṃkrānti śis and Solar Months.

For those who would wish to use the Tables V. A. and VI. to ascertain the exact end of a solar month or the occasion of a Sāṃkrānti, I have added Table VII. which gives the collective numbers of days of the solar months. To give an example for the use of this Table, we will ask:—When did the Uttaraśāha-sāṃkrānti, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, take place in Vikrama 1234 = Kaliyuga 4278 expired (above, p. 139)?

By Table V. A, 4000 = 1461 035:02600

200 = 73 051:75130
70 = 25 568:11295
6 = 591 365:67245

By Table VII, Uttaraśāha-sāṃkrānti = 275:65844

sum 2151 316:22114

which by Tables I. and II. corresponds to 25th December, A.D. 1177, 5 h. 18:4 m. Accordingly, in Vikrama 1234 expired, the Uttaraśāha-sāṃkrānti took place, at Ujjain, 5 h. 18:4 m. after mean sunrise of 25th December, A.D. 1177.

An Example for All Rules.

To show the working of the above rules, I select a date which is given in Professor Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., Vol. II. p. 55, and which runs thus:

Saṅvat 1531 Sākā 1396 pravartamātī Subhakrīta(n)-nāmni saṅvatasaḥ...Kārśikā-śulti 9 Budha-vāsāḥ Dhanisthā-makshātār Vṛiddhi-yogē Kaalava-kāraṇā...i.e., while the (Vikrama) year 1531 (and) the Saka year 1396 is proceeding, in (Jupiter's) year Subhakrīta, on the 9th of the bright half of Kārśikā, on Wednesday, the nakkhatra being Dhanisthā, the yogē Vṛiddhi, and the karaṇa Kaalava...

The corresponding European date (for the Vikrama year 1531 and the Saka year 1396, both expired, notwithstanding the expression pravartamātī in the date), undoubtedly is Wednesday, 10th October, A.D. 1474, when the 9th tīthī of the bright half and the karaṇa Kaalava ended 13 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Dhanisthā up to 12 h. 29 m., and the yogē was Vṛiddhi up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And what concerns us now, is to find the beginning or end, or both, of the year Subhakrīta which is mentioned in the date, in accordance with the different rules.

(a). The year Subhakrīta according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta.

To find the commencement of Subhakrīta, is equivalent to finding the end of the preceding year Plava, which is the 9th year of the cycle counted from Vijaya (inclusive). We now have:

Vikrama 1531 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4575; divided by 85 = 53 70 85 = 54; 4575 + 54 = 4629; divided by 60 leaves remainder 9.

Accordingly Plava (the 9th year of the cycle, from Vijaya) was the 4629th year of Jupiter
### TABLE II.
For converting the decimals of the day into hours and minutes.

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### TABLE III.
The Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter.
(The figures to the right refer to the Śrīya-Siddhānta rule only.)

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### TABLE IV.
For converting the fraction of the first term of the Jyotisatvatva and Brihata-Samhitā rules into days.

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since the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit), without Bija, we proceed by Table V, B.:—

\[
\begin{align*}
4000 & = 1444 106.88412 \\
600 & = 216 618.93202 \\
20 & = 7 220.53442 \\
9 & = 591 714.99049 \\
4629 & = 2259 658.4416
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 33.9 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, without Bija; and to find the end of Subhakrit without Bija, by adding one year without Bija, —

\[
\begin{align*}
& 2259 658.4416 \\
+ & 361.0267 \\
\hline & 2260 019.4683
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14.4 m., — end of Subhakrit, without Bija.

Similarly, for the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit) with Bija, we have

\[
\begin{align*}
4000 & = 1444 138.80424 \\
600 & = 216 620.79064 \\
20 & = 7 220.69302 \\
9 & = 591 715.06188 \\
4629 & = 2259 695.1498
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35.7 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, with Bija; and, for the end of Subhakrit with Bija, by adding one year with Bija, —

\[
\begin{align*}
& 2259 695.1498 \\
+ & 361.0347 \\
\hline & 2260 056.1845
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25.7 m., — end of Subhakrit, with Bija.

Anyone who will take the trouble to calculate, e.g., the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija, by Warren's Tables, will find that, according to them, Subhakrit began 194 days 16 h. 4 m. 33 s. before the commencement of Kaliyuga 4576 expired; while according to my result it began only 192 days, 12 h. 32 m. 6 s. before the same moment, i.e. 2 days, 3 h. 32 m. 32 s. later (Kaliyuga 4576 expired having begun, according to the Śūrya-Śuddhānte, 27th March, A.D. 1475, 16 h. 7.8 m.,—though for us this is of no moment whatever). And in the present case, one disadvantage of the rules given in the Kāla-Saṅkalita is that, starting as we must from Vikrama 1531 = Kaliyuga 4575 expired, we do not find the beginning of Subhakrit at all, and that, after we have written out one set of figures and have discovered the uselessness of proceeding any further, we must start a new calculation and write out another set of figures, with the basis of Kaliyuga 4576 expired.

(b). The year Subhakrit according to the Jyotistattva.

Here it must be borne in mind that Subhakrit is the 36th and Plava the 35th year of the cycle, counted from Prahava inclusive.

Starting now from Saka 1396 expired, the year mentioned in the date, we have —

\[
\frac{1396 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 18 \frac{1253}{1875} \text{ and } \frac{1396 + 18}{60} = 22 \frac{34}{60}
\]

Here the numerator of the second fraction \(\frac{24}{60}\) at once shows that, at the commencement of Saka 1396 expired, the last expired year of the cycle was only 34 = Sarvarin; but (to avoid a fresh start with the basis of Saka 1397 expired) we shall nevertheless go on with our calculation, to find the end of Sarvarin; to which we shall then add one ordinary Jupiter's year to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit); having found which, we shall add another year
### TABLE V.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Kaliyuga, and of the Cycle-year without or with Bija, according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta.

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### TABLE VI.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Saka era according to the Ārya-Siddhānta.

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<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>36 525·9755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>32 873·28808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>29 220·7052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>25 568·09444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>21 915·52083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>18 610·3526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>14 410·5827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>10 365·1713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>7 105·8518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3 652·8575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1752 908·52692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1532 549·62384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1153 178·00964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>781 812·74998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>575 447·49130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>451 692·2362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>370 710·6734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>250 351·7128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>174 986·1568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>174 621·19790</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VII.

For collective days of Solar Months.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End of month</th>
<th>Sūrya-Siddhānta.</th>
<th>By Ārya-Siddhānta.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Vaiśākha</td>
<td>36·92557</td>
<td>36·92556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jyāśthha</td>
<td>62·82890</td>
<td>62·82800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Āshāya</td>
<td>96·36948</td>
<td>96·36948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Srāvana</td>
<td>125·49199</td>
<td>125·49197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Bhadrapada</td>
<td>156·64458</td>
<td>156·64458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Aśvina</td>
<td>186·90170</td>
<td>186·90170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Kārtika</td>
<td>216·83070</td>
<td>216·83070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mārgasotra</td>
<td>246·31683</td>
<td>246·31683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Pauṣaṇa</td>
<td>275·63844</td>
<td>275·63844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Māgha</td>
<td>305·11290</td>
<td>305·11290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Phālghuna</td>
<td>334·90159</td>
<td>334·90159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Chaitra</td>
<td>365·25876</td>
<td>365·25876</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to find the end of Subhakṛit (the next expunction being due only in Saka 1424 expired). We have then—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{numerator} & \quad 1000 = 194'80463 \quad \text{days} \\
\quad & \quad 200 = 38'96093 \\
\quad & \quad 50 = 9'74023 \\
\quad & \quad 6 = 0'58441 \\
\hline
1233 & = 244'09020 \quad \text{days};
\end{align*}
\]

and for the commencement of Saka 1396 expired, by Table VII. —

\[
\begin{align*}
1000 & = 365 \quad 258'68055 \\
300 & = 109 \quad 577'60416 \\
90 & = 32 \quad 873'28125 \\
6 & = 1751 \quad 812'74998 \\
\hline
1396 & = 2259, 522'2159 \quad \text{commencement of Saka 1396 expired}; \\
& \quad - \quad 244'0902 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 2259 \quad 278'2257 \quad \text{end of Sarvarin (No. 34)}; \\
& \quad \quad \quad + \quad 360'9730 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 2259 \quad 639'1987 \quad \text{end of Plava (No. 35) or commencement of Subhakṛit}; \\
& \quad \quad \quad + \quad 360'9730 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 2260 \quad 000'1717 \quad \text{end of Subhakṛit (No. 36)}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Converting now the days of the Julian period for the beginning and end of Subhakṛit, we find :—

- commencement of Subhakṛit : 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46'1 m.;
- end of Subhakṛit : 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7'2 m.

(o). The year Subhakṛit by the Br̄ihat-Saṁhitā rule.

Having already found the commencement and end of Subhakṛit by the Jyotistattva rule, we find the same, in accordance with the Br̄ihat-Saṁhitā rule, by deducting from the sum of days found, in either case, 0'6818[1].

Commencement of Subhakṛit by Jyotistattva rule : \[2259 \quad 639'1987\]

\[\quad - \quad 0'6818\]

\[\quad 2259 \quad 638'5169,\]

i.e. 21st July, A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24'3 m., — commencement of Subhakṛit by Br̄ihat-Saṁhitā rule.

End of Subhakṛit by Jyotistattva rule : \[2260 \quad 000'1717\]

\[\quad - \quad 0'6818\]

\[\quad 2259 \quad 999'4899,\]

i.e. 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45'5 m., — end of Subhakṛit by Br̄ihat-Saṁhitā rule.

(d). By the Tėlinga rule

the Jupiter's year for Vikrama 1531 and Saka 1396, both expired, would be the 28th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava, i.e. Jaya, and the year Subhakṛit would not be due till Vikrama 1539 or Saka 1404, expired.

The result then is that the year Subhakṛit, which is mentioned in the date, lasted,—

by the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule,—

- without Bijā, from 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35'9 m., to 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14'4 m.;
- with Bijā, from 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35'7 m., to 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25'7 m.;

by the Jyotistattva rule,—

- from 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46'1 m., to 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7'2 m.;

by the Br̄ihat-Saṁhitā rule,—

- from 21st July A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24'3 m., to 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45'5 m.
And accordingly, by every one of the three rules, the date, Wednesday, the 19th October, A.D. 1474, did fall in the year Subhakrīt, and the writer of the date was strictly correct in quoting that year. — The result shows how necessary it may be to calculate exactly the commencement of a Jupiter's year; for, in accordance with the ordinary (and on the whole very useful) Tables, the writer certainly ought to have quoted the year Plava, because that year was current at the commencement of the solar year in which the date was written.

Illustration of the use of Table I.

(a) What was the European date (old style) for the day 2259 999?

Given the day...

Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries...

Remainder 27 592

Deduct next lower figure in table of years

Remainder 17, A.D. 1475, July.

Answer: 17th July, A.D. 1475, old style.

(b) What was the European date (new style) for the day 2410 637?

Given the day...

Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries (new style)

Remainder 32 142

Deduct next lower figure in table of years

Remainder 31, A.D. 1887, December.

Answer: 31st December, A.D. 1887, new style.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF CHEDI.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

I edit the first four of these inscriptions from rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by Sir A. Cunningham. And my account of the fifth inscription is also from a rubbing received in the same way; but in this instance, owing partly to the condition of the original inscription and partly to the deficiencies of the rubbing, I can do little more than point out the names of royal personages, which happen to be legible in the record, as it presents itself to me in the rubbing.

A. — Tēwar Stone-Inscription of Gayākarnadāva.

The (Chōdi) year 902.

This inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham, is on a light-green stone, which appears to have been found at Tēwar, the ancient Tripuri, once the capital city of the main branch of the Kalachuri rulers of Chōdi, and now a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces. No information is available as to where the stone is at present.

The inscription contains 22 lines. The writing covers a space of 12 1/2" broad by 14 1/2" high, and with the exception of perhaps one akṣara, which is indistinct in the rubbing, it is in a state of perfect preservation. The size of the letters is between 3/4" and 5/8". The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the introductory śa namah Śivāya, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, ē is denoted by the sign for e, everywhere except in bhavād, line 16, abādiḥ, line 19, and abād (?), line 21; and the dental is twice put for the palatal sibilant.

1 Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 90, No. vi,
The inscription was composed by Pṛśāvīdirā, the son of Dharavīdirā, and engraved by Mahādhana (lines 17-20); and its proper object is to record (in lines 5-17) the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Pāśupata (or pāśchātikha) ascetic, named Bhāvyabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvātējas of the Amanta gōtra. There is nothing of special interest in this part of the inscription, excepting the name Gāhunḍa in line 15, which appears to be a local designation of Śiva.

By way of introduction it is stated (in lines 3-4) that in the gōtra of Atri there was the king Karnadēva, whose son was the king Yasākarna, from whom again sprang the ruling king Gayakarnadēva; and (in lines 4-5) the wish is expressed that this Gayākarna, together with his son, the Yuvrājya or heir apparent, Narasimha, may rule the earth for ever. And Gayakarnadēva is mentioned again in the date, in the concluding lines 20-22, according to which this eulogy was put up "on Arkaṇavrā or Sunday, on the first lunar day in the bright half of the month Śuchi (or Ashādha), while the illustrious Gayākarnadēva was protecting the country, when the Chēdē time had gone increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years;" i.e., in the Chēdē year 902, on Sunday, the first of the bright half of Ashādha.

In the original, the first portion of the date (naa-hata-yugal-ādi-ādiḥ-kītya-gī Chēdē-dīśhaḥ) is oddly expressed; but as, with the exception of the first ākṣara in line 21, which might possibly be uṣṭ, every letter of the original is perfectly clear, and since naa-hata is 900 and yugal a pair or couple or two, I do not see how naa-hata-yugal could mean anything but 902. Nor have I any doubt about the meaning of Chēdē-dīśhaḥ; for according to the lexicographers, dīśa is one of the synonyms of kāla, and Chēdē-dīśa therefore is equivalent to Chēdē-kāla, with which may be compared the well-known Mālava-kāla, used to indicate another era. I need hardly point out that, even if it had not been dated, the present inscription, in which Narasimha is described as Yuvrājya, would necessarily have had to be placed before the Chēdē year 907, the date of Alhaṇḍēvi's inscription in which the same Narasimhadēva is spoken of as ruling prince.

As regards the European equivalent of the date, I have shown ante, Vol. XVII, p. 216, No. 5, that, with my epoch of the Chēdē era, it is Sunday, 17th June, A.D. 1151; and having convinced myself that Sir A. Cunningham's latest statements regarding the original date are substantially correct, I now attach to the date its due value for helping to fix the epoch of the Chēdē era.

TEXT.

1. Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya 2 Trāilōkya-sandha-sīlpi yaś-trivēdī-vaṣokya-satkaviḥ 3 nitya-prayaatna-vā(hō)bhaḥ-ashahaḥ sōsahamūrtiḥ śriyē-stu vaḥ 4
2. Kaladhautā-saktir-in va chaṇḍra-kāla jayati Smarantaka-sīro-vīdhirīta i alīk-ākśih-vahini-janit-ōgra-trīṣhā sutaya gi-
3. reḥ surasari-paṭayaḥ 5 Atrēya-gōṭrā ākhiyā-chakra-jigluḥ-rājō-jani Karunā- 6 dēvah tasmād-Yaśasakarana-madēva śva
4. rō-bhūt-tasya-ātmejya-yam Gayakarnadēvah 7 ā-kalpaḥ prithiviḥ śāstu śrī 8 Gayakarnana-pārthivah 9 saṁgatō Narasimhāna yu—

2 The same persons are mentioned in lines 25-29 of the inscription of Alhaṇḍēvi of the Chēdē year 907; Journal Amer. Or. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 388, and Archæol. Surv. of Western India, No. 10, p. 106. And, as was first pointed out by Dr. Hall, in Jour. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 388, Nāmadēva, the son of Mahādhana, engraved an inscription (unpublished) of the year 926, which is now in the Nāgar Museum.

3 The dictionaries have no quotation for this word from the actual literature. Its meaning is evident from the Sarvadurjana-vārttika; see translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 163.

4 Compare, e.g., Amara-kēōk, Bo. Ed., p. 22, l. 8, kītē diehṛapa-anadhāpi. — The word dieṛa does not appear to have been met with before, in this sense, in actual literature. Our writer, in my opinion, preferred it to the ordinary word kētē, because it begins with the same syllable with which the word Chēdē ends.

5 From the rubbing:
6 Metre, Śīkha (Ausschubh).
7 Metre, Pramitkēṣāra; the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction.
8 Metre, Upajēti.
9 Metre, Śīkha (Ausschubh).
This inscription⁵ is rudely engraved on a piece of rock, on the top of a hill called Lal-Pahāḍ, near Bharhat (properly Bharaut) in the Central Provinces; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, Lat. 24° 27′ N., Long. 80° 55′ E. It was discovered in 1878-79 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of it, accompanied by a photograph, was published in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. IX, p. 94, and Plate ii.

B.—Lal-Pahāḍ Rock-Inscription of Narasimhadēva.

The (Chedi) year 909.
The inscription contains eight lines, of which the last appears to be separated from the rest by an empty space. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space of about 17½" high by 2' 6" broad in the first three, and 1' 9¼" broad in the following lines; while the separate eighth line is 16" long. Throughout, the writing appears to be well preserved, though in the rubbing one or two aksharas are not as distinct as one could wish them to be. The size of the letters is between 1½" and 2". The characters are Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v, and the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal everywhere except in the word śī.

After the introductory "Ô, may it be well! (may) fortune (attend)" the inscription (in lines 1-5) has (corresponding to the ordinary "in the reign of victory of," etc.) the words: "the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the devout worshipper of Mahāvīra (Śiva), the illustrious Narasimhadēva, the lord over Trikalinga, who by his own arm has acquired the (title of) lord over the three Rājas, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, — (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva;" on the particulars of which see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 225. Lines 5-6 state the proper object of the inscription, which, if I understand the words rightly, is to record the construction of a saha,² or water-channel, by Ballālandēva, (or as he calls himself in line 8, the Rāuka, the illustrious Ballālandēva), son of the illustrious Kēśavāditya, Mahā-vajraputra of the village of Vadyavā, — probably some official or dependant of the king Narasimhadēva.³

In line 7 the inscription is dated in the year 909, on the 5th of the bright half of Srāvaṇa, on Buḍha or Wednesday; corresponding, as I have tried to show, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 7, to Wednesday, 2nd July, A.D. 1158. In the same place I have stated that in A.D. 1158 Srāvaṇa was an intercalary month, and that Wednesday, 2nd July, belonged to the first bright fortnight of the two Srāvasas or the adhika Srāvaṇa; and, to obviate the possible objection that this should have been indicated in the original date, I may for the present point out the date of the Dehli Siwālik pillar inscriptions of Vimaladēva,⁴ of the (southern) Vīkramā year 1220, as a clear and undoubted instance in which (just as is the case in the present inscription) a day of the adhika month is denoted by the date, though there is nothing in the wording of the date to show this. Another Chāḍi date in which the adhika month has not been specified as such, has been already treated of by me, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 9.

The village Vadyavā, which is spoken of in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

**TEXT.**

1 [Ô m?]svasti śrī[ḥ] || Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhir[ṛ]jā-pava(r)maśva(sva)śrī.
2 Vāmadēva - pādāndhyāt(ta) - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja - p[ṇa]-
3 mēsva(sva)ra - paramamāhēsva(sva)ra - Trikalingadhipati - nijabhujēpā[r]jjita - a7-
4 sva(sva)patē - ga[j]apati - nara(pati) - rājatry(tray) - āhipati - [ā]śrīman - Nar-

---

² Compare ante, Vol. XVI. p. 206, note 33.
³ On Rājarāja, used probably as the title of some official, see Mr. Fleet's note in Corpus Inscrip. Ind. Vol. III. p. 218. Mr. Fleet suggests to me that Mahā-vajraputra may denote here an official of higher rank than was held by the Rājarāja; and it may be pointed out that, just as in the present inscription the father, Kēśavāditya, is described as Mahā-vajraputra, and the son, Ballālandēva, as Rāuka (= vajrapatra), so in the next inscription the father, Jāhara, is described as Mēṣa-rāva, and the son, Chihhūla, as Rāva.—Sir A. Cunningham, Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 94, speaks of the 'prince Ballālandēva, the son of Kēśavāditya and grandson of Rāja Narasimhadēva.' But it appears to me that the genitive Vadyavēg-pailmahārāja must necessarily be made dependent on mahā-vajraputra as the title of an official, just as in the next inscription "sūpyas" depends on the following mahārājas, and since we know from the inscription A. that Narasimha in the Chāḍī year 902 was still favours, it is extremely improbable that only seven years later a grandson of his would have been spoken of as Ballālandēva is in the present inscription.
⁴ Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II. p. 233. This and similar dates will be treated of in a separate paper.

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² From the rubbing.
³ Judging from the rubbing, I am almost certain that the symbol for ôn stands at the beginning of the line.
⁴ Read ‘jīt-ā.
⁵ The whole word ‘vārapati’ appears to have been originally omitted; and the three aksharas ‘vārapati’ are engraved before line 4, while the initial ‘a’ has been added at the end of line 3.

The (Vikrama) year 1216.

This inscription, together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the Alha-Ghat, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhyas hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rāwah to the plain of the Ganges;" Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, about Lat. 24° 55′ N., Long. 81° 27′ E. It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photolithograph, was published in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii.

The inscription contains seven lines. The writing covers a space of about 2′ broad by 1′ high, and is well preserved nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between 1½ and 1¾. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is ungrammatical Sanskrit, exhibiting, e.g. in line 4 the form kārtipa, and in line 6 vāharīla, a word which may have its origin in the vernacular and the meaning of which is not apparent. As regards orthography, 6 is denoted by the sign for i; and j is used for v in jiva, line 3; s for ś in Kausāmī, line 5; and ṣh for ṣh in likhitam, line 6.

The object of the inscription is, to record (in lines 2-5) that the Rāsaka, the illustrious Chhillula, a son of the illustrious Jalana, Mahārājaka of Pipali(?au?)dāruga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near the Nāsadhaṅgakī Ghat, which may have consisted in the building of a road or the erection of a temple of the goddess Ambika, or both, but the exact details of which are not clear to me. Line 5 appears to mention some person from Kausāmī who had something to do with carrying out the Rāsaka's orders; and lines 6 and 7 give the names of the writer of the inscription and of the artisans who were engaged in the work spoken of before.

But the really important part of the inscription are the introductory lines 1-2, from which we learn that what is stated in the sequel, took place "in the reign of victory of the illustrious Narasimhadēva, the Mahārājadhāratya of Dāhala," and which contain the date — "the year 1216, the first lunar day of the bright half of Bhadrapada, on Ravi or Sunday." For these statements, on the one hand, give us some idea of how far the kingdom of Narasimhadēva extended in the north or north-east; and on the other hand, the date being clearly recorded in the Vikrama era, they enable us to test in a general way the correctness of any conclusion regarding the epoch of the Chālī era which may be arrived at on other grounds, and they have been so used by me, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 218. As regards the epithet Dāhaliya which is applied here to the king Narasinha, it has long been known that lexicographers give Dāhala as a synonym of Chālī; and for passages in which the word is actually used in literature, I may refer to the Vikramāṅkādēvacharita, i. vv. 102 and 103, and xviii. vv. 93 and 95, and to Professor Peterson's Third Report on Sanskrit MSS., Appendix, p. 243, i. 5, where, in an enumeration of places and countries, Dāhala is placed near Kōsāla.

9 This sign is superfluous.
10 Read Budh; as the matter is of some importance, I may as well state that the first akṣara and the consonants of the second akṣara are clear in the rubbing.
11 I believe that the akṣara ś of this word is quite certain.
12 According to Sir A. Cunningham, Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. IX. pp. 1 and 94, these words, which I give from a separate rubbing, are below the rest, apparently separated from lines 1-7 by an empty space; but they were clearly engraved by the same artist.
14 Here Karpa, one of Narasimhadēva's ancestors, is described as śrī-Dāhalī-akṣhatiparivṛttartha and Dāhalī-dhītira, and his country is called Dāhalı-ret.
The date having to be referred to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be:
for the northern Vikrama year 1216, current, — Tuesday, 26th August, A.D. 1158;
for the northern Vikrama year 1216, expired.
or the southern current year, — Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159, when the first
tithi of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and
for the southern Vikrama year 1216, expired, — Thursday, 4th August, A.D. 1160.
The true date therefore is Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159; and the year 1216 of the
date must accordingly be taken to be the northern expired (or southern current) year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kausambi clearly is the village of Kösam,
of which I have spoken above, p. 137; and Šaṭashaḍākā-ghaṭā I take to be the more ancient
name of the Alba-Γhāt, Pipal[ā?]dūrga I am unable to identify.

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ [II*] Saṁvata(t) 1216 Bhadra-sudi-pratīpada Rava u Dāhaltya-mahārājā.
2 v(dh)ṛajā-śrī Narasinghadēvā-vijayarājyō || Pipal[ā?] [au ?] - dūrga[sa]ya || mahā-
3 rāṇaka-śrī Jāhalānā - putra-rāṇaka-śrī Chchhīh [h]ulasya
4 dharma-ārtha[m?] Šaṭashaḍākā-ghaṭā [ya(ba)ṁ] dhanam-mārgga-tā[t?] || Ām[ā?] [mu]hbhīkā-
dye karā.
5 pītā iti dharmārtha-kāma-mārka-sādhana[m?] || Kauṣṭ(ḥ)aṃvī(ṃb) [m] - nākhā - nā-

D. — Karanbēl Stone-Inscription of Jayasimhadēva.

According to a remark in pencil on the back of the rubbing, the stone which bears this
inscription was found at Karanbēl, now a heap of ruins a few miles from Bhēra-Γhāt, near
Jabalpur in the Central Provinces; and it was lying at the house of a stone-cutter, when the
rubbing was taken. The stone is broken right through in the middle, from top to bottom, but
the fracture is so clean that hardly a single akṣara has been lost.

The inscription contains 23 lines. The writing covers a space of 3 ′ 6½ ′ broad by 1 ′ 7 ′
high, and it is well preserved throughout, so that the actual reading of the inscription is
hardly anywhere doubtful. The size of the letters is about 4 ′. The characters are
Nāgari, carefully drawn and skillfully engraved. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting
the introductory ōṁ namōś Śivāya, the inscription is in verse. A curious grammatical mistake we
meet in line 4, where the writer has formed the aorist of kṛttatyāt an achikrtattyāt; otherwise
the inscription is remarkably free from errors, and in respect of orthography I have only to note
that b is written by the sign for v everywhere except in sapurbbhir, line 2, abja, line 3, bhhṛd,
line 5, babhṛ, line 19, and bhikkṛtā, lines 23 and 24; that the rules of añkhi have not been
observed in sukhayaneṣJayantī; line 13, and bhūvanam-vikṣa, line 23; and that for uṣja we
have ṭīvala, in line 16.

4 From the rubbing. 4 Expressed by a symbol. 6 This vowel is perhaps a.
5 This akṣara is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like ṛ̣, with a vertical line before it; but I am almost
certain that in the original there is a conjunct consonant, the second part of which is y.
6 Perhaps altered to m.
7 In the original really Chchhi.—One would expect the instrumental case Chchhītuḥa.
9 This letter is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like t.I, and the word intended may be tāsa; but it may also
be talā, or tatra, or tāya. In the following word dmeḍhī, the e of the second syllable is very indistinct, but I
believe that it is there. The next akṣaras, up to ṛ̣, are quite distinct. One would expect some case-termination
after ṛ̣; and for the following kar, kara.
11 I give these words, up to udharitāḥ, as they appear in the rubbing and in the photolithograph. But the
third akṣara of viśa may really be sī, and the whole word viśa; and the vowel of the first akṣara of line 6
appears to have been struck out, so that the word following upon viśa would seem to be vṛttā, for vṛttā. For
the following akṣaras I cannot suggest any suitable meaning or emendation, beyond saying that the oddly shaped
d, the second akṣara in line 6, may really be śī.
12 Read ṭhārāna.
13 Here again, and in some of the following names, the case-terminations have been omitted.

Judging from the introductory verses, the inscription probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of Śiva; but it has clearly been left incomplete. For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved; and we miss at the end the names of the author and of the engraver, which, in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted. In consequence, the inscription also is left undated.

The contents of the inscription may be given in very few words. After the introductory "Om, adoration to Śiva!" and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gajānana, and Sarasvatī (ll. 1-4), the author relates that Prajāpati, the lord of the creatures, begat Atri, from whom proceeded the moon, whose son again was Budha; and that in the lunar family so founded, there was the famous king Arjuna (ll. 4-6). The family became generally known under the name of Kalachuri, and in it there was born the king Yuvarājādeva, who conquered all regions and dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Sōmēsvaṇa (ll. 6-7). He begat the king Kōkalla, from whom sprang Gāndhāredva (ll. 7-10). His son again was Karṇa, who was waited upon by the Chōda, Kūnga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Kīra princes (ll. 10-12); and his son was Yasaṅkaraṇa (ll. 12-13). Yasaṅkaraṇa's son was the king Gayakaṛṇa, who married Alhaṇādevī, the daughter of king Vijayasiṃha (the son of the king Vairisimha who was a son of the king Hamśapāla in Prāgavata) and his wife Śyāmala-
devi (the daughter of Udayāditya, the king of Dhāra), who bore to him the two sons Narasiṃhadēva and Jayasiṃhadēva (ll. 13-17). Narasiṃhadēva ascended the throne after the death of his father (ll. 18-20), and was on his death succeeded by his younger brother Jayasiṃhadēva, who ruled the country when the inscription was composed (ll. 20-25).

It will be seen that the contents of the inscription are almost identical with those of the introductory portion of the Bhṛag-Śat inscription of Alhaṇādevī; and a comparison of the two inscriptions leaves no doubt that our author knew that inscription and closely followed it, when writing his own prāsasti. What is peculiar to our inscription, is mainly only this, that the genealogy (similarly to what is the case in the Kumbhā copper-plate inscription) begins here with Yuvarājādeva, and is continued to the ruling prince Jayasiṃhadēva. As of some importance however, it may be noted that Yuvarājādeva is represented here as worshipping Sōmēsvaṇa, the famous Sōmanātha in Gujarāt, a story which is told also of Lakshmīśarja (the son of Kēśūravara-Yuvarājādeva and Nōhāla) in the Bihārī inscription, that Vijayasiṃha, the father-in-law of Gayakaṛṇa, and his ancestors, whom we have to know how ruled in Mēvād, are described as kings of Prāgavata, and Udayāditya as lord of Dhāra; and that the name of one of the peoples whose princes waited upon Karṇa, is spelt here distinctly Kūṅga, not Kuṅga, which is the reading of the published version of Alhaṇādevī's inscription. The word Prāgavata occurs several times e.g. in Professor Peterson's Third Report on Sanskrit MSS., Appendix, pp. 37, 40, 45, 157; but I am unable to determine whether it is only another name for Mēdapaṭa, or denotes a more extensive tract of country of which Mēvād formed part. Kuṅga clearly is the Koṅgu or Koṅgu-dēsa of Southern India, corresponding, generally, to the present districts of Salem and Coimbatore.

Considering that Narasiṃhadēva was ruling in A.D. 1159, and Vijayasiṃhadēva, the son of Jayasiṃhadēva, in A.D. 1180, our inscription must have been composed between A.D. 1160 and 1180.

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2 ib. pp. 502-3; and Archaeol. Survey of Western India, No. 10, pp. 107-9.
4 ib. Vol. XXXI. p. 380, verses 61 and 62. Dr. Hall misread verse 46, and in consequence he wrongly identified Lakshmīśarja with Yuvarājādeva. In reality Lakshmīśarja, according to the Bihārī inscription, was the son of Yuvarājādeva and Nōhāla.
5 ante, Vol. XVI. p. 546.—I am glad to be able to state that, in a short inscription from Udāyapura in Mālā, I have at last discovered a reliable date for Udāyāditya, the grandfather of Alhaṇādevī,—Vikrama 1187 = A.D. 1698.
6 In reality, the reading of the original inscription probably is Kuṅga, but the first akṣara of the word is damaged.
8 See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 218.
TEXT.10

1 Ōṁ namaḥ Sīvāya || Dēvah11 saddā samudit-ādhbhuta-bhūti-saṃpat-saṃpādayatva- 
abhimatam bhavatām sa yasya svābānudh-saṅgata-jaṭe śīras-īndu-lekkhā 
navy-ābhūka-śri[ya]m mānaratam sainetōti || Yau12 uṣṇayaṁ dravaśaṁ vi[b]i bhartti 
gurutam dhattō tāto nyach cha yad-ye cha sparśaṁ gurutva-rahitē 
ḥūtanām yad-asparśaṁ

2 yat-karmaṃ paḥitaṁ kaṛeti bhuvanaṁ kāl[ai]h kal-ollāsi yad-yasmin-yajñā 
phalaṁ vupubbhir-svatabd[yaḥ]nubhām-samibhibhī Sīvah || Dhanyas-tā vahāśe 
śīrasāv api rataṁ kapal[al]a-srajan vaktvayām ta iti vya[bra]vinyata 
idaṃ punvēna saṁkṛita vyaī n[aita]d yuktatamaṁ bhavāna [cha] mayā 
strītvaṁ tyaj-ṣetyāt tachai [chā]sakyaṁ iti priy-ō.

3 tara-viṣhau vyagṛh Harah pita vah || Bhūṣhā13 nītraṣuṛi-virāchita yatra yatra = 
Abjajanma14 vyākōsa-śrīḥ prabhavati mudē yatra nischāḥ prajānam || 
mūrttāvā śvās prasarati rajō yatra yatra=āst[ī] sākṣhāt kūtasthā dhīḥ sa 
dīsatu saḍā Saṃbhur abhayāhitam vah || Yō15 Dhūrjāti-jatāīta-muktād 
aparā api vīdhiḥ || dhattē-dadvān-dānta-mahātāḥ sa vah pāyād=Gajāna.

4 naḥ || Chatur-gratiḥ-chatur-vijīt[i]ḥ-chaturvarrga-prayōjanā || praspadaḥayat chatur- 
yaṁ satāṁ satyaṁ Sarasvatī ||16 Prajāpatīr abhidhyāna-pravaḥ(bha)māḥ 
śamajījanit ātīṛītayā putrum yam=ātrim=achikītayat17 || Tasmat18 saṃstapāva 
bhuvan-ābhuyad-aika-dhāma19 rāmā meva sarasā saṃmada keli-kastaḥ || 
vistārāha-kīrana kumud-ākā.

5 rūpaṁ Bhūteśa-bhūshana-sārmaṇaprīṣāv-āśī || Manasa20 iv=Ātiṣvāuddhiḥ vō(bh)dda 
iv=ābhāvūd[v]aḥ(bha)hassāmāśi tamsā || bhuvana-ābhaya-kṛjde bhūbhir-vāṃśas=āśeṣi jājāni 
sthēyaṁ || Āśī || Kalānīdhī-kulē trā karān-sahārasaṁ bhīranka div-ēva 
rajanāv-api sa-pratāpāḥ bhūmibhir Arijuna iti prabhitēna nāmna yasya 
ādhunāśaḥ abhimatānyā-sa.

6 bhītō bhāvanāḥ Tū tadāśāḥ katiḥkītē-ēva kadāchācēdēva bhāgyair bhavatī 
bhāvāṁ bhuvanaṁ bhuvana-ākā-nāthāḥ || gotrētra ye samabhaśanāmādhihādhih-oścha 
saṁpattayē hē pitvāḥ prāṣaṁ || Aśmin=āvāntara-mahārāva-viśeṣaḥ 
yogāt-prāptē kulē Kalachurī-āśeṣhīromāhā-prasiddhām || jāno=āsadā saprakārā 
jaśaṁ.

7 gataḥ Yayāti-tulyō gūpajāraṇaparī-YYavatāryadēvā || Yēn-dhritēna jagati-patīna 
vijyāva sarvva śīrṣa samabhīr[i]YA narēvāraṇām || tāsīśā śīrṣa pāram 
ma-bhakti-bhāra-śrītā śrī-Somāvērya saṃpāyaṇaṁ saṅkrihyāṁ|| Tēn=āvanāśa 
patīna bhuvana-ākā-mallaḥ Kōkalla iti=ajetā maḥā
gati-vair-bhallaḥ || Yat-kṛttanaḥ katśa na vi(bh)bharti bhūri-sōbhām-anvyanā 
vibhrama-sahasaṁ-dharaṁ-jaganti || Janitā21 śīluxaṁ-āhawkā=va bhaṇa-bhū 
śanti-dvītṛi Bhava-bhaktiḥ || Himayān=iva bhuvana-bhaṇaṁ yē jahre vāhīn 
īvahāḥ || Tasmat22 vā(b)a bhūva bhuvana-ābhuyadā-pragalbha-gāmabhīra 
gauravā-sahō.

9 dāna-dāurya-dhairyāḥ Gaṅgāyadēva iti guptahya yasya bhūpā lajjān jaḥur= 
Dāsimukh-Arjunyāḥ kathābhīḥ || Naman24 niṣpa-sārībhīr vati-pāda-padma

10 From the rubbing.
11 Metro, Vasantatilaka.
12 Metro, Mandākantā.
13 Metro, Śīlaka (Anuāthubh).
14 Originally sound, altered to nama.
15 Metro, Āryā.
17 achikītē-yat, wrongly for achikītēt or acharītēt.
18 Metro, Vasantatilaka.
19 Metro, Upagāni.
20 Metro, Śīlaka (Anuāthubh).
21 Metro, Vasantatilaka; and of the four next verses.—Compare cb. p. 506, verse 7.
22 Metro, Āryā.
23 Metro, Vasantatilaka.
vīrājatūḥ 1 kripāṇa-jala-sahājāta-saṃśāri-jalajairṇaiva 1 Vairaja-vikrama-nīśa dhīsam
mukha-sūri-kuṇamamadā-patraśvamaiḥ 1 bhū-latā viśayā-

10 vāraṇa-sthitās tasya khadga-latikāḥ-karṇa-na kim 1 Samutterārya sēnā yasya
ajñyeva mahābhūrē 1 varṇānīya-gupa-grāmāḥ Karnaṇaḥ sa samabhūtatah 1
Avinukta-pāda-kaṭakaśā prātrūḍa-hāravagūnāthita-viṣṇuśahtmāḥ 1 pura iva
vipinēṇaṇa-sūripā-nāṁbhūṣyasya saṁśātataḥ 1 Nākeśaḥ 1
samchērava

11 meśaṁ phalgu tvayā vaivyate Hūṃ-sāpāna ṛgitaṁ na yuktamīha tē tvām
Gaṇḍa garvan-tyaja 1 meśaṁ Gāṇḍa gahara Karṇaṁ nihriṁ ha vartasa
sēvā-gatāṁ 1 itihaṁ yasya mitta-virāhī-nṛpratīṁ dvāraṁ jhīmīkhi viniyō janaḥ 1
Anyāntaṁ 1 pariṁ vṛddhiṁ yaśasmāvaścana-śrīyaḥ 1 manō-bhūtanīyāṁ yasya
kavīṁ-

12 dvar-īndriyaś-īva 1 Āyāraṇa Yaśahkarṇaṇa Karṇaṇāt Saṃśīra-mahābhūrē 1
Trīkūṭa iva kāpaścā-gupa-ratnākarkrītā 1 Nāma-ratna-dhanumṛgha
yāyaṁ-amṛtma-prāyē 1 va bhājörē sā punarunnaṁ bhūyāṁ ca vairā-
bhūpatiḥ 1 Yaśahbhūrya 1 inādu-visādaṁ karmabhūṣaḥ ca śrīdēnākaraṁ 1
dīsam
prakshāyaṁ ūṣā 1

13 Trīvikrama-vikramaḥ 1 Yathā-yathāṁ sa chaturā-saṃśāra-hāvāṁ cchāhīṁ (chhi)-
tāṁ arthān-upāyaiḥ prathitāṁ nīyāya-vitṛ-pratyapadaya 1 Udapadaya-Śālata-
āmaḥ-sā-samaḥ jhīmā mahārāja-rāpyaṁ sahitāḥ śrīyāṁ sākalaśuddha-maṇḍalaṁ 1
dhāralśūnya (mbu)-
dhērīva tataḥ kalk-nilīhitāṁ sukhayānī (hā) jagnāti Gayakarnya-

14 ra-saṁchāyāḥ api yasya bhūpaṁ 1 parimrijyaṁ rajō sma-vrīśhtibhiḥ parīchāshakā
dāpaḥ jāya-sāyaṁ 1 Vānāyāśaśa vaśa-vikrama-khamā kēvalāṁ sa na chakkra
pratihātaḥ 1 Achyutaiṁ su-charitāṁ na chāchāraṁ karṇaṁ kūṁcchāsā prakshāpa-
taṁ 1 Dvārapaṁ api na tasyāṁ āśe karṇaṁ kāṇḍe kutah kalīṁ 1
kṛitam-śeva sadā-drākṣaṁ kariṣaṁ vidvānaśrīṁ pi yat 1

15 Prāyaṁ 1 vanipāla-bhūna-tilakāḥ śrī-Hamsapāla-bhavat-tasmād bhūbhūriṣaśoṣta
datya-samitīḥ śrī-Vairisīṁhābhūthāḥ 1 yaj-jamna dvishatatā bhayāya
suhriddāṁ-ānanda-śaṃpattyaśē śrīyaś-śrī-suddānaṁ saurya-mahāṁ viśv-śānavyā
dhāvat 1 Vijayasimhaḥ 1 iti kahiṁ ṛtapaṁ tataḥ sa mahārājīṁ vīṣeṣaṁ kālīṁ-
khittibhīrindra-sīrapaṁ prahāta-mattā-mahāṁ-rāpyukunāraḥ 1

16 la 1 Dhrāḥ-ādhi-Ādayatīyata-sūta Śyāmaladāvyā-sahāḥ 1 vallabhā tasya bhūpasya
Satyaśeśaśrī-vibhāvaḥ [hī] 1 Tasyāṁ Alhaṇḍayāṁ iti kanyā-ratnamāṣṭāṁ saṁ
Mēnāyāṁ-Avanībhārī Gaurīṁ-śrīva guṇ-ōjājīvarām 1 Tasyāṁ sa pāpīṇa
paṇīṁ Gayya-

17 karṇa-mahāpatiḥ 1 jagatṛā jagatāṁ sthitayā Sivāya iva Saṁkaraḥ 1 Ajaṇayād
Alhaṇḍayāṁ Gayakarnya-mahāpatisaṁcanaṁ 1 Saṁjñayāṁ Divasa-patir-
Ddāśravā Vũ sarvā-śu[ka]-haranā 1 Narasimhadvāṁ 1 ekām kārke
janakaśaṁcetavāṇām 1 Jayasimhadvāṁ aparame lōko yau Rāma-Lakṣma-
ṇa mēnē 1 Su-kriṣṭaiṁ 1 svarggaması-

28 Metre, Rathdhiṭṭāṭa. 29 The word karṇa-maṇa, "mukk" (karṇa-maṇa) is not found in the dictionary.
30 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh). 31 I am unable to give the exact meaning of vikṣaṇa.
32 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh) ; and of the next verse.
33 It is quite distinct here ; and it is not Kātyāṇa.
34 Or, perhaps, śeṣaṁ gatāṁ. 35 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh) ; and of the next verse.
36 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh) ; and of the next verse.
37 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh) ; and of the next verse.
38 Metre, Mahābhābhpataṁ, 39 Metre, Vātalīya. 40 Metre, Rathdhiṭṭāṭa.
41 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh) ; and of the next verse.
42 Metre, Dvārakāvaṇī. 43 Metre, Śīkaṭa (Anashthubh) ; and of the next two verses.
44 Metre, Upāgiti. 45 Metre, Udiṭg. 46 Metre, Upāgiti.
18 n-arggalam-adhitasthushi Sakra-vaj-janaké \ Narasimhadéva-nripatih paryashkársbhim-
 mahim Gibraltar \ Prásasása \ mahim mah-ajásáim-apy sabhíbhushhnum-N-narasim-
 hadéva-bhúpáñ \ para-lóka-bhaya-nájaltatáayám-bhuvanañ saññadvhad-Achhyut-
 óchchha-rúpañ \ Yasmín 48-chalati dhúllmám pátañais-tapane tathá i
 nihuté=apy-bhiíbhúpánám saññáptáh paryarvdháha II
21 Mahádáin-ády-ádhyáani korvvan-parvváñ-anékañáh I dharmamasya-vávatvihad=déshañ
 Va(bh)ñ=Vishñúrv=év-ódyatáh II Punáhasya jágat-sarvváñ nimáitánta timirá-
 dhuñáha I yat-krtt-áśinañ sûkñë áñkó=apí sûdño-bhuvat \ Sa tatáh sukha-
 sáyyásu rátrá=atrástam-anáññáh I súpán=apy-anísam vári-bhúrayál=abhya-
 yágarñ \ Srisván baháára vidhiva-
20 d-Dánav-áráti-tóshítah \ Mahéändra-vad=dvija-érésañtha-varvga-sat-saññam-agátá II
 Svarónká 45-náth-áttíthitañ prayáte tasmin-nripé áñ-Narasimhadéva \ chitráya
 pushántu satámn hitámi sûmán=mahábhíri-jayásimhadéva \ Yasy 50-órñ-ratma-
 rachit-ámchita-cháru-bhúva-viséma-bhúri-kañakaya sañ-dóññatañ \ bhúmibhíri-
 tám-sadhipaté sura-váhaná II
21 va krtt=prájñánta na kiyánti punáty=anantá \ Yén 52-práchi-viýa-rábhasán-
 nitya-matt-ébha-kumbh-áruññhán-práñtha-práthítá-vasássha sañryá-bhájo-vanindtr
 kurrvánáena trisás-bhuvaná [gá] míndi nir-vivañkáma chakrè chittañ chakita-chakitañ nákñáma náyákasya II Yad 52-vrañc-váriña-vikáñ-vañña dinav-
 vargun=iví valgati nírañña.
22 ram=eva laksñáññI \ yad-bhrú-viháñña-bhava-jañ=cha nar-ádhípañán ráyádhir=ña
 nasyñti van-aúshadhi-sévay=ápi \ Kiyántó 53 n=abhúvan=buñyi bhuvana-sañ-
 bhávita-gúñañ páññántë yáññám krít[bb]í=sadhun=ápi stúthi-patháñ \ aya[n]
 tv=anya=ñoshám=ápi guña-ga=óðáhasñáñaññad=dáñññáhá súðdha-ér=iv
 jayantu Jayásimnáh kshiti=paltí \ Yasya 54
23 pratá=apanañ páññtiv-óndhána éva yat \ tach=chitrañ gåych=cha kumuda-dvésñi
 krttú=súdhákarañ II Mitránán 55-upakára-kárípi sadá san-márgga-samchárípi
 prájñ-ókarañ-vidháripi pragini[náññ]\ tyáq-áka-vañtáriññi barú-óññapí viñáma-
 sañryá-viýa-próñyan-mad-dó[chochá]rípi pritiñ yatá paráñn bibharti bhuv-
 nan[ñí]=[vi]sámbhárá-barháriññII
24 Yañ 56-chalán=dhúl-pátaññái payáññi payáññi nibhéñ I na kétálañ tiródháttë
 tágámy=ápi viháñasññ II Pramáññañ-éva chatvári sén-áñgáya-adhitíshátháññ
 yéná nyáya-praññáma parésháññ [kha]ññyáññi stúthiññ \ Na munícháti kád=
 ápy-asyá jaya-árñí kara-pushñkaram i bibharti ráña-vádyáshu táññjav-ádámn
 (mba) ranam II Shrétvá 57 árñí-Jayásimnáhá
25 va-nripaté karmm-átiyávamápanñ Páñthá-sáva paráir-amuchyañtir nipatih purvar
 yuñyá=rasáñ \ śríñ páchhát=sa-ráññí tátasañcha nagáñ putráñ kalatran=tatás
 tráññá kétálañ adri-gáhvara-gaññ[taí]=nn=ángklítas=stáñjñánté II

E.—Gópalpur Stone-Inscription of Vijayásimhádeva.

This inscription was discovered in 1882 by Dr. F. E. Hall at the village of Gópalpur,
about two miles to the south of Bhéra-Gháñ, where it is said to have been brought from
Karanbil; and it has been previously noticed in the Journal Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 113,
and in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. IX. p. 99, No. xv. In an attempt to remove it, the
stone on which the inscription is broken right through from top to bottom.

The inscription contains 21 lines. The writing covers a space of 4' 5" broad by 1' 9½" high.
The larger portion of it, on the proper left part of the stone, is in a fair state of preservation;

47 Metro, Anapachchhánadaka.
48 Metro, Sóka (Anushthubh); and of the next four verses.
49 Metro, Upájáti.
50 Metro, Vasanatikáká.
51 Metro, Mandikráññatá.
52 Metro, Vasanatikáká.
53 Metro, Sáráñlávirkritá.
54 Metro, Sáráñlávirkritá.
55 Metro, Sáráñlávirkritá.
56 Metro, Sáráñlávirkritá.
57 Metro, Sáráñlávirkritá.
and on the smaller right part the upper five or six and the concluding three or four lines, and generally about eight or ten aksharas at the commencement of each line, are sufficiently well preserved to be made out from a careful impression. The size of the letters is about ½\textsuperscript{2}. The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the śūn namō bhagavatī Yāsadvēryā at the commencement of line 1, and the words śrīrāma-raja-kṛita-rājāvarṇāsmiti in line 16, the inscription is in verse.

The inscription contains no date. Its object is to record (in lines 16–21, in which the names of the private individuals Malhaṇa, Jágaḷa, Harigaṇa and Mahādevi occur), the erection, by a member of the Kaśyapa family, of a temple of Viṣṇu; and by way of introduction it gives an account of the Kalachuri kings, from Karnaḍava, as it appears, to the ruling prince Vijayasiṃhadeva. In this introductory part I notice the following names:—line 6, Sahasrārjuna; line 7, Kalachuri-kula; line 9, Karnaḍava; line 11, śrīrāma-karnaḍava; line 13, śrī-Gayākarnaḍava; at the beginning of line 15, śrī-Narasiṃhadeva; in the second half of the same line, — rāja rāja-vraja-Dharmarāja-tasya-anuṣṭhā śrī-Jayasiṃhadeva; at the beginning of line 16, śrīmad-Gōsaladeva; and in the same line, in the verse following immediately upon the verse which speaks of Gōsaladeva, — jayaḥ tād-aṅga-suvanma śūrah śrī-Vijayasiṃhadeva-ripaṇa. From this I have no doubt whatever that Gōsaladeva is represented here as the wife of Jayasiṃhadeva and mother of Vijayasiṃhadeva, and that she was not (as has been erroneously inferred from the Kumbhā copper-plate inscription\textsuperscript{1}) the wife of Vijayasiṃhadeva.

Since for Vijayasiṃhadeva we have the dates\textsuperscript{2} A.D. 1180 and 1195, the inscription must be referred to about the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

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**MISCELLANEA.**

**CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM,**

**VOL. III.**

Owing to the friendly suggestions of Professor Kielhorn, I am able to notify the following improvements and of some of the records published by me in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III. “the Guptā Inscriptions.”

**Indor Grant of Skandagupta.**

No. 16, Plate ix. B., p. 68 ff. — In line 1, notwithstanding the analogous instance of dyata-stā quoted in note 3, the word śīka-tāna-stā is an impossible word. For the proper interpretation of the text, we must correct stūrāh into stūrah; and take dhyān-aikatā as a nominative plural, the final visarga of which has been omitted before the following initial st, (in accordance with the Vārttika on Pāṇini, viii. 3, 36). The translation will thus be — “May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom we Brāhmaṇas, of enlightened minds, praise according to due rite, having (our) thoughts entirely concentrated in meditation (on him),” &c.

**Mandaśor Pillar Inscription of Yasōdharmā.**

No. 33, Plate xxi. B., p. 142 ff.; and ante, Vol. XV. p. 253 ff. — The verse in line 3 may be better translated thus: — “He in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alakara and Mandhātri, the title of ‘universal sovereign,’ — which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings, of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, (being in their case) like an offering of flowers (placed) in the dust, — shines even more (than it ordinarily does), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold.”

And in the verse in line 6, the force and importanc of the reference to Mihirakula may be much heightened by taking the construction differently and translating thus: — “He (Yasō- dharmā) to whose feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose head had never (previously) been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Śhānu, and embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, (and) whose forehead was pained through being (now for the first time) bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance.”

The verse, thus taken, contains a double and very emphatic statement that Mihirakula had never

\textsuperscript{1} Journal Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 115.

\textsuperscript{2} ante, Vol. XVII. p. 218.
been subdued by any other king, but was conquered by Yaśōdharman; and also an indication that Mihirakula exercised sovereignty in the region of the Himalaya mountains.

Note 4, on p. 145, is to be cancelled.

Mandāsor Inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishnuvardhana.

No. 35, Plate xxi., p. 150 ff.; and ante, Vol. XV. p. 222 ff. — In line 16, for chi[mva?]n, read wi[gha]n: — "Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position, (and) preventing any fear on the part of (his) subjects." The word dhārītrīyam, in line 15, is to be construed with adriṣṭam; not with dadhānāḥ.

Rājim Grant of Tivadaṇa.

No. 81, Plate xlv., p. 291 ff. — In my list of Errata at the end of the volume, I have already stated that in line 1 the reading of the original is stava-bha[†], not addra[†]. And it seems better not to turn jak-tay-tilaka into a separate word by inserting a visarga, but to take it in composition with kahībīrīt-kula-bhavāṇa. The translation will thus be — "Victorious is the illustrious Tivāradāṇa, the auspicious pillar (for the support) of the palace of a king, which is the ornament of the three worlds." &c.

The first thirteen lines of this record presented several points of difficulty, some of which have now been made clear. Thus —

In line 4, pātīta, 'struck down,' which is the reading of the original, must be treated as a mistake for pāṭlite, 'split open; and it qualifies kumbhaka, 'the forehead or frontal globes of the elephants,' not the elephants themselves; in the Vedaśadāṭi, p. 42, jaṛjarita, 'torn open,' occurs in an analogous passage. Also, in line 5, for sad-āśikā, read sadāśikā; — "pears that are besprinkled with the copious streams of blood trickling down from the round heads of the elephants of (his) enemies which are split open by the crushing blows of (his) sharp sword."

In line 8, for kuṇkumapatra-bhāṅgat, read kuṇkumapatra-bhāṅgat[†]; and translate — "who wipes away the collyrium below the eyes of the wives of (his) enemies, and the decorative lines drawn with saffron on (their) tender cheeks."

In line 10, for gda[ka]n-svachokha-prasanna, &c., read gda[ka]n-svachokha[†]n-prasanna, &c.; and construing the six adjectives commencing in this line with the six locatives commencing in line 9, translate — "who, moreover, is worshipped by mankind in (respect of his) penance, performed in a former existence, because it was so severe that the effects of it have not yet been fully expended; who is never satisfied in (the accumulation of) fame; who is reserved in the matter of keeping secrets; who is very keen in (his) faculty of reasoning; who is pure in sight; and who, in (beauty of) form, is decorated with a complacent countenance." Here, the praktaṇaṇa tapas is indicated as akliṣṭhaṇa, 'not yet expended;' kliṣṭhāṇa tapas would be analogous to kliṣṭhāṇa putyam, which expression occurs in the Abhijñānāṣākānta, Act 6.

In line 11, ku-trishna cannot properly be taken as an adjective by itself. We must treat the visarga of aṃujhitaḥ as a mistake, and read aṃujhita-kurūrāṣṇīpi: — "who, though he has not abandoned the desire for (conquering or acquiring) land, is yet exceedingly liberal (in granting lands to gods and Brahmans)."

In line 12, the visarga of aparujhāḥ must be treated as a mistake, and we should read aparujhāna-svabhāva[†], — "who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet of a disposition that is not harsh."

The contrast here is that the king, though, like the god Śiva, he is adorned with bhūti ('majesty,' as applied to the king; 'ashes,' as applied to the god), is yet, differing from Śiva, of a gentle disposition.

In line 13, for dhaṃ-ārjanāṇa sampal-lābha svapar-bhāva, read dhaṃ-ārjanāna sampal-lābha svapa[†]n brāhāṇa na prabhāṇ; and translate — "who is never quite satisfied in accumulating religion, (though such is) not (the case) in respect of the acquisition of wealth; who is insignificant as regards anger (i.e. who shows but little anger), but not as regards majesty." &c.

In line 14, for sa[a]yaḥ, read sa[k]yaḥ; — "who is fond of excellent conversations, (but) is not addicted to dallying with wanton women."

In this inscription, there are still two passages that require further consideration. One is in line 3, where Prof. Kielhorn is of opinion that, for kṣayad-unukha, it might be better to read kṣay[†]d-unukha; the idea being that the goddess of the fortunes of the hostile kings clings to their necks, and that Tivāradāṇa drags her away by her hair from that position. But then the detached ablative would occupy a rather anomalous position with respect to dārakhaṇa, by which it must be governed.

The other passage is in line 11, where I have read svad-[m]-bhāvan[†]n-a-bahula-lapud. Since aṃujhitaḥ is to be corrected into aṃujhita, and taken in composition with kurūrāṣṇī, we require before api, not a locative, but an epithet of which the contrast is provided by the compound following api. Prof. Kielhorn is inclined to read svad-[m]-bhāvan[†]n (or svad-[m]-bhāvan[†]n=apya-a-bahula-paṇḍuṇḍu): — "who, lord or possessor of much property though he is, yet is not much
addicted to gambling;” where the contrast would be furnished by the other meaning of a-bhāhāka-paya, “not possessed of much coin.” Accepting the first correction, but maintaining lapana, “the act of speaking, talking,” I feel more inclined to prefer — “who, lord though he is, yet does not indulge in (too) much (needless) talking.”

Miscellaneous.

P. 138, note 2, on the word bhāmichchhida. For kṛṣhya-yogya bhāḥ &c., read kṛṣh-yogya bhāḥ, “land not fit for cultivation.”

6th March, 1889. J. F. FLEET.

A NEW SYSTEM OF THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

On the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, a valuable paper by Prof. Kielhorn, with Tables for calculation, is given on page 193ff. above. And I hope that hitherafter we shall have a full historical account of it from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Meanwhile, for my present purpose, I have to note that the following three varieties of this cycle are already known:

(1) The true astronomical system, usually called the northern system, but, — since, in early times, it was current in Southern, quite as much as in Northern, India, — more appropriately named by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit the mean-sign system. According to this, the commencement of each saṃvatsara is determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac; and, on the exact analogy of expunged śāhī, on certain occasions a saṃvatsara is expunged, or, more properly, for the purposes of the civil reckoning its name is omitted, though astronomically the period of the saṃvatsara remains extant.

For modern times, an instance of this, coupled with an illustration of (3) below, is furnished by the Gwalior almanac for Śaka-Saṅvat (1868 expired and) 1869 current, and northern Vikrama-Saṅvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current, &c., which, following in this respect the practice of Southern India, gives Vyāya, No. 20, as the name, according to the chādṛa-māna or lunar reckoning, of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886 (Chaitra śukla 1), to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (amānta Phālāguna, or pūrriyamānta Chaitra, kṛṣhna 15); but adds that, according to the bāhka-paya-māna or reckoning of Jupiter, in documents the name of Vilambin, No. 32, is to be used from a certain time on Āśvina kṛṣhna 7, Friday, in the preceding year, corresponding to the 30th October, A.D. 1885, up to a certain time on Āśvina kṛṣhna 14, Tuesday, of the current year, corresponding to the 29th October, A.D. 1886, and, after that time, the name of Vikārin, No. 33.

(2) A development of this system in Northern India, which would best be named the northern luni-solar system. According to this, each saṃvatsara extends over the same period with a Śaka or a northern Vikrama year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra śukla 1; and every eighty-sixth saṃvatsara, or nearly so, is actually expunged or passed over altogether.

An instance of this, coupled with the next system, is furnished by the Śāyana-Paṇīchāng for Śaka-Saṅvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, &c., and northern Vikrama-Saṅvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current; which tells us that the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, is known, on the south side of the Narmadā, by the name of Vyāya, No. 20, and, on the north side of that river, by the name of Vilambin, No. 32.

And the real rule for it must be, that, whatever saṃvatsara is actually current according to the mean-sign system at the commencement of a Śaka year, that saṃvatsara is to be taken as coincident with the whole Śaka year, and with the entire Vikrama year which, at some period still to be determined, came to be made identical in Northern India with the Śaka year.

The time at which this system was developed and brought into use, remains to be determined. When it can be fixed, we shall probably find that the system started with a year in which two at least of the following conditions occurred on one and the same day; viz. the ending of Chaitra śukla 1, as the beginning of the civil luni-solar year; the Mēṣa-Saṅkrānti, as the beginning of the solar year; and the commencement of a saṃvatsara by the mean-sign system.

(3) The so-called southern system, which would best be named the southern luni-solar system, and which must be the South-Indian development of the original mean-sign system. According to this, each saṃvatsara extends over the same period with a Śaka year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra śukla 1; and the saṃvatsārās run on in regular unbroken succession, without any expunctions.

An instance of this, in addition to that noted under (2) above, is furnished by the Śāyana-Paṇīchāngam for Śaka-Saṅvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and the Teliya Calendar for Śaka-Saṅvat 1809 current, &c., which gives Vyāya,

**Notes:**

No. 20, as the name of the same luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

The exact time at which this system was developed and introduced remains to be determined. But apparently we have to look for it between A.D. 804 and 866. And the invention of the system was probably due to a similar coincidence of occurrences with that suggested under (2) above.

In addition to these, there would appear to be another system, which is really fitted to the Śaka years, but curiously enough is mentioned only in connection with the southern Vikrama years; and which might, therefore, for convenience in distinction, be named the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, provided it is borne in mind that the saṅvatsaras do not coincide with the southern Vikrama years. This system does not seem to have been previously noticed; and my attention has been drawn to it by a further examination of Gaṇpati Kṛishṇaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs.

Their almanacs for Śaka-Saṅvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat (1482-93 expired and) 1493-94 current, give Vyaya, No. 20, as the name of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as equivalent to the Śaka year; following, in this respect, system (3) above, the standard system of Southern India. But they treat the Vikrama year differently. Thus, southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1943 current commenced, in the preceding Śaka year, on the 7th November, A.D. 1886 (Kārttikeya śukla 1); and ended, in the current Śaka year, on the 27th October, A.D. 1886 (amānta Āśvinī kṛishṇa 15); and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1944 current commenced, in the current Śaka year, on the 28th October, A.D. 1886, and ended, in the following Śaka year, on the 16th October, A.D. 1887. On the title-page of Gaṇpati Kṛishṇaji's almanac, we have simply "in Śaka 1808 (expired), in the saṅvatsara named Vyaya." But, on the title-page of K. L. Chhatre's almanac, we have "in Śaka 1808 (expired), in the saṅvatsara named Vyaya, (is) the (Vikrama) year 1442 (expired) and 1443 (expired), in the saṅvatsara named Hēmalamba; A.D. 1886 and 1887." In the saṅvatsara-phaḷa we have, in both almanacs, "in the year 1943 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka, (and) in the Hēmalamba saṅvatsara; so also in the Śaka (year) 1508 (expired) of the glorious king Śālivīkrama, (and) in the Vyaya saṅvatsara; in this year, the king (is) the Moon." And in the saṅvatsara-phaḷa we learn that the Makara-Saṅkrānti, as the commencement of the uttaradya or period during which the sun is moving from south to north, should take place, according to Gaṇpati Kṛishṇaji's almanac, at 35 gahaṭṭas, 44 palās, after sunrise on Pauṣa kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, and, according to K. L. Chhatre's almanac, at 47 gahaṭṭas, 20 palās, after sunrise on Pauṣa śukla 13, corresponding to the 8th January, A.D. 1887, "in the year 1943 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka, (and) in the Hēmalamba saṅvatsara; and also in the Śaka (year) 1508 (expired) of the glorious king Śālivīkrama, (and) in the Vyaya saṅvatsara." Here we find that in each instance the name of Vyaya, No. 20, is coupled with the Śaka year, but the name of Hēmalamba, No. 31, is coupled, in the saṅvatsara-phaḷa with southern Vikrama-Saṅvat (1482 expired and) 1493 current, and in the saṅvatsara-phaḷa with (1943 expired and) 1944 current. And the names of the saṅvatsaras are given in precisely the same way, and in unbroken succession, in the preceding almanacs, back to that for Śaka-Saṅvat (1799 expired and) 1800 current and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat (1933-34 expired and) 1934-35 current. The accompanying Table, arranged for current Śaka and Vikrama years, shews how the saṅvatsaras run, for these ten years, according to the two southern systems followed in these almanacs, and according to the northern luni-solar system. And it will be seen that, by this southern Vikrama luni-solar system, the saṅvatsaras come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system.

Now, that the saṅvatsaras connected in these almanacs with the southern Vikrama years, are not solar periods, commencing either with the Makara-Saṅkrānti as the commencement of the uttaradya, or with the Tula-Saṅkrānti or autumnal equinox, as the commencement of the solar month Kārttikeya and the astronomical commencement of the southern Vikrama year as a solar year (if such a year was ever required), nor luni-solar periods commencing with Kārttikeya śukla 1 as the civil commencement of the southern Vikrama year, can easily be shewn. Taking Gaṇpati Kṛishṇaji's details,—(in Śaka-Saṅvat 1809 and) southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1944, both current, the Makara-Saṅkrānti occurred on Pauṣa kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, for which day the saṅvatsara is specified as Hēmalamba, No. 31; the Tula-Saṅkrānti occurred on Āśvinī kṛishṇa 2, corresponding to the 15th October, A.D. 1886; and Kārttikeya śukla 1 ended on

* See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

1 See the results for Dates Nos. 9 and 10, ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.
Luni-solar Sañvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle, with current Saka and Vikrama years.

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<th>A.D.</th>
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<th>Southern Vikrama Luni-solar System</th>
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<td>Vikrama</td>
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<td>1800</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Viródhin, 23</td>
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<td>1878-79</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Vikriti, 24</td>
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<td>1881-82</td>
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<td>1882-83</td>
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<td>1885-86</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>Hémalamba, 31</td>
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<td>1886-87</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Vilambin, 32</td>
<td>1809</td>
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the 28th October, A.D. 1886. And in the preceding year, the Makara-Saṅkrānti occurred on Pauha śūkla 7, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1886, for which day the saṅvatsara is specified as Durmukha, No. 30; the Tula-Saṅkrānti occurred on Āsvina śūkla 7, corresponding to the 16th October, A.D. 1885; and Kārttika śūkla 1 ended on the 7th November, A.D. 1885. If Durmukha, No. 30, extended either from the 15th October, A.D. 1885, to the 14th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 7th November, A.D. 1885, to the 27th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 12th January, A.D. 1886, to the 11th January, A.D. 1887, then it, and not Hāmalamba-No. 31, would have to be quoted as the saṅvatsara current on the day, viz. Chaitra śūkla 1, corresponding to the 5th April, A.D. 1886, when “the king was the Moon.”

Since Hāmalamba, No. 31, was current on Chaitra śūkla 1 (5th April, A.D. 1886), and Durmukha, No. 30, was current on the preceding Pauha śūkla 7 (12th January, A.D. 1886), and since between these two dates there is no occurrence that could suitably be selected for the commencement of a saṅvatsara, — for the reason that the Mēsa-Saṅkrānti or vernal equinox did not occur till Chaitra śūkla 8 (12th April, A.D. 1886), — it is evident that Chaitra śūkla 1 was the actual commencement of Hāmalamba. Accordingly, it is plain that the saṅvatsaras of this system, though quoted with the southern Vikrama years, are really fitted to the Śaka years. And Hāmalamba, No. 31, was therefore coincident with Śaka-Saṅvat 1890 current, and extended from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887; and it included the last seven lunar months, from the 5th April to the 27th October A.D. 1886 (Chaitra śūkla 1 to Āsvina krishna 15), of southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1948 current, and the first five lunar months from the 28th October, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (Kārttika śūkla 1 to Phālguṇa krishna 15), of southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1944 current; and so with the preceding saṅvatsaras given in the Table.

The period to which this system can be carried back, its origin, and the reason for which its saṅvatsaras come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system, remain to be determined. It can hardly be connected with the divergence in the Vikrama reckoning, unless a current Vikrama year was deliberately turned, in Northern India, at some time or another, into an expired year.

But of course the fact of its real existence remains to be established. And I take this opportunity of bringing the matter forward, as one that calls for inquiry, because the almanacs in question apparently do indicate the existence of such a system, at least now; and because I find that its existence in former times would explain some dates, for which correct results seemingly cannot otherwise be obtained.

J. F. Fleet.

**ONOMATOPEIA IN HINDUSTANI.**

Onomatopoeic expressions in Hindustani are very common; here are a few which may be of interest.

1. **Bīlī ghar-gharāli hai:** māmā kārtī hai,
   The cat purrs: mews.

2. **Bhārā mamīdi hai.**
   The sheep bleats.

3. **Gāt hunkārtī hai.**
   The cow lowa.

4. **Ghōrdi hīhīnātī hai.**
   The horse neighs.

5. **Gadhā rākgātī hai.**
   The ass brays.

6. **Chukh chhā-chhā kārtī hai.**
   The rat squeaks.

7. **Ṣūr hākkātī hai.**
   The hog grunts.

8. **Ṣhōr babar gūnōtī hai.**
   The lion roars.

9. **Blākh gharūrtī hai.**
   The bear growls.

10. **Kūlā bhaukḥētā hai.**
    The dog barks.

11. **Hādā chhūghchhārtī hai.**
    The elephant trumpets.

12. **Bālī dāktātī hai.**
    The bull bellowa.

13. **Ṣāmp phuṅkārtī hai.**
    The snake hisses.

14. **Mēndāk tūm-tūm kārtī hai.**
    The frog croaks.

15. **Gīḍār bhaukktā hai.**
    The jackal howls.

16. **Murghā baṅgā dēltā hai.**
    The cock crows.

17. **Murgēt karkarārtī hai.**
    The hen cackles.

18. **Uṭā hā-hē kārtī hai.**
    The owl hoots.

19. **Chiriḍ chū-chū kārtī hai.**
    The sparrow chirps.

20. **Shahād-mākhtī hīhīnāttī hai.**
    The bee hums.

21. **Kawrd kēdi-kēdi kārtī hai.**
    The crow caws.

22. **Koīlē chipākhtē hai.**
    The coals crackle.

Ambālā. J. G. Delmerick.
THE COINS AND HISTORY OF TORAMANA.

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

WHEN I wrote my paper on the Legends on the Silver Coins of the Early Guptas and others connected with them, ante, Vol. XIV. page 65 ff., I had not had an opportunity of inspecting the coins of Tóramáña. Later in the same year, I examined the only two certain specimens of his coinage, both of them silver, which, I believe, are known to exist, and which are in the British Museum; one of them being known as Colonel Bush’s coin, and the other as Miss Baring’s. And I have included some remarks on them in my Introduction to “the Gupta Inscriptions,” Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 11 f. I take this opportunity of considering them more fully, and of making some further observations.

Of both of these coins very good collotypes have been published in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. Plate vii., facing p. 36, Nos. 27 (Colonel Bush’s coin) and 28 (Miss Baring’s); with an account of them, on p. 66, by Mr. Thomas. And they have also been photographically, but not so successfully, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. Plate v., Nos. 18, 19, with a notice by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham on p. 26 f. But, in the treatment of them by these two scholars, there are two points to which objection has to be taken. One is Mr. Thomas’ interpretation of the date, as being “82, or rather 182; the figure for 100 is obliterated.” The other is that both he and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham made the legend include and commence with the epithet déva-janita, which, being interpreted as meaning “begotten by the gods,” might be held to be justified by, and to be closely connected with, the titles Dévaputra and Daivaputra, “son of the gods, or of the deities;” the former of which, — unless it is only an imperfect rendering of the latter,— is applied to Huvishka in his inscriptions of the years 39 and 47, and to Váṣudēva in his inscription of the year 44 (?) ; and the latter of which, in connection with the names Śákhi and Śhāhānushāhī, occurs in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Sānudragupta.

In passing, it may be noted that the same epithet déva-janita, rendered by “begotten of Déva (or, of the Dévas),” is also given by Mr. V. A. Smith in his proposed restoration of the legend on certain gold coins of Kumāragupta (Jour. R. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. XXI. p. 100). I have not been able to trace his authority for this, or to examine the coins in question. But it may be taken as quite certain that there also the epithet does not really occur; and that the error is of precisely the same nature as in the case of Tóramáña’s coins. And the same mistake has also been made in the case of certain silver coins of Kumāragupta, Skandagupta, Bhimaśeṇa, and Iśanavarman; on which Gen. Sir A. Cunningham read the same epithet, and rendered it by “His Majesty” (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 24, 25, 26, 27.)¹

Of the two examples of Tóramáña’s coinage, Colonel Bush’s coin is by far the best specimen, both in execution and in preservation. On the obverse, there is the king’s head, facing to the proper right. And in front of the face there is the date 52, in numerical symbols which run right onto the edge of the coin. The symbol for 2 is below the symbol for 50. Above the latter there is ample room for part of the symbol for 100, or for any following century, if it had been included on the die; but there are not any indications of this having been the case; there are no grounds for supposing that the symbol for any century was stamped, but has become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and I am quite sure that the date never included such a symbol. On the reverse there is the more finished representation of the peacock, very well depicted with outstretched wings and fully-expanded tail, and almost identical with the peacock on the Early Gupta silver coins of Class B., as distinguished by me from the rude representation on the coins of Class A., ante, Vol. XIV. p. 65. And round this, in characters of the same type with those of Tóramáña’s inscription on the boar at Érap, (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 36, p. 158, and Plate xxiii. A.), there is the marginal legend—

¹ See ante, Vol. XIV. p. 66, note 6.—I have not seen Bhimaśeṇa’s coin. But there is no doubt whatever about the mistake and its origin.
Vījīt-āvanir-avanti-pati-śri-Tōramāṇa dēvō jayati; — "victorious is his majesty, the lord of
the earth, the glorious Tōramāṇa, who has conquered the earth."

Here the legend again, as well as following the same wording, agrees with the legends on
the Early Gupta coins of Class B in respect of the point that the superscript vowels were
properly engraved on the die; but they have mostly fallen beyond the edge of the coin, or
otherwise have been rubbed and obliterated; and the $i_s$ is the only one that is at all fully
recognisable. The legend commences a little to the proper left above the peacock’s head. And
it is the last two words, dēvō jayati, which were wrongly taken by Mr. Thomas and Gen.
Sir A. Cunningham, to be the commencement of it, and to be the epithet dēva-janita. That this
was a mistake, even the collotype is really clear enough to shew.

**Miss Baring’s coin** is exactly similar in all essential points, on both the obverse and
reverse; but it was struck from another die; and it is not so good a specimen, either in execu-
tion or in preservation. Here, again, on the obverse there is the same date of 52; and again
without any indication of any third symbol. And on the reverse there are parts of the same
legend; but only the syllables śri-Tōramāṇa are distinctly legible.

In my previous remarks on Tōramāṇa’s coins, referred to above, I would not then give a
final opinion as to the **exact value of the first symbol of the date**; “since, though probably
a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of hori-
zontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin.” But I do not now
entertain any doubt about the propriety of reading it as 50; as it was read by Gen. Sir A.
Cunningham. The symbol for 2 stands in a perfectly normal position. In order to interpret
the other symbol as 80, we must read it at right angles to the direction in which the 2 lies on
the coin; and this is an irregularity for which no analogous instance, as far as I know, can be
quoted, and which is probably not in any way justifiable. The symbol is given in Dr. Bhag-
wanlal Indraji’s Table, *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 45, cols. 6 to 9; but is shewn there only for later times,
and not for the Gupta and Valabhi periods, during the latter of which, in the Valabhi grants,
a radically different symbol was used. But its existence can be traced to a very early period;
for it occurs in the Sahasrām rock edict of Dēvānāmpiya of the year 256 (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*,
Vol. I, p. 94; and *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 155), in which its value is explained in the passage in
words. And its continued preservation and use are shown by its employment in the Nēpāl
inscription of Jayadēva II., of Harsha-Saṅhvat 153 (*ante*, Vol. IX, p. 178), and in the Dīghw-Dubaulī
grant of Mahānārapala, of Harsha-Saṅhvat 155 (*ante*, Vol. XV, p. 112). It remains,
therefore, accepting the value of this symbol as 50, and reading the whole date as (the year)
52, to see what the **application of the date** may be.

From the Gwālīor inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 37, p. 161), we have learned
(*ante*, Vol. XV, p. 245) that Tōramāṇa was the father of the great king Mihirakula, who
accomplished the final extinction of the Early Gupta sovereignty, so far as we are concerned,
with the line ending with Skandagupta, and with the supremacy of the Guptas over the
whole of Northern India. As is shewn by, amongst other things, their names, both of
which plainly indicate a non-Hindu origin, and by the use of the title Shāhī on Mihirakula’s copper coins and in a recently discovered inscription of Tōramāṇa himself; — the
two persons, father and son, belonged by birth either to the same **foreign race** to which
belonged Kanishka, Huviṣka, and Vasudēva, and the members of which, whether best and most
properly known by the name of Indo-Scythians, Sakas, Hūnas, or Turushkas, had established
themselves in the Pañjāb in the first century A.D.; or else to one or other of the foreign tribes
which succeeded Kanishka’s dynasty in the Pañjāb, and, as can be proved even from their coins,
continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, and the members of which
adopted in several respects the characteristics and attributes of Kanishka’s dynasty.² As we learn
from Hiuen Tsang, **Mihirakula’s capital was Sakala in the Pañjāb**, which is the modern

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² I refer to the coins on some of which a paper by Mr. Thomas, entitled “Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi
Legends,” has been published in this Journal, Vol. XII, p. 6 ff.
Sāngalawâlâtibhâ — the ‘Sangla Hill, G. T. S., of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30, Lat. 31° 42' N., Long. 73° 26' E., — in the ‘Jhang’ District, and on the borders of ‘Gujránwâlâ,’ about forty-four miles west by north of Lâhûr. And Tòramâna has recently been connected with the same part of the country, through Mr. M. F. O’Dwyer’s discovery, 8 at ‘Kura’ in the Salt Range, of an inscription of the Shâhi or Shâha Tòramâna, whom I hold to be undoubtedly the Tòramâna whose coins I am discussing. Mihirakula’s date is now known sufficiently closely; for, as I have shewn on a previous occasion (ante, Vol. XV. p. 252), his fifteenth year, recorded in his Gwâliôr inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date for Yaśôdharmarova, who overthrew him in Western and Central India; and we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career.

This fixes Tòramâna’s date, approximately. But it is also determined, and for just the same period, by independent considerations. The Èraç pillar inscription, dated in the reign of Budhâgupta (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 19, p. 88), records the erection of the column by the Mahârâja Mâtrivishhû and his younger brother Dhanyavishhû, and thus shows that at that time both of these persons were alive. On the other hand, the Èraç boar inscription, referred to above, dated in the first year of the reign of Tòramâna, records that the temple, in the portico of which the boar stands, was built by the same Dhanyavishhû, after, as it is distinctly stated, the decease of his elder brother, the Mahârâja Mâtrivishhû. These two records accordingly show that Tòramâna came, in Eastern Mâlva, after Budhâgupta, and within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers Mâtrivishhû and Dhanyavishhû belonged. For Budhâgupta we have the date of A.D. 484, from the pillar inscription; and from his coins (ante, Vol. XIV. p. 67 f.), the date of A.D. 494-95, and possibly a somewhat later date, corresponding to Gupta-Sainvat 180 (A.D. 499-500), with or without a numeral in the units place. The next native king after Budhâgupta, in the same part of the country, was, as far as our present information goes, Bhânugupta; for whom we have the date of A.D. 510, from the Èraç pillar inscription of Gôparâja (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 20, p. 91). And further, we have the grants of the Parîvrajaka Mahârâjas Hastin and Saûkshobha (id. Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, pp. 93, 100, 106, 112), dated in A.D. 475, 482, 511, and 528; which, though they do not give the names of the paramount sovereigns, distinctly record that the dominion of the Gupta kings was then still continuing. These various records and dates, taken together, show that in the period there was an interruption of the Gupta sovereignty by foreign invaders, led by Tòramâna and Mihirakula. But they shew also that, in Mâlva at least, this interruption did not last for any great time; and that the first year of Tòramâna, mentioned in the Èraç boar inscription, must fall either between A.D. 494 and 510, or between A.D. 510 and about 515, when he may be supposed to have died and to have been succeeded by Mihirakula. Under any circumstances, taking even the latest date of A.D. 553-34, when Mihirakula in his turn had been overthrown by Yaśôdharmarova, the whole period of the tenancy of Mâlva by these foreign invaders did not amount to more than forty years. And, accordingly, the year 52 on Tòramâna’s coins cannot have a local application, and cannot be reckoned from his conquest of Mâlva.

Others of the records throw still more light on the history of the period. The Mandasîr inscription of Mâlava-Saînvat 529 expired (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. No. 18, p. 79) shews that Kumâragupta’s rule included Western Mâlva in A.D. 436; but that, between then and A.D. 473, that part of the country passed under the power of other kings, and the Early Gupta sway there ceased, at least temporarily. Other specific references to a serious interruption of the Early Gupta sovereignty at that time, and to the enemies by whom it was effected, are to be found in the Bhitarla pillar inscription (id. No. 13, p. 52) of Kumâragupta’s

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8 Notified in the Academy, 12th January, 1889, p. 29. I have seen an impression of this inscription, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, who has it in hand for publication elsewhere. It is dated; but unfortunately the passage is much damaged, and, as an estampage may make the passage somewhat clearer hereafter, it is useless to speculate on the possible readings of the date here; and I will only point out that, if it is dated in an era, that era must of necessity be the Saka era, though probably not mentioned by that name. For present purposes, it is sufficient to state that, on paleographical grounds, the inscription may undoubtedly be referred to the time of Tòramâna, the father of Mihirakula.
son and successor Skandagupta, who "conquered the Pushyamitras," and "joined in close
conflict with the Hūnas," and, "after his father's death, established again the ruined fortunes
of his family." It seems likely that the Pushyamitras are to be placed in Central India,
somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmadā;* and possibly it was by them that
Kumāragupta's power in Mālwa was overthrown. But the Hūnas belonged to the extreme
north-west of India; and, however far they may have been successful in isolated attacks
on the northern frontier of the Gupta kingdom, they had not then broken through the
Gupta territory and invaded the more southern parts of it. In the first place, the Junāgdh
rock inscription of Skandagupta (id. No. 14, p. 56), and his Kahām pillar inscription (id.
No. 15, p. 65), show that, during the period A.D. 455 to 466, he held the supremacy right across
the lower part of Northern India, from Kāthiāvād to the confines of Nēpāl. And in the second
place, the Valabhi records shew pretty closely the period when the passage of the Hūnas to the
south did take place. From them we learn (e.g., id. No. 38, p. 167) that the Sāmpati Bhāṭārka,
the founder of the Valabhi family, "was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles
fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by
force bowed down their enemies;" i.e., that he fought successfully, in Kāthiāvād or on its
frontier, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the
Hūnas, to which Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged. For Bhāṭārka's third son, the Mahārāja
Dhruvaśena I., we have the date of A.D. 526 (Gupta-Valabhi-Saṅvat 207, the month Kārttika;
ante, Vol. V. p. 296), — the earliest recorded date of the family. Between them there intervened
the two elder brothers of Dhruvaśena I., the Sāmpati Dharasena I., and the Mahārāja
Dṛḍhasimha. And Bhāṭārka is thus to be placed, roughly, in the period A.D. 490 to 500;
just synchronously with the latest date for Budhagupta in Mālwa. As we have seen, just after
Budhagupta we find Tōramāṇa established as king of Eastern Mālwa. And the reference to the
Maitrakas in connection with Bhāṭārka, who evidently prevented an invasion of Kāthiāvād
by them, shews precisely the period when his troops were marching to the south." Skandagupta,
the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta kings, had commenced to reign in or about A.D. 450;
and doubtless it was his death that enabled the Hūnas, who had already proved troublesome enemies enough, to assume an aggressive attitude again, under Tōramāṇa;
and on this occasion with such success as to penetrate even to Central India, and to hold good
their position there, till Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśodharman in the west and by
Bālōdītya in the direction of Magadhā.

We have seen that the date 52, on Tōramāṇa's coins, can have no local application,
reckoning from his conquest of Mālwa. Nor can it be reckoned from the Gupta epoch; for its
equivalent would then be A.D. 371-72, almost a century and a quarter too early. Even if, for
the sake of argument, we admit that the system of "omitted hundreds" was used anywhere in
India before the invention and application of the Lōkakāla reckoning in considerably later
times, and so, while reading the date as 52, we interpret it as 152, and refer it to the Gupta
epoch with the result of A.D. 471-72, it would still be twenty-five years too soon; to say
nothing of the improbability of Tōramāṇa consenting to use the Gupta era. Thus, no explana-
tion of the date can be found by any of these applications of it. Further, the omission of the
name of Tōramāṇa's father in the Īrāṇ boar inscription, contrasted with the fact that his own
name, as that of the father of Mihirakula, is given in the Gwālior inscription dated in Mihira-
kula's reign, indicates plainly, if interpreted on the analogy of other epigraphical records drafted
by Hindus, that Tōramāṇa was the first of his tribe or clan to establish himself in Mālwa.
And in this connection, a comparison of the details of the two Īrāṇ records with which we are
concerned, is instructive. The pillar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Viṣṇu as the
four-armed god. Then follows the date. — "in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and
while Budhagupta (is) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month
Āṣāḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5; and while

* See the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 21a, note.
Surasāṁchandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (the country that lies) between the (rivers) Kālindī and Narmadā, (and) is enjoying in the world the glory of (being) a Mahārāja." And so far, with the exception of the words saṁ 100 60 5, the record is in verse, with an irregularity in the first pāda of each of the first two stanzas. Then, in prose, commencing with the words "on this (lunar) day, (equispaced) as above by the year and month and day," there comes the description of the brothers Mātrīvishṇu and Dhannya-vishṇu, with their ancestry for three generations; and the statement that they conjointly set up the column, as a flag-staff of the god Janārādana. And the record ends with the benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇs!" The boar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu in the form of the Boar. Then follows the date, — "in the first year; while the Mahārājādhīrāja, the glorious Tōrāmaṇa, of great fame (and) of great lustre, is governing the earth; on the tenth day of (the month) Phālduna; on this (lunar day), (equispaced) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (and) invested as above with its own characteristics." And, in a very similar fashion to the irregularity in the metre in the opening verses of the pillar inscription, the first half of the passage containing the date, lying between two verses in the Áryā metre, commences in the same metre, and was evidently intended to be completed as a verse; but it winds up in prose, probably because the composer found it difficult to adapt the paramount title, mahārājādhīrāja, to the metre. The rest of the record is in prose; and except for the differences due to the necessity of here describing Mātrīvishṇu as deceased, and to the fact that the object of this record was a stone temple of the god Nāraṇa (Vishṇu) in the form of the Boar, it is word for word identical with the corresponding portion of the pillar inscription. And it ends with the same benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇs!" The analogous shortcomings in the metrical portions, suggest that the two records were composed by one and the same person, — a man not quite perfect in the art of versification. But at least it is plain that all the formal part of each was taken from the same standard draft. And from either point of view, the contrast between the manner in which the year of the Gupta era, and no regnal year, is used in the pillar inscription, and the manner in which the boar inscription is dated, not in any year of an era, but only in the first regnal year (rājya-varaṇa), shews emphatically that this latter record was composed and engraved during the very first year of Tōrāmaṇa's possession of that part of the country.

But, coming down, as Tōrāmaṇa did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that he could establish himself, as the first of a new, hostile, and foreign dynasty, in the most southern part of the Gupta territory, in absolutely the first year of his reign. Such a journey and such a conquest can only have been the work of much time, facilitated by power accumulated during several years of sovereignty elsewhere. And such sovereignty elsewhere, in his own part of the country, is proved partly by the use, on his coins, of the year 53, which, as we have now seen, cannot possibly denote the duration of his reign in Mālwa, and must be reckoned from some initial year considerably anterior to the date of his appearing in that part of the country; and partly, and even still more plainly, by the 'Kuru' inscription referred to above. In that record, indeed, he has the title of Mahārāja; which, interpreted in accordance with the purely Hindu custom of the period, would indicate only feudal rank. But before it there stands another title, now partly effaced, which was either Rājādhīrāja or Rājadhirāja. And the two together are precisely the two titles which the Indo-Scythians, differing from the Hindu custom, and in spite of the fact that many of their records must have been drafted by Hindus, used to indicate paramount sovereignty.6

It is plain, therefore, that Tōrāmaṇa did exercise sovereign sway in the Patājāb; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mālwa. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a regnal year, it

certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it. And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Taramāja's accession, at which his own branch of the Hāpas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Saka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he sought to establish a new era, dating from that event. This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Pañjab, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460.

SAN SKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 181.—MULTAI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NANDARAJA.—SAKA-SAMVAT 631.

This inscription was first brought to notice and published, with a lithograph, by Mr. James Prinsep, in 1837, in the Jour. Bong. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 869 ff., and Plate xlv., from the original plates, which were sent in to him by Mr. Mannaton Ommanney, C.S., who had them from Kamal Bhārī, a Gōsain, resident at Multāl,1 the chief town of the Multāl Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bātāl District, Central Provinces. Owing to certain inaccuracies in the passage containing the date, Mr. Prinsep was not able to determine the exact period of this record; but had to leave this point uncertain, "wavering between 630 and 830" of the Saka era. This question has remained unsettled up to the present time. And, in fact, owing to the omission of a syllable in the published lithograph, it could not be finally decided without a re-examination of the original. I am, therefore, glad to be able now to re-edit this inscription from the original plates, which were recently re-discovered, and have been sent to me, by Colonel J. A. Temple, Deputy Commissioner, who obtained them from Suphal Bhārī. From Colonel Temple's memorandum it appears that this line of Gōsains, the members of which are celibate, and the succession in which passes from teacher to disciple, inhabit a matha or religious college on the banks of a small tank at Multāl, in which there are the springs that are considered to be the source of the Tāpi or Taptī. The tradition is that the first settlement here was made in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., by one Tāpi Bhārī, who threw up an earthen dam, enclosing the springs in question, and built the present matha. By the records of the matha, Suphal Bhārī, who is the immediate successor of Kamal Bhārī and the present representative of the line of Gōsains, is the tenth in succession after Tāpi Bhārī; and he holds, rent-free, the village of Khaḍa-Āmlā. The matha claims to have possessed, under the Gōḍ dynasty and the Marāṭhās, also the villages of Bārchi, Bhawārī, Dātārī, Dhārī, Jāṅwādī, Jāṅwādī, Pīšālī, Rājgaum, and Tāwīl, which were resumed by the Government in or about 1815, when Kamal Bhārī and a number of other Gōsains refused to accept the introduction of the British rule, and attacked the British forces. And the present grant is supposed to be the title-deed of Khaḍa-Āmlā and the other nine villages; and it came to notice through being produced before Mr. Ommanney in the course of an inquiry into rent-free tenures. It does not, however, contain any name answering to any of the above. And Mr. Ommanney, who read the names, except that of Arjuna Grāmāna, with sufficient correctness for the purpose, reported that neither of the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multāl District, nor could he discover any at all like them at Hōshaṅgābād or Jabalpur. It is, therefore, not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long.

1 The 'Multāl, Moolīye, Moolīye, Multāl, and Multāl,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 21° 46' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.
2 The 'Baiṭool, Baiṭul, and Baiṭīl,' of maps, &c.
a time. All that can be said on this point is, that the characters shew that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces.

The plates, of which the first is engraved on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring about 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 3\(\frac{3}{8}\)". The edges of them were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with small depressions running round inside the rims thus formed. The writing on the first and third plates is in a state of almost perfect preservation. That on the second plate, on both sides, has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the only word that is at all doubtful, is kētuḥ, in line 10; all the rest can be read on the original plate without any uncertainty. — The ring on which the plates were strang, and the holes for which are in the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the other two, is about \(\frac{3}{4}\)" thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)". It had been cut when the grant came into my hands; and it probably was thus cut for the purposes of the lithograph issued with Mr. Prinsep's paper. The seal on it is not a separate arrangement, attached to the ring by soldering, or by socketing the ends of the ring in it; but is part of the ring itself, the copper wire having been here beaten out into a surface, following the curve of the ring, about \(\frac{1}{4}\)" thick, and roughly oval in shape, measuring about 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" by 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)". In the upper part of the seal there is engraved in outline a figure which undoubtedly seems to be meant for Garuḍa,\(^3\) depicted with a man's legs, extended as if running, with expanded wings, and with the head and beak of a bird, facing to the proper right; and below this there is the legend āṅī-yauddharāṇa, which quotes what is given in line 14-15 of the record itself as a second name or biruda of Nandarāja. — The weight of the three plates is 2 lbs. 9 oz., and of the ring and seal, 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz. — The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of the transitional type from which the northern Nagari was shortly afterwards developed. The following palaeographical points call for notice. (1) In the jŌ of jātas, line 8, and in the jād of ajñāna, line 24, the ē is an upward stroke attached to the middle of the j; and it is written in the same way, as a component of ē, in tējā, line 4; but in rājā, line 3, the same component of ē is formed by a downward stroke attached to the top of the j. (2) In the bhi of rajābhīs, line 27, the form of the vowel differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the inscription; compare, for instance, kētuḥ, line 3. Owing to a fault in the copper, it is formed in rather a slanting and cramped manner; but it is evidently intended for the older circular superscript ē. The consonant itself is not very well formed here; but it is evidently the bhi that is used throughout the rest of the record. (3) In the pā of pārebāśa, line 20, and pārebām, line 22, the ē differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the record, and which is very clearly illustrated in bhūmī, line 27. (4) In the bē of kētuḥ, line 10, and in the dē of anumādēsa, line 25, the ē, unless it is omitted altogether, is formed quite exceptionally, by being attached, according to the older method, to the top of the consonant, instead of being superscript, as, for instance, in āṇavā, line 2. (5) In the yā of pipparikāyā, line 20, the y has a totally different form from that which is used throughout the rest of the record. It is not altogether well shaped; but it is evidently intended for the well-known older y. For an analogous difference in Central India, in respect of the same letter, see Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III, No. 23, p. 106; where, however, the exceptional form is the later one, which in the present record is the standard form. And (6) the ē used in ēka, line 29, is perceptibly of a squarer and more antique shape than that used otherwise throughout, for a clear instance of which see ēkara, line 1. The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{4}\)". The engraving is good and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through at all, even on the reverse side of the first plate. The engraver's work was done steadily and smoothly; and it is only in the interiors of a few of the letters that any marks of the working of the tool can be detected. — The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words, Oṁ and Soasati, and for some words in lines 5-6 which will be the subject of comment further on, the first twelve lines of the record are in verse. And two of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 26 to 29. — In

\(^3\) The epithet paramahāyogena, which is applied to Nandarāja-Yuddhārāṇa in line 14 of the record itself, indicates that he was a Vaishnava.
respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, in cadvāir, line 22; (2) the use of u for i in vrahāmya, line 14; though the proper sign for b itself is used in babu, line 9, and in baṃdhūr, line 26, and probably also in samāma-bādhyayati, line 16, where, however, the letter is much damaged; (3) the doubling of m before y, in rammyā, line 2; and (4) the doubling of t before r, in mādi-pōtirā, line 17, and in sāgōttiprāya, line 18; though not in mitra in the same line, and in other words.

The inscription is one of a Bāshtrakūṭa chieftain named Nandapatra, and otherwise called Yuddhāśura, whose subordinate feudatory rank is indicated by the absence of any of the paramount or even ordinary regal titles in the description of him and his ancestors, and by the fact that his official, under whose direction the charter was written, was only a Śākāhivirti-grahika, — not a Mahāśāhivirti-grahika. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, to a Brāhmaṇa, of the village of Jalākūra, bounded on the east, south, west, and north, by the villages of Kihi-hiśṭāra, Pippārīka, Jalūkā, and Arjunagrāma, respectively. These places have not yet been identified; and the record itself does not give any indication as to the neighbourhood in which they should be found. For such cases as the present we much require, for other parts of India, similar lists to that of the very useful Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle, which was issued in 1879 under the superintendence of Mr. H. E. M. James, Bc.C.S., and which gives the name of every town and village the postal arrangements of which are under the Government of Bombay.

As regards the date of this record, from line 21-22 we learn that the grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Karttiuka. And in line 29 f. we have, for the writing of the charter, Saka-Samvat 631, expressed in words, and not specified either as current or as expired. The period of the grant is thus A.D. 708-709, or 709-710, according as the given year is applied as current or as expired. But there are no details that can be tested by calculation. Mr. Prinsep’s difficulty in respect of the date arose from his failing to recognise, in line 30, that saktēhu is a mistake for saktēu, which stands for saśkaśu in combination by saśkēhi with a word, एका, commencing with a vowel; and that what we have after saktēhu is evidently the upper part of a ka, which plainly at first was omitted altogether, and then was not properly inserted, because the ring-hole left hardly room enough to form the whole letter conveniently. In his text, which was primarily based on Mr. Oommannay’s decipherment, with amendments by his own Pandit, he gave the reading Saka-kāla-samvatassarē iṣatēhu iṣatēn na (?) trīṣā-śtarēsu. And he repeated this in his introductory remarks; adding the words “the obvious meaning of this is six hundred and thirty besides.” But, as giving rather his own interpretation, he proceeded to write “after the word iṣatēnu, hundreds,” in the plural number, two unknown characters “follow, which may be very probably numerals. The second has much resemblance to the “modern 8, but the first is unknown and of a complex form: its central part reminds us of the “equally enigmatical numeral in one of the Bhāsa inscriptions. It may, perhaps, designate in a “cipher the word anka, ‘in numerals,’ thus purporting ‘in the year of Saka, hundreds, numeri- “cally 8, and thirty over.’ A fertile imagination might again convert the cipher into the word “aśtaḥ, ‘eight,’ afterwards expressed in figures; but I must leave this curious point for “future elucidation, wavering between 630 and 830 for the date of the document.” As I have indicated above, the difficulty in the way of settling this date before now, has been due to the fact that for some reason or other the sgu of iṣatēnu was omitted in the lithograph, which appears to be chiefly based on a hand-drawing by Mr. Oommannay. There is in reality no puzzle at all in the correct reading of the date, which was, in fact, quite evident on my examination of a drawing of the second side of the third plate, which was sent to me as a sample from which to decide whether the original plates were worth transmitting. The passage containing the date includes no numerals, and it simply means “in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first year, of the Saka era.”

A really curious point in this inscription is the irregular way in which a short prose passage is introduced in line 5-6. The words tasya-dātmvaṇa-dāmavaṇa, at the end of line 6, are the last seven syllables of a line in the Sādulavikrīḍita metre; whereas, the immediately
Accepting the direct continuation of lines 6 and 7, this inscription gives us the following names in the Rāśṭrakūṭa lineage; Durgarāja; his son, Gōvindarāja; his son, Svāmikarāja; and his son, Nāndarāja, otherwise called Yuddhāsura. In what relation these persons stand to the well-known Rāśṭrakūṭas of Mālkēṣṭh in the Dekkan and of Gujarāt, there are at present no means of determining. There are also other early Rāśṭrakūṭas, in respect of whom the same remark has to be made. One of them is the Krīṣhgarāja, whose coins have been obtained from Deolānā in the Bāglān Tālūkā, Nāsik District, and who is to be referred to about the commencement of the fifth century A.D. And others are Māṇākā; his son, Dēvarāja; his son, Bhavishya; and his son, Abhimanyu; whose names occur in the grant published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the Jour. Bo. Br. R., As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 89 ff., and allotted by him, on palaeographical grounds to about the fifth century A.D., though I would place it much nearer to the period of the present record. According to that grant, Abhimanyu’s residence was Mānapura; which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was inclined to identify with the well-known Rāśṭrakūṭa city of Mānya-Kēṣṭh, i.e., Mālkēṣṭh. But in my opinion the interchange of māṇya and māna, and still more the substitution of pura, ‘a town,’ for kēṣṭh, ‘a small town,’ ‘for the purpose of indicating or magnifying the importance of the place,’ are not justifiable. I consider that we must certainly look for Mānapura in some place that still bears that name; and that it may very possibly be found in the modern Mān-pūr in Mālwa, the chief town of the

* See ante, Vol. XIV. p. 68.
* Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 36. Lat. 29° 26’ N.; Long. 75° 41’ E. — I should state, however, that in the neighbourhood of this Mān-pūr I cannot find in the map any place-names answering to the Pethapāraka and Upilikavēśikā which are mentioned in the grant, and which should be useful in fixing its locality. The grant came to
Mānpur Pargaṇā under the Bhopāwar Agency in Central India, about twelve miles south-west of Mhow. The preceding names all belong to a time anterior, or nearly so, to that of the first of the Rāṣṭrākūṭas of Mālikhēd. In a considerably later period, we have the name of the Rāṣṭhrākūṭa Māhātāmāntādhipati Gohagadēvā, a feudatory of the Kaldachuri king Gayakarna, mentioned in an inscription on the pedestal of a Jain image at ‘Bahuriband’ in the Jabalpur District, Central Provinces, which belongs to about the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D. And, from the syllables ērī-rāṣṭrā, which are extant in line 5, it seems likely that there was an intermediate notice of the Rāṣṭhrākūṭa family in the same part of the country, to be referred to the eighth or ninth century A. D., in one of the inscriptions of Sivagupta, the son of Harasahagupta, at Sirpur in the Raypur District, Central Provinces.  

TEXT.

First Plate.

1  Īm9  Svasti [II*]  Vistirnog10  sthiti-pālan-āpta-yāsasi  ērī-Rā-
2  sātrakūṭ-anvayō  rammyē  kshiraniḥdāv-viv-ēndur-ābhavat-ērī11-Durgga-
3  rājō  niṣṭapah  lōk-āhālāna-hētubhīḥ  pravatitai-tejō-vi-
4  ēkō-ōdayai [I*]  yēm-ā(ō)chchah-apadāvīn  vidihvāt-paṣka-dvayām
5  bhāsitaṁ [II*]  Tasyai12  sūnur-āsid-śanēka-samara-śāhas-ārjījī-
6  ta-yaśāḥ  ērī-Gōvindarājāḥ  tasyā-ātmavān-ātmajāḥ

Second Plate; First Side.

7  ērāmān(n) Sv[II*]mikārōja ity-anapamō yasyājītiṁ paarushaṁ sa-
8  grāmād-anivarttinō  vijayināḥ  saṅgityatō  saurvataḥ [II*]  Játa-
9  s-tasya  sutaḥ  satā[m]  bahun-mataḥ  ērī-Nāṁnda13-rājāḥ  kṛiti kā-
10  tta[n]aḥ  kart[uj]ikaḥ  kalaṅka-rahitāḥ  kētūḥ14  kārō  dvīhīmān
11  dhanr[II*]yō  raṅa-sāhōs-sāhita-dhiyām-agṛśarō  māṁniṁ
12  vaidagdh-ōddhata-cōṭaṁ-sām-adhipatiḥ  kalpa-drūmo  yō-ṛthīnā[II*]  

Second Plate; Second Side.

13  Yā=cha  sa[m][II*]aya-viśeha-lōbbhād-īva  sakalair-abhīgāmikair-ītā-
14  rājō=cha  guṇair-upētāḥ  parama-śrav[aḥ]hāma[II*]  .parama-bhāgavataḥ  ērī-Yu-
15  ddhāsura-paranāmā sa  sarvvaṁ-īva  rāja-sāmanta-viśaya-pa-
16  ti-grāmabhōgik-ād[II*]  samanubōdhyati [I*]  Viditam=aste
17  bhāvata[m]  yathā-āmabhīḥ  mātāpitrōr-ātmanas=cha  puny-ābhī-
18  vrī[II*]dhaṇē  Kautsa-sagōḍrāya Mitra-chaturvēdā-paṭrāya  Raktā15-prabha-cha-

Third Plate; First Side.

19  cha[it]urvvēḍa-puṭrāya  Śrīprabha-chaturvēdāya  Kṛiṇiḥivaṭṭārāt=paśchimē-
20  na  Pippārikkāya  ut[t]arēṇa  Jalukāyā[h][II*]  pūrvvēga  Arjunagrāmā-

light through being in Dr. Bhan Daji’s collection; but no information seems to be forthcoming as to the place where he obtained it. — I notice that, within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, there are two places named Mānapur in the Gaikwad’s Dominions; one in the Bānāś or Vīndōn State; one in Khāńdēś; three in the Rādhanpur State; and two in the Mahā-Kīṅghā. But I have not had the opportunity of searching the maps for the neighbourhood of these places.

As regards the occurrence of these words in prose, see the introductory remarks.

3 Read "ahāvech-caḥēr."
Multai Plates of Nandaraja.—Saka-Samvat 631.
MULTAI GRANT OF NANDARAJA.

21 d-[d]akshipūja ēbhīr-āgāhāna[ia]17 Jalākuhe[ia]-nāma-grāma[la] Kārttika-
22 paunrnamaṣyaṁ udaka-pūrvaṁ pratiṇādi[ah] [1ia] Yatō-smad-vaiśa[ia]yaṁ-
23 r-vv-āgāmi-nripatibhir-asmad-dāyē-nu[m]antavyaḥ pratiṇādi[ah]ya
24 vyaś-cha [1ia] yō v-ājāna-timira-paṇal-āvīṇa-matiḥ śeṣchhīndyaḥ-śeṣchhīdyan
25 mānaṁ v-anuṇā(m)d-āta sa[9] paścchhābhriḥ-nahāpālakaṁ-saṁyuktaṁ-syād-īti [1ia]*

Third Plate; Second Side.

26 Uktān cha bhagavatā vēda-ṛyāṣena Vyāṣena [1ia] Bahubhir[20]-vvasudhā bhuktā śeṣ-
27 rājabhīṣ-Sagar-ādabhīḥ yasya yasya yudā bhūmīm-tasya tasya
28 tavā phalāṁ II Shāhāṁ varsha-sahast[ia] vī śvargge tīṣṭhati bhūmi-da[1ia]*
29 śṛcchhētta ch-anumantā ceha(cha) tāṇyē-eva narākē vaśēt II Saka-kāla-
30 saṃvatsara-satōshu sūṭchhv[21]-ēkā-tri[ia] jā-ottarēshu likhitam-īdaṁ
31 śāsana[ia] sāndhivigrāhiḥ-Nāula-likhitam II

TRANSLATION.

Oṃ! Hail! In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa linengo, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability, there was a king, the illustrious Durgarāja, by whom, having attained a high position, the two parties (of his friends and his foes) were properly illumined with the widely expanded rising of the excess of (his) glory, which caused the happiness of (his) people; just as in the broad (and) charming ocean of milk there was produced the moon, by which, when it has reached the track of the zenith, the two fortnights are irradiated with the wide-reaching rising of the excess of (its) lustre, which causes the happiness of mankind.

(Line 5.) — His son was the illustrious Gōvindarāja, who acquired fame by (his) daring in many battles; (and) his self-possessed son (was) that unrivalled one, known as the illustrious Svāmikarāja, who never turned back from war (and) who was (always) victorious, and whose great manliness is celebrated everywhere in song.

(Line 8.) — Of him there was born a son, the illustrious Nandarāja, highly esteemed by good people, accomplished, handsome, compassionate, free from faults (and thus resembling the moon, free from spots), (but) a very comet bordering evil to (his) enemies, fit to be yoked (in the front rank) of those whose thoughts are devoted to daring in war, foremost among the haughty, the leader of those whose minds excel in intelligence, (and) a very kalpa-tree to supplicants.

(Line 13.) — And he, — to whom, as if from a strong desire for the choicest of all resting-places, resort has been made by all the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind,32 and others also; who is most kind to Brāhmaṇa; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Viṣṇu); (and) who has the other name of the illustrious Yuddhāsura, — informs all the Rajas, Sāmantas, Viśayapatis, Grāmaabhāgikas, and others : —

(Line 16.) — "Be it known to you that by Us, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself, to Sriprabhachaturvēda of the Kautsa gōtra, the son's son of Mitra-
33 chaturvēda (and) the son of Raktaprabhachaturvēda, on the full-moon day of (the month) Kārttika, with lamentations of water there is given the village named Jalākuhe, [thus specified] by (its) boundaries; (viz.) to the west of (the village of) Kiṃihvāṭṭa, to the north of (the village of) Pipparīka, to the east of (the village of) Jalukā, (and) to the south of the village of Arjunagrāma.

(Line 22.) — "Wherefore, (this) Our gift should be assented to, and should be preserved, by future kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And whosoever, having a mind covered over by

17 upalakṣhitam, viśuddhaḥ, or some similar word, has to be supplied here.
18 The third syllable here is rather doubtful; but on the whole I think that it was intended.
19 We have here rather an anomalous character, between the single and the double e.
20 Metre, Ślokā (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following verse.
21 Read sūṭchhva; and for the following syllable see the introductory remarks.
the dense darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (this grant) or assent to its confiscation, he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins."

(L. 26.) — And it has been said by the venerable Vyḍa, the arranger of the Vedaś : — The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty-thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 29.) — This charter, written by thọ Sāndhivigrahaṅka Nāula, has been written in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first (year) of the Saka era.

CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings which were received from General Sir A. Cunningham and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

A. — Dūdshi Stone Inscriptions of Dēvaladþi, a grandson of Yāsoparman.

These six short inscriptions are in a temple of the village of ‘Dudshi’ or ‘Doodhai,’ in the Lalitpur District of the North-West Provinces, Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N. W., Long. 78° 27' E., Lat. 24° 25' N.; and an account of them, accompanied by photographographs of five of them, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. X. pp. 94–95, and Plate xxxii., 1, 2, and 4–6.

The inscription a. contains eleven lines, which cover a space of 3½’’ broad by 10’’ high; b., ten lines, which cover 9’’ broad by 8½’’ high; c., five lines, which cover 6½’’ broad by 4½’’ high; d., three lines, which cover 6½’’ broad by 3’’ high; e. consists of a single line, 6½’’ long; and f. also consists of a single line, 4’’ long. The average size of the letters of a. and b., is 1’’ to 1’’; of c., d., and e., ¾’’ to 1’’; and of f., one inch. The characters of all are Nāgari, of about the 11th century A.D.; their language is Sanskrit, and all are in prose. As regards orthography, the consonant ṛ of the name Dēvaladþi is throughout denoted by the sign for v.

The inscription f. contains only the name — ‘the illustrious Dēvaladþi;’ and a. to e. record that this personage erected the temple (kértana), at which the inscriptions are. In d., Dēvaladþi is described as belonging to the Chandrélia family, and as the son of the illustrious Krishnap and the lady Āsarvā; and a. to c. besides state that he was the grandson of the Mahārājadhārīya Yāsoparman. This Yāsoparman undoubtedly is the Chandrélia (or Chandrār) king Yāsoparman, of whom we have a long inscription, of the Vikrama year 1011, at Khajurahō, and who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Dhaṅgēvra, in Dhaṅgā’s copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1055, published by me, ante, Vol. XVI., p. 202; and our inscriptions, though not dated, may therefore be referred with certainty to about the first half of the 11th century A.D.

The main interest of these inscriptions will probably be considered to lie in this, that they furnish an older form of the name of the royal family which we are here concerned with, — Chandrélia, instead of the later Chandélia. This spelling, Chandrélia, is quite distinct and certain in the rubbings of b.; and the rubbings of a., c., and d., too, clearly show that the consonant of the second akṣara of this name is not simply d or nd, but has another consonant attached to it, which might possibly be read as v, if we did not know from b. that it must be r.

1 This somewhat unusual name we meet again, denoting another lady, in line 19 of the Mañ inscription of the Chandélia Madanavarmanāda; Epigraphia Ind., Vol. I. pp. 204, 209.
2 ib., Vol. I. p. 152 — Another Yāsoparman is mentioned, in the Būshiār inscription of Paramārdiāra of the Vikrama year 1282, as the son of Madanavarman and father of Paramārdi; but his name is omitted in other accounts of the Chandélia kings. See ib., Vol. I. p. 211.
The word Chandrālla I take to be a derivative, by means of the Prākrit suffix illa, from chandra, 'the moon,' for illa like Dhāilla from bha, and I suspect that the name Chandrātrypa for the members of the same family is really a later word, which owes its origin to a desire of having a somewhat Sanskrit-like name.

TEXT.

a. 1 Mahārjādhi-
   2 rāja-śri-Yaśo-
   3 varma-naptṛ śrī-
   4 Krīshṇapa-sūtēna
   5 mātṛ-śri-Āsa-
   6 rvva-udarādhavēna
   7 Chand[r]ēll-ānvyaēna
   8 śrī-Deva[l]āvah(bdhī)-
   9 nā kṛttanam-ī-
   10 daṁ sarvva[m] kārī-
   11 taṁ ii

b. 1 Chandrēll-ānvaya-
   2 mahārjādhi-
   3 rāja-śri-Yaśo-
   4 varma-naptṛ śrī-
   5 Krīshṇapa-sūta-
   6 śrī-Āsarvva-
   7 darōdbhava-śrī-De-
   8 valavah(bdhī)yam kī-
   9 rttanam-idaṁ sarvva-
   10 mea[p] ii

B. Dēogaḍh Rock Inscription of Kirtivarman.

The Vikrama year 1154.

This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the Fort of the town of Dēogaḍh, situated at the western end of the table-land of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Bētwā; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N.W., Long. 78° 18' E., Lat. 24° 32' N. A rough transcript of it, accompanied by a photograph, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. X. p. 163, and Plate xxxii, 3; and it has been re-edited, from Sir A. Cunningham's photograph, by Dr. Hultzsch, aste, Vol. XI. p. 311.

The inscription contains 8 lines. The writing covers a space of 2' 2" broad by 1' 14" high, and is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is about 1½". The characters are Nāgārī, and many of the letters are peculiar in having a splayed, shaped end formed by a curve under the straight top-line. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory oh oh namah Śivāya and the date at the head, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is seven, the first six of which are numbered with the ordinary numerical figures. As regards orthography, b is denoted by the sign for v in vrahāṇḍam, line 8, (but not in bābhā, lines 1 and 6, and -dābhītāh, line 4); the dental sibilant is used for

* From the rubbings.
* Originally -naptṛ.
* Read śrī-āsarvva-īḍar, here and below.
* Read śrī-āsarvva-.
the palatal in ānāsa, line 1, subha, line 3, and sātrōś, line 7; and the dental d for the lingual d in -śu, line 4.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (lines 5-8) that Vatsaraśa, a son of Mahādharā and chief minister of the king Kirtivarman, built a flight of steps called "the Ghāt of the illustrious Vatsaraśa," lea which the inscription must be supposed to have been engraved. Vatsaraśa himself was a native of Ramaṇīpur, and it is recorded of him that he wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and made "this Fort of Kirtigiri;" and his master Kirtivarman is described (lines 1-5) as the descendant of the prince Vijayapāla, who was a son of Vidyādharā, of the Chandella family.

The inscription is dated, at the end of line 8, in figures only, on Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, of the year 1154. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 2 would be:

- for the northern year 1154 current, — Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096;
- for the northern year 1154 expired, or the southern year 1154 current, — Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097;
- for the southern year 1154 expired, — Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098.

The actual date, therefore, is Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098, and the calculation shows that the year 1154, mentioned in our record, was the southern Vikrama year 1154, expired, i.e. the northern year 1156, current.

As regards the localities mentioned, I consider Kirtigiri-durga to be Deōgaḍh itself; Ramaṇīpur I am unable to identify.

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TEXT.²

1 Ŭn³ ōn namaḥ Śivāya II Chatindollā-vaṁsas(śa)-kumud-śu-līlā-kṛitīh, khyatā

babhūva nripa-saṅgha-nat-āśūri-pañcaḥ 1

2 Vidyādharo naraṇapatiḥ Kamali-nivāso jauṣ-tatō Vijayapāla-nripo nrip-śadṛgha 1 1 II

Tasmādṛva(ṛva)ramaṇa-parāḥ śrimā-

3 n=Kirtivarman-nripo-bhavat 1 yaśya kṛitī-sudhā-su(śu)bhirbṁ traślokiyāṁ

saṁdhātāṁ-agat 2 II Agadāṁ nūtanaṁ Viṣṇum-śāivibhūtum-avāpya

4 yan 1 nrip-ābhitāḥ samākriṣṭā Śrī-vaṁsas(śa)-sauṣṭhāya-gaṇa-gata-chandra-nīcāhāya yaśya nūnāṁ Yudhishṭhirā-Sadāśiva-Rāmaṇa-

5 ndṛaḥ 1 ete prasanna-[gua]-ratnamidhanā niṭiyāḥ yaḥ-tad-guṇa-prakara-ratnamayē

śrīrī 2 1 11 Tadāryā-mant-īndro Ramaṇīpūr-vvinirgā-

6 taḥ 1 Vatsaraśa-vikhyātāś śrimān-Mahākali-ātamaḥ 1 5 II Khyatō 11 babhūva

tīla mantri-pad-sīka-mātre Vāchaspatis-ta-

7 d-ṣa mantra-saṁpurushahāyām 1 yō-yaṁ samastam-āpi maṇḍalam-āśu sū(śa)trōṣa=

aḥchhidiya Kirtigiri-durggamaṃ-ādam vyadhāta 1 6 1

8 Śrī Śv. Vatsaraśa-gaṇitaḥ-yaṁ nūnāṁ tēn-ātra kāritaḥ 1 vṛg(bra)hmāndam-ūjvilam


Ravau 14 [11^*]

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1 On that day, the second titī of the bright half ended 22h. 15m. after mean sunrise. It may be noted that the initial days of the expired northern Vikrama years 1153, 1154 and 1155 are given wrongly in the Book of Indian Eras.

2 From the rubbings.

3 Expressed by a symbol.

4 Metro, Śūkla (Anushṭabh).

5 Metro, Vasyataṭīlakā.

6 Metro, Śūka (Anushṭabh); and of the next verse.

7 This akṣara originally was tū; but it has been altered to tūṛī.

8 Metro, Vasyataṭīlakā.

9 The consonant of the first of these two akṣaras is q; but the way in which the vowel u has been attached to it, gives to the whole a partial appearance of rū. The second vertical stroke of the second akṣara at the bottom meets the third vertical line, and thus gives to the u an unusual shape; but the akṣara is not kū.

10 This akṣara is distinctly ya; not aṭā.

11 Metro, Vasyataṭīlakā.

12 This word, ravaus, is quite clear in the rubbings.
TRANSLATION.

ॐ !

ॐ ! Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1). — There was a renowned prince, Vidyādha, an abode of Fortune, whose widespread fame was to the Chandāla race what the moon is to night-lotuses, (and) whose lotus-feet were bowed down to by crowds of princes. From him was born the prince Vijayapala, the chief of princes.

(Verse 2). — From him sprang, devoted to the law, the illustrious prince Kirtivarman, brightened by the white-wash of whose fame the three worlds have become a white-washed mansion.

(Verse 3). — When Fortune, withdrawn from (other) princes, just as (she was recovered by Vishnu) from the sea, came to him who appeared like a new Vishnu, without his club, she left off (her) fickleness.

(Verse 4). — Resembling as he does, among kings, the moon moving in the midst of the stars, surely Yuddhisthira, Sadāśiva, and Rāma, (all) these have entered his body, (which is) abundantly decorated, as with precious stones, with multitudes of manifold excellencies (and is indeed) a pelucid sea of excellencies.

(Verse 5). — The chief counsellor among his ministers (is) the illustrious son of Mahādha, the renowned Vatsarāja, who has gone forth from Ramānūjpur.

(Verse 6). — He indeed became famous, a (very) Vākhaspati in his unique office of counsellor, he who, having quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (mandala) here by his counsel and excellent valour, made this Fort of Kirtigiri.

(Verse 7). — He indeed caused this flight of steps to be built here, (called the Ghaf) of the illustrious Vatsarāja, in order to make his bright fame ascend up into the universe.

The year 1154, the 2nd of the bright half of Cāitra, on Sunday.

THE COUNTRY OF MALAKOTTA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.: BANGALORE.

By the one of the countries, which the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang visited on his memorable tour through India, was Dravida with its capital Kaṇchipura (Conjeeveram). He reached Dravida from the north, and proceeded from it north-west1 to Koṅkaṇapura, Mahārāṣṭra, and Bharaschechha (Bharāch). Hiuen-Tsiang mentions another country, called Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a, which was situated to the south of Dravida. According to the Si-yu-ki, he visited this country in person,2 and returned from it to Dravida; while Hwul-li's narrative seems to imply, that the pilgrim's report on Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a was based merely on hearsay.3

In a former volume of this Journal,4 the late Dr. Burnell identified Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a with the delta of the Kāvarī. He based this opinion on "the great Tanjore inscription of Kulottunga-Chola (A.D. 1064 to 1113) which surrounds the shrine of the chief temple at Tanjore," and on the mention in it of a village called Malakuta-chudima-chaṭurvedī-maṅgalam, which was situated in Āvūr-kurram, i.e. in the subdivision of Āvūr near Kumbhakonam. A perusal of the inscriptions of the great temple at Tanjore convinced me that Dr. Burnell's statements

1 The word agad also means "free from disease, healthy."

2 Sadāśiva is an epithet of the god Śiva, and also a proper name of men; but it is not apparent whom the author of the verse here refers to.

3 "The lord of speech," — a name of Vākhaspati, the teacher of the gods. — The word mantri-padd-aik-mātrē does not admit of a proper grammatical explanation; I understand it to mean mantri-padd ekāṃśa (i.e. advitiyā) eka.

4 Beal's Life of Hiuen-Tsang, p. 140. The Si-yu-ki (Vol. II. p. 233) has 'north,' which is impossible.

5 Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II. p. 233, note 123.

6 Life, p. 140.

require some modifications, which I subjoin here with due respect to that able scholar, who, if he still lived, would gladly approve of a correction of some details of secondary importance. First, the central shrine of the Tanjore temple does not bear only one inscription of about A.D. 1100, but a considerable number of inscriptions of various kings and dates, one of which is dated as late as Saka 1377 (expired). Secondly, none of the Tanjore inscriptions mentions either Kulottunga-Chola or Vira-Chola, Kulottunga-Chōładēva I. (A.D. 1063-64 to 1112-13), also called Rajendra-Chōḍa after his maternal grandfather Rajendra-Chōjadēva, was the son of the Eastern Chalukyas king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64) and inherited the Chōla kingdom from his father-in-law, the Chōla king Rajendradēva. The two Chōla kings, to whose reigns most of the inscriptions of the Tanjore temple belong, are Rājarājadēva, the founder of the temple, and his son Rajendra-Chōjadēva, the father-in-law of the Eastern Chalukyas king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64), who had received his name from that of his maternal grandfather. The subjoined table, which is based on a number of Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions, shows the relations of the three above-mentioned Chōla kings to the Eastern Chalukyas, and contains the names of their Western Chalukya contemporaries:—

### Western Chalukyas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chōlas</th>
<th>Eastern Chalukyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Sāryavānśa)</td>
<td>(Sōma-vānśa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Satyāśraya II.** fought with Rājarājadēva, who was the father-in-law of Vimalādītya. (Saka 919 to about 930.) (about Saka 926.) (Saka 937 (? to 944.)

2. **Jayasiṁha III.** fought with Rajendra-Chōjadēva, who was the father-in-law of Rājarāja I. (about Saka 940 to about 964.) (Saka 944 to 985.)

3. **Āhavamalla II.** fought with Rājendradēva, who was the father-in-law of Rājendra-Chōḍa or Kulottunga-Chōjadēva I. (about Saka 964 to about 990.) (Saka 985 to 1034.)

Thirdly, Dr. Burnell states in his paper, that the Tanjore inscriptions mention a village called Malakūṭa-chōḍamanjī-chaturvādi-mahāgalam. The reference is to an inscription of the 9th year of the Chōla king Kō-Rājakēśavarman, alias Rājarājadēva, and to an inscription of the 10th year of Kō-Parakēśavarman, alias Rajendra-Chōjadēva. Each of these two inscriptions reads in clear Tamil and Grantha letters of 2 to 3 inches height:—Nittavinoḍa-nilnēṇṭu Āvīr-(k)kūṛattu brahmcdēyaṃ Irumbudal-aiyana Manukula-chōḍamanjī-chchaturvēdi-mahāgalattu sabhāyāyā; “the members of the sabhā of Irumbudal, alias Manukula-chōḍamanji-chhaturvēdi-mahāgalam, a brahmādyya in Āvīr-kūṛam, (a subdivision) of Nittavinoḍa-nilnēṇṭu.” This disposes finally of the possibility of identifying Hsien-Tsien’s Mo-lo-kūn-ch’a with Kumbhakōṇam, and the name of Malakūṭa has to be struck out on the map, which is prefixed to Dr. Burnell’s South-Indian Palaeography.

The first half of the name Mo-lo-kūn-ch’a is no doubt the well-attested Dravidian word *maḷa,* a hill (maḷa in Malayalam and malai in Tamil), and the second may be connected with kūṛam, which means ‘a division,’ or more probably with kōṭtam, which means ‘a district’ in Tamil inscriptions. Thus Mo-lo-kūn-ch’a or Malakōṭa would be a synonym of Malai-nāḍu or Malai-nāḍu, the Hill-Country. The former is used in Malayalam and the second in Tamil as a designation of the country of Malabar. But, as Hsien-Tsien places Malakōṭa to the south of Draviḍa and attributes to it a circuit of 5,000 li, General Cunningham is doubtless right.

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5 Compare Dr. Burnell’s South-Indian Palaeography, 2nd edition, p. 40 and passim.
6 According to an inscription of his 9th year, the temple was called after him Rājarājadēva. Two undated inscriptions record that the prakāra (time-kaṭṭam) of the temple was built at his orders by the commander of his forces (kēṭēpoṭi).
7 For full details see three of my Progress Reports (Madras G. O., 27th July 1888, No. 745; 6th September 1888, No. 87 ; 7th November 1888, No. 1050) and my forthcoming first volume of South-Indian Inscriptions, p. 22 and No. 90, 67, 68, 127.
8 This name means ‘the Bhārmanapal village (called after) Manukula-chōḍamanjī (i.e. the crest-jewel of the race of Man; viz., the Chōla king).’
9 On this see *Hybridia* see Yule and Burnell’s invaluable Hobson-Jobson, p. 411.
10 *Ancient Geography of India,* Vol. I. p. 542.
if he supposes that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole southern part of the Madras Presidency beyond the Kaveri. According to Mr. Beal, the Chinese editor remarks in a note that Malakotta was also called Chi-mo-lo. These syllables are satisfactorily identified by Dr. Caldwell with Tamila, the name of the Tamil people, whose country is called Damirice (i.e. Tamil-land) on the Peutinger Tables.

Four centuries after Huen-Tsiang, the term Malaya was in use for the same tract. For Albērduin enumerates the possessions of Jaur (i.e. the Chōja) along the coast in the following order: — Darav (Dravida), Kānji (Kānch Очень), Malaya, and Kūn (Końka). A second enumeration of the countries along the coast begins from the opposite side: — Lārka, with the city of Jmūn, Vallabha, for which Našīdūd-din supplies the correct reading Malaya, Kānji, and Darav (Dravida). Albērduin’s first list places Malaya between Dravida and Kānch on one side and the Końka on the other, just as Huen-Tsiang places Malakotta between Dravida with its capital Końchpura on one side and Końka on the other. The second list begins from Lārka or Gujarāt and omits the Końka, though in the preceding sentence it mentions Thāpā (on the island of Salsette), which, according to p. 203, was the capital of the Końka.

According to Huen-Tsiang, Malakotta was bounded on the south by the Malaya mountains, which bordered the sea, and in which sandal-trees were found. To the east of the Malaya mountains was Mount Pōtalaka, on the top of which was a lake from which there flowed a great river, and which was the residence of the Bōdhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, there was a town, from which people embarked for Ceylon.

In Sanskrit and Malayalam, the term Malaya is applied to the Western Ghāta, and the sandal is called Malaya-ja, i.e. ‘the produce of Malaya.’ In Tamil, Malayam or Malaizam, besides being used in the same sense, is the name of another mountain, which is also called Chandanāchala or Chandanādri (i.e. ‘the mountain of the sandal’), Podigai or Podiyam, which is supposed to be the residence of the sage Agastya, and after which the Pandy king is called Podiya-verpan (i.e. ‘the lord of the mountain Podiyam’). Dr. Caldwell states that the source of the Tamraparni river is in the mountain Podigai, and identifies the latter with Ptolemy’s Bīrīvīs, in which the Bīrīvī took its rise. In a footnote of his paper on Pōtalaka, Mr. Beal suggests, with some diffidence, that Huen-Tsiang’s Pōtalaka might be the same as Podigai and as Ptolemy’s Bīrīvīs. It seems to me that the agreement between the two words Podigai and Pōtalaka is close enough to justify this identification, which struck me independently before I had seen Mr. Beal’s paper. The river mentioned by Huen-Tsiang would then be intended for the Tamraparni. According to Taranatha’s History of Buddhism, Pōtalaka was the name of a mythical mountain (pp. 141, 142 f., 229) in the south (p. 139), the seat of Avalokiteśvara. On the way to it, the ocean (p. 157), a great river, and a lake, had to be crossed (p. 142). This myth of the northern Buddhists must have been known to Huen-Tsiang, and the change of Podiyam or Podigai into Pōtalaka may be due to a popular etymology, which Huen-Tsiang made either unconsciously or from a desire to connect the information collected on his visit to Southern India with that contained in his holy books. From similar motives, either Huen-Tsiang or his Buddhist informants seem to have transformed Agastya, who is supposed to reside on Podigai, into the Bōdhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

In the case of the Malaya mountains, it must be assumed that Huen-Tsiang was misinformed, if he placed them to the south instead of the west of Malakotta. As for an

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13 Ibid. p. 209.
14 Lārka is the same as Lār-désh, i.e. Lār-désh or Gujarāt, on p. 205. Jmūn or Saimūr is probably the modern Chowki; see Yule and Burnell’s Hobson-Jobson, s. v.
15 Elliot and Dowson’s History of India, Vol. I. p. 66.
18 Translated from Tibetan into German by Schiefar, St. Petersburg, 1869.
identification of the port-town to the north-east of Mount Potalaka, Mr. Beal’s quotations from L-tsing show that shortly after Huen-Tsang’s time the port for Ceylon was Nāgavadana. Accordingly, the town, which Huen-Tsang mentions, seems to be intended for Nāgapaṭṭapam or Negapatam in the Tanjore District.

The unnamed capital of Malakōṭa is placed by Huen-Tsang 3,000 li to the south of Kāṭchi-pura, and by Hwai-li 3,000 li or so from the frontier between Dravida and Malakōṭa. As General Cunningham points out, even the first mentioned distance would take us out to sea beyond Cape Comorin and must have been exaggerated by the pilgrim’s informants. Mr. Beal, who identifies Chi-mo-lo (see above) with the Tamil Kumari (Sanskrit: Kumārī), thinks of Cape Comorin itself. But there is no tradition of a capital having been situated there. Perhaps Huen-Tsang refers to Korkai in the Tirunelveli District, the Kōkai of the Periplus and of Ptolemy, which was, according to Dr. Caldwell, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyaś.

THE BALLAD OF THE GUJARI.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give the text and translation of this celebrated Gujarāti ballad as it is sung at Aḥmadābād. In other parts, especially in Sūrat, a somewhat different version obtains. This version contains a curious admixture of Hindustāni and Gujarāti words. The ballad is of the class called guvāḍa, and is sung by women who form themselves into a ring round a lighted lamp, and sing the verses as they go round and round, beating time with their hands.

TRANSLATION.

The Ballad of the Gujarāti.

The Bādāsh is on his way to invade Kābul and all the ministers of Dīlhi are with him.

The Bādāsh takes up his abode in a garden: on what pretext shall I go to have a look (at them)?

I shall take a red earthen pot in my hand and go (dressed) as a dairy-maid. The Bādāsh, do,

(Her) skirt of brocade, and a gold border to (her) sāḍi;

5 Kallā, a and kābbā, a and avās, bherhuwad, a and jhānjara jingling (on her person);

Armlets round her arms, and rings on all her ten fingers;

Kalāpuḷa adorning her ears, and a costly jhāgi glistening;

Pāṭyārī adorning her throat, and a single-string necklace round her neck;

Her cloth (sāḍi) being of green goji, and the necklace of pearls;

10 A ring adorning her nose, and a brilliant red mark glistening on her brow:

She made (some) curds in a small earthen pot, and took the best of milk (with her);

(Thus arrayed) the Gujarāti set forth to sell curds, and arrived at the Bādāsh’s darbār.

(And cried) — “Who’ll buy my curds! who’ll buy my sweet milk!”

Says her mother-in-law. — “Listen daughter-in-law, do not go into the camp,

15 Or the Bādāsh of the city of Dīlhi will keep thee in his palace.”

The daughter-in-law heeds not the mother-in-law and goes forth to sell (her) curds:

Goes forth the Gujarāti to sell curds and takes her seat in the Lāl Bājār.

The Bādāsh being informed (of this) comes to have a look at the Gujarāti.

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3 For references on Korkai see Mr. Sewell’s List of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 312.
4 The word gujarati means a Gujarati woman.
5 Names of different gold and silver ornaments for women.
6 goji is a sort of silk fabric manufactured in Gujarāti, so called from its being just one goj ( = pūnu = ⅔ of a yard) in width.
7 This ought to have come before the two preceding lines.
8 The same as Gujarāti.
"Why do you go about lanes and alleys, fair one, you ought to live behind the parid." "

20 "The lanes and alleys are good enough for me, to thy parid I shall set fire."
"Thou art a base-born Hinduwali, thus to give (impertinent) retorts to thy sovereign!"
Says the Badshah, "Listen Gujarli, listen to what I have to say.
"What is the use of wearing ornaments of base metals, fair one? You ought to wear a set of gold."
"My ornaments of base metals are good enough for me, to thy gold I shall set fire."
"Thou art," &c.

25 "What is this black coarse cloth that you wear, fair one? You ought to wear Dakhanli silks." "
"Thou art," &c.
"I have a wonderfully fine elephant, fair one; come and have a look at my elephant."
"What is there to look at in thy elephant? I have some grey cow-buffaloes at home, and they give a mus and a quarter of milk each time, and they are (therefore) far better than thy elephant."
"Thou art," &c.

30 "My moustache is wonderfully formed, fair one; be allured by my moustache."
"What is there to look at in thy moustache? It is only like the tuft of hair at the end of my goats' tails!"
"Thou art," &c.
"Which is your parents-in-law's house? And to what man are you wife?"
"The Fort of Gökni is my parents-in-law's house, and to the man Chandé I am wife."
"Thou art," &c.
"To what country dost thou belong, shepherdess? And what is thy name?"

35 "I am (the) shepherdess of Fort Mándar, and Ménâ the Gujarli is my name."
"Now fix the price of your small earthen pot; and, fair one, what may be its price?"
"If I name the price of my small earthen pot, thy senses would desert thee!"
"Thou art," &c.
"What is this meaningless jargon that thou talkest, fair one? Talk sense."
"With what arrogance thou speakest, fair one! I could give thee two or four slaps!"

40 "Do not think I am alone (unprotected): nine lâhs of my Gujarls will come down (to defend me)"
"I will give thee such a slap that thy turban will roll off thy head, and thy face will grow red!"
"I will cause thy ponies to be sold for a faká each, and thy camels at ten to a danari."
"I will cause thy shields to be sold at a faká apiece, and thy swords at two kûrs (cowries) each!"

The Badsháh was enraged at this and had her cast into irons.

45 "I entreat thee brother Brâhmañas. I will give thee the necklace (that is) next my heart, "If thou wilt go and give this letter into the hands of my husband's brother, Hiriya."
When Hiriya read the letter (he said to his brother) — "Brother, our Gujarli has been cast into prison."
(And then he said to the soldiers) — "Gird on tightly your shields and swords, brothers, and gird on tightly all your weapons:
"Let only those who are brave of heart accompany us, for cowards are not wanted (where we shall go)."

* Costly silks manufactured in the Dakhan.
† An Indian weight equal to about 80 lbs.
‡ Here there is a pun on the two meanings of the word दहल, खल, झल meaning 'with arrogance' and झल mean meaning 'a slap.'
§ One-twenty fourth part of an anna.
|| The son's changes here, and the Gujarli addresses a young Brâhmañas.
|| Note that it is improper for a Hindu wife to address her husband even by letter.
50 "Put on saffron-coloured robes\textsuperscript{13} brothers, and all grow red as \textit{guldār}.”
And Hirla ran from thence and went to his charger:—
"Tie\textsuperscript{14} the girths of your saddles tight and ride with loose reins;
“For I mean to return home after conquering Dilhā and thus preserve my prestige.”
And (so saying) Hirla mounted his horse and nine lākh\textsuperscript{15} of Gujarats mounted (theirs).

55 As Hirla entered (the city of Dilhā) the Vāṇīyās\textsuperscript{16} fled before him;
And as Chandā’s horse galloped in, the dairy-men\textsuperscript{17} fled before him.
The cannon boomed forth loudly and all around became pitch-dark,
(Which) awoke the sleeping Bādshāh, and ninety-two lākh\textsuperscript{18} of Mughals poured into the field.
The large copper drum was sounded and all other drums took up its roar.

60 On the fourteenth day of the month of Phāgān the affair was in full swing.
After a long silence the Gujarī spoke and spoke but one word:—
"Let Hirla wear my bangles,\textsuperscript{19} and let me have his arms,
"And I shall fight with the Bādshāh in such a brave manner as to immortalize my name.”
"Pitch tents in a row on two sides\textsuperscript{20} and leave an open space in the middle,
And let the Gujarī stand in that vacant space, brothers, and he who wins her may take her.”

Upon this Hirla and Chandā said (to the Bādshāh)—”Rājā,\textsuperscript{21} listen to what we say:
“It becomes you to give the first blow, for we are only your subjects.”
And the Bādshāh dealt the first blow in the Gujarī army.
And Hirla and Chandā, becoming enraged, fell (upon the Mughal army) like tigers among goats.

70 And swords clashed against one another and a shower of blood rained down.
(At last being vanquished the Bādshāh says)—”We give your Gujarī (back) into your charge, (for) to us the Gujarī is as a sister.”

\textbf{TEXT.}

\textbf{गुर्जरी गराध्रे:-}

\textbf{के काविल पर बावासाह \ पढ़े, ने गोरी शिष्टीकान्त श्रीनारे \ के सारे काविल \ येरे गावमे, मया \ का \ बावासाह \ जारे \ के हाथींगे \ येरे \ लात गुलाबी, कंदीयली गोरे \ जारे \ — के बावासाह।}

\textbf{के जूळकर गराध्रे \ पार्षदॆ, ने साजुद्दीले \ कसंदी \ कोरे \ के काविल \ कांबोज \ ने \ अनवर \ केल्लु, हांसरनी \ हामकारे \ — के हाथे \ बावासाह \ बेहता ने, \ एनी \ वे \ बांग्रीए \ बेरे \ के \ काम \ कलाकुल गोरेराने, ने \ एनी \ हायके \ मीरी \ हाराने।}

\textbf{के कोटे \ ने \ पारीग्न \ धीवरो, \ एनी \ केरे \ अकाल \ हारे \ के \ लिखे \ ने \ गोरी \ खांपुरे, \ एनी \ गोरे \ मीरी \ हारे \ के \ नाके \ ने \ गोरी \ धीवरो, \ एनी \ गोरी \ कोरे \ ले \ नामे \ के \ छोटे \ नर \ गोरे \ एनी \ बाहू \ सारे \ ने \ गली गराध्रे \ देही \ बाहू, \ अये \ बाहूयो \ के \ अने को \ हृदय गराध्रे \ “क्लो, कोह \ लो \ मीरामा” \ जुरे \ के \ साहे \ के \ लारे \ गुराध्रे \ के \ अने को \ हृदय गराध्रे \ “क्लो, कोह \ लो \ मीरामा” \ जुरे \ के \ साहे \ के \ लारे \ गुराध्रे।}

\textsuperscript{13} Saffron-coloured robes are worn as a sign that the army is determined either to conquer or to die to a man.
\textsuperscript{14} Addressing the soldiers.
\textsuperscript{15} A caste known for their cowardice, as well as for their aversion to destroy life either human or animal.
\textsuperscript{16} Being of the same caste as Vīṇīyā. This is sarcasm.
\textsuperscript{17} In order to insinuate that Hirla was a coward.
\textsuperscript{18} The Hindu brothers address the (sīr) Mughal as “Rājā” after their own fashion.
\textsuperscript{19} साजुद्दीले used poetically for साजुद्दीले or साजुम् to the sādī, sādī or sāami being the proper word for the long piece of cloth that Indian women wrap round their bodies, and draw as a veil over their head.
\textsuperscript{20} टलटली used poetically for टलटली, the red mark that all women (except widows) make on their brows.
\textsuperscript{21} गुराध्रो used poetically for गुराध्रो.
\textsuperscript{22} अच को महिमाहर श्री, जैसे. अच and महिमाहर are reduplicated words, though somewhat separated.
\textsuperscript{23} महिमाहर is a poetical form of महिमा, an equivalent of दर्श, 'carda.'
\textsuperscript{24} मीरामा poetical form of मीरा ‘sweet.’
\textsuperscript{25} बसरीया used poetically for बस, Hindustānī for ‘daughter-in-law.’
THE BALLAD OF THE GUJARI.

15 के दिली देशरका बारेंजो, झुंझ रथे मोहलन्दा माहरे
के सातदो चारी ना जाते भारे,
मयी वेरवाने जाते भारे
के चती गदाजी गदाजी बनानुः। भूती नात लायरे
के बाराबाजारका तो खराब देने,
उषरीदेव अभाये
के अलंकारी गतिशीलीका क्या फौरना गोरी,
पोंडी पुला
माहरे
20 के अभी आपरे गलीपरा नीरोत पाली,
तेथे पीछे ठगा नाजुक आपरे
के हिरविमान में हरा जारी बाराबाजारहुँ देख जानेरे
के बाराबाजार कहें झुंझ गदाजी, झुंझ झुंझ हमारी बारी
के काह करीणांका क्या पहराना,
गोरी पेहेंरे लोक लड़े
लेके कारण करीणा ने माहे बोली नाजुक,
तेवे लोके नाजुक आपरे
के हिरविमान के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
25 के काली कालाकाल क्या आया?
गोरी पेहेंरे इलाजी पीरी
के काली कालाकाल में बोला नाजुक,
तेवे चारी ठगा नाजुक आपरे
के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
के मकना भारी भगत बना,
गोरी हारा सेरमा अनाहारे
के तेहे धराथी क्या धराथी,
मेरे परे मेरे मेरे सेरे
के तेरे सातार झुंझ के थारा हारी पत्तीमेरे
माहे नेवर—के हिरविमान,
के मेरे मुखा भारी बारी,
गोरी मुखपार मीरी आपरे
30 के तेरे मूर्ति खाली क्या बदना,
मेरे बकरे, जेसा ठुंडे
के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
के भुई तराश सालाहुँ, मेरे आ डिरा भुई नारे
के गाड गोकुन माह सालाहुँ, मेरे बकरे भुई नारे
—के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
के काने हेडकी गाँवालीकी,
ने हुँ छु हारे नारे
35 के गाड मोंडरकी गाँवालीकी,
ने माहे गुजरी माहे
नारे—के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
के छती गदाजी गदाजी ने,
गोरी उसना क्या बनां
के गुजरी गुजरी
के छती गदाजी गदाजी ने,
तेवे झुंझ झुंझ—के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान—के हिरविमान
के गुजरी गुजरी, गुजरी गुजरी सम्भवी
बारी
के अनकाट छकट
30 गोरी क्या बोली, कहे छकट लायरे हो चारी
40 के सूर न जानी परी, नारा, गुजरा चढ़े न नब लायरे.
MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XVII.

Revue de L'Histoire des Religions.

The Revue de L'Histoire des Religions, published in Paris, by Leroux, is a periodical which is not so well known in India as it deserves to be. Its purpose is indicated by its name, for it is purely historical, and excludes all polemic and dogmatic matter. The following are some of the articles which have appeared during the last three years, and which will be of interest to Indian students.

(a)—Vol. XIV. No. 1, July and August, 1886.

M. E. de Pressensé contributes an interesting article on the Chaldeo-Assyrian Religion, divided into three parts, viz. I., Its sources; II., The phases of the religious evolution; III., The Assyrian religion. The religion is traced from an animism full of despair and terror over-mastering men who are everywhere surrounded by the evil powers of the river, the wind, the storm, and the imana. It was then a religion of charms and exorcisms, of appeals to kindly deities for protection, and of talismans. The superior elements contained in it eventually developed in a regular mythological evolution. Thus we find gradually coming into prominence, Anna, the god of the sky, Ea, of earth, and Mulg, of the lower abyss; each of whom was a male deity, with his spouse, a kind of feminine hypostasis of his attributes. These gods had so far no distinct personality, and it was they who war with the evil spirits, authors of ill. Prayer occupied the first place in this cult, but sacrifice is also mentioned, though destitute of elevation or morality. Such was the religion of the Accadians, which received a further development through the influence of the Semitic Kushites. We now find the fundamental idea of a divine unity in a pantheistic sense. The hidden God, who contains all things within himself, manifests himself in a diversity of phenomena. Secondary gods, ranged below him, only personify his attributes. The god is Iiu, Babylon is his city,—the city of Iiu;—and from him emanates the first triad—

Anu, or primordial chaos,
Bel, the Demiurge,
Nuah, the saviour, the intelligent guide.

Each of these three has his corresponding feminine divinity, viz. Anat, Belit, and Tiamati, respectively. A second triad is composed of the sun, the moon, and the atmosphere, who are followed by the five planets.

Really this new mythology is the same conception as that of the ancient Chaldeans, with a sidereal element in addition. We have the same mysterious supreme god, whether called Iiu or Anna. The first triad corresponds to the old three regions of the universe. Only the feminine element occupies a more important position in the new pantheon, Anat, Belit, and Istar (the planet Venus) representing it in its fecundity and in its sexual pleasure. It is this which explains the compulsory prostitution of every woman in the temple at Babylon.

Assyria, in possessing itself of Babylon, and founding its immense empire, changed nothing but one name in the Chaldean pantheon. It raised its god Assur to the dignity of the Supreme God, but without essentially modifying the character of the latter. It, however, gave him a striking personification upon earth, in the person of its conquering king, and from this point the history becomes an important factor in the development of religion.

The king described his victories as brought about by Assur. "The god Assur, my lord, told me to march forth, &c." The splendid palaces raised to the glory of the king were temples of that magnificent royalty of which the god Assur was the august type. This striking representation of the victorious war of the national deities against evil powers became a real religion, and we thus emerge from the placid sidereal pantheon of the Chaldeans, although, after all, the new element is simply superimposed over the primitive basis of the ancient religion.

But, beside the development of the official religion, a sense of personal sin grew up gradually amongst the Chaldeans. The voice of conscience began to be heard, purifying the cowardly terrors of superstition. It is impossible that this development of conscience should not have co-existed with an idea, more or less confused, of retribution in a future life. We thus find a privileged place awarded to valiant soldiers in the abode of the dead. But it is to Assyria that is owed a new development in the conception of the future life. We now find a distinct progress in the idea of retribution attached to a future life. We find two frightful monsters, representing retributive torments, in the lower regions, and above, on the earth, the dead placed between two protecting gods. There is therefore recourse to the gods against the terrible power of hell.

(b)—Vol. XIV. No. 3, Nov. and Dec. 1886.

(1) M. Edouard Montet describes the Persian Drama, and its intimate connexion with
religion. It is a modern growth, contemporary with the decline of Persian political influence, and with the religious revival marked by the rise of Bahism.

The tragic dramas are founded, like miracle-plays, on religious subjects, the theme being the death of the descendants of 'Ali. The authors are generally unknown, and the actors take great liberties with the text. They are of inordinate length, one play lasting a whole Muharram, which is the season at which they are usually performed. A play begins with the history of Joseph, his sojourn in the well being considered a type of Hussain's capture. Thence we are taken day by day through the religious history of the Shi'as, the last act transporting us to the resurrection, in which Jacob, Joseph, Abraham, David, Solomon, Noah, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatima, Hassan, Hussain, &c., come to life. While the patriarchs and kings of Israel only think of their own salvation, Muhammad and his descendants intercede for sinners, who, saved by the blood shed at the Karbala, enter into paradise. The final moral is, therefore, that the belief of the Shi'as is the only true religion.

(2) M. L. Feer discusses Vr̥tra and Namuuci as described in the Māhābhārata. Indra's combat with Vṛtra is described twice in that poem, once in the Vana-Parva (īlāka 8691), and once in the Udyoga-Parva (īlāka 239). M. Feer maintains that, as these two accounts are mutually irreconcilable, the latter must refer to Namuuci, and not to Vṛtra. References to the Vedic traditions show that Vṛtra and Namuuci are confused at a very early period. They both represent the storm-clouds, which only yield to the god of the thunderbolt after a terrific combat.

(c)—Vol. XV. No. I, January and February, 1887.

Mr. Paul Regnand discusses the meaning of the Vedic adjective amūra, which both translates as "infallible" (connecting it with the root mūr, 'break'), and Grassmann and Ludwig, as 'not benumbed,' 'wise' (connecting it with a root mūr, nearly related to mārcha, and signifying, 'be stupid'). M. Regnand prefers the latter interpretation, comparing the Sanskrit māra, 'dried,' 'hardened,' 'a hard thing,' whence 'a material form'; the Greek ἀμαύρα 'a fool,' and the Latin mōles and mārsum. The common idea of the whole family is 'the condition of dryness.'

In the three passages in the Rig-Veda, in which mūra and amūra are opposed, mūra designates men (the benumbed), and amūra, the gods (the awakened). Comparing this with the cognate terms māra-amūra, it seems as if the original meaning of the root mūr, 'to die,' was 'to be dry, hard, unmovable.'

(d)—Vol. XVI. No. 1, July and August, 1887.

(1) M. Paul Regnand discusses the Vedic word rīta, which is usually translated 'that which is applied.' The objection to this is that it is not the root ar (ṛ), but its causal, which means 'to apply.' When the primitive form is used in this sense, it has the prefix ar, prati, or anām.

Ar means properly 'to go,' 'to set oneself in movement,' hence 'to reach,' 'to bring oneself near to,' which explains the meaning of the causative, 'to cause to approach,' 'to join,' 'to adapt.'

Rita, therefore corresponds, primitive, to the idea 'set in motion'; but we see from the Sanskrit rīja, Latin rec-tus, German recht, &c., (root ar, raj, 'to go,' 'to go to,' 'to advance,' 'to approach') that the meaning of 'right,' at first physically, and afterwards morally, naturally proceeds from that of 'set in motion,' 'sent forth,' 'directed.' It seems, therefore, to M. Regnand, that there is little doubt that rīta eventually came to mean 'that which is good,' 'that which is just,' 'that which should be done,' through the idea of 'right,' 'in right line.' Its contrary is an-rī-ta, a word of which the meaning 'not right,' 'false,' has remained in the earlier stage. The use of the word rītē, 'without,' is also easily explained by the original meaning of 'set in motion;' rītē tē means 'being set in motion to depart from thee,' or simply 'separated from thee,' 'removed from thee,' 'without thee.'

(2) The same number contains a translation into French by M. J. A. Decourdumanche of the Turkish Akhlaq-i-Hamidi of Muhammad Sa'dī Effendi. The work is a treatise on Muhammadan morals. The translation is continued in the following number, and concluded in the first No. of Vol. XVII.

(e)—Vol. XVI. No. 2, September and October, 1887.

(1) Dr. Ign. Goldziher gives an interesting paper on the Monotheism of the Musalmāns.

(2) M. Paul Regnand follows with a note on jeux de mots in the Vēdas. These are puns, but are natural and not intentional. The authors, instead of deliberately playing upon a twofold meaning, are misled by it. Thus Agni is properly Fire, and more specially the Fire of Sacrifice, but he is first of all the brilliant one (root āk, āksh), and as such is a déva, 'a god' (root die, to be brilliant). In this way he gets all the characteristics of the dévas.

So also Indra was originally the brilliant, or the burning one (root ind, īdh) and therefore a déva.

But, as brilliant and burning, he has become the ardent, the energetic one,—whence his struggles and his victories.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.  

Vol. XVII. No. 1, January and February, 1888.

(1) This number contains an interesting review, impossible to summarise satisfactorily, being a summary itself, by M. Eugene Mounse, of Dr. Meyer's work on the Myth of Achilles. The foundation of the Iliad appears to Dr. Meyer to have been a little poem, the Achilleis, composed, about 850 B.C., by a singer of genius, who was possibly called Homer. This poem consisted of three parts: the first, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; the second, the defeat of the Achaeans, and the exploits of Agamemnon; and the third, the victory of Achilles over Xanthis and Hector. This legend is then worked out with its parallels in other Aryan nationalities, including India and Germany. As already explained, it is impossible to summarise this portion of the article, which is that most interesting to Indian students. As a rule, Peleus is compared with Pururavas, Thetis with Urvashi, and Achilles with Aya and Arjuna.

(2) In the same number M. Paul Regnard combats Professor Max Muller's theory of the Sources of Mythology, and maintains:—

(i) In the beginning, language was applied to objects, rather than to the thinking and speaking subject.

(ii) The conscient idea or image of the objects is anterior to the names which they have received, and can remain independent even after the creation of the names.

(iii) Mythology, which is developed by the help of words, took its birth independently, and rests on an alternate basis which is logical and psychological rather than verbal.

Vol. XVII. No. 2, March-April, 1888.

This number contains a long review, by M. J. Halévy, of Prof. Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.

Geo. A. Grierson.

THE BODLEIAN COLLECTION OF COINS.

The richness of the cabinet of coins under the care of the Curators of the Bodleian Library is not, I think, generally known. In his recently issued valuable report Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, states that "the Bodleian collection of coins and medals numbers upwards of 50,000 pieces, and is the second largest in the empire."

A printed catalogue of its contents was issued in 1750, but since that time many additions had been made, and the coin-room had been so much neglected that it was of very little service to students. Mr. Nicholson passes lightly over the evidence of his predecessors' neglect, though he ventures to remark that "it may pretty safely be said that at the beginning of 1884, the collection was not known to contain half as many pieces as were actually in it."

In 1884 the Librarian undertook the reorganization of the department. His first work was to examine the multitude of cabinets, and to turn out of the coin-room the hundreds of trays found to be empty. The contents of the remaining trays and the loose coins were then sorted and roughly counted by the Library staff with the assistance of Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, the late Mr. Vaux, F.R.S., and Mr. C. P. Shipton.

The result obtained from the rough counting was that the collection was found to contain in all 50,417 coins, of which 22,677 pieces have been arranged, more or less accurately, and 19,771 have been catalogued in 48 catalogues.

The Oriental class of coins is defined as including those of all countries east of the Euphrates, those of autonomous Judea, and all Muhammadan coins. This class comprises 5,249 specimens, of which 2,038 are returned as arranged, and 1,171 as catalogued in one catalogue.

The statistics above quoted are for Nov. 8, 1884. Since that date the Clarendon Press has published an illustrated catalogue of the Muhammadan coins, compiled by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, "the first Bodleian coin-catalogue issued for 138 years."

"In 1884-85 Mr. Oman arranged and labelled the Roman Republican coins in terms of Cohen's Monnaies de la République Romaine. The subsequent appearance of Babelon's still more complete work made it desirable that the latter should be substituted as the standard of reference, and an adaptation has been carried out by the Librarian as far as the coins without family-name are concerned."

"In 1885 Mr. Oman began to arrange and label the 'Greek' series in terms of the corresponding volumes of the British Museum coin-catalogues, and at the end of 1887 had finished the sections comprised in the volumes lettered 'Italy,' Sicily,' Thrace, etc.,' 'Macedon, etc.,' 'Thessaly to Etolia,' 'Central Greece,' 'Crete and Egean Islands,' and 'Seleucid kings of Syria;' he had also provisionally arranged the sections for Attica and the Peloponnese, the volumes corresponding to which had not then been issued."

In 1888 I examined the Gupta series of Indian coins in the collection, and supplied the Librarian with a manuscript catalogue of the gold and silver.
copper pieces, and some brief notes on the silver pieces, in accordance with which the series was promptly re-arranged. My notes have since been published in full in my paper entitled “The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India,” which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1889.

The Bodleian collection of Gupta coins is specially distinguished by the unique specimen of Kumāragupta’s coinage. I found two small copper coins of Chandragupta among the unclassed specimens, and, since the publication of the paper referred to, five or six more examples of the copper money of the same king have been rescued from the crowd of unassigned coins.

The time at my disposal did not permit me to examine in detail the other classes of early Indian coins, but a hasty glance at some trays showed me that the collection includes many examples of the coinage of the Mitra kings, and other ancient pre-Muhammadan dynasties of India. A catalogue of the Bodleian Buddhist and Hindu coins cannot well be attempted until the British Museum leads the way by cataloguing its possessions of the kind, and unfortunately the difficulties in the way of such an undertaking are very formidable. But in time these difficulties will doubtless be surmounted by the energy of Mr. R. S. Poole and his able colleagues, which has already triumphed over so many obstacles, and it will then be easy to complete the catalogue of the Bodleian numismatic treasures.

15th March 1889.

V. A. SMITH.

THE TITHI OF A SAMKRANTI.

In the samkrānti-phala of Ganpat Krīshnaji’s almanac for Saka-Saṅvat 1799 (expired) (A.D. 1877-78), there is the following passage:—Svasti śrīman-ṛṣiṣa-Vikramarkasamay-Āṭita-saṅvat 1934 Sarvadāhū-nāma-saṅvatsarāḥ; tathā śrīman-ṛṣiṣa-Sālāvahama-Saṅkē 1799 Īvāra-nāma-saṅvatsarāḥ; daksināpyāna hēmanītā-pitāu Pausha-māsa sukla-pakṣe tithiḥ 8 ghaṭikāh 5 palāni 10 pariṣṭhā 9 saṁkramaṇa-tithau Maṇḍa-vāsarāḥ nākhatraḥ. Aśvini ghaṭikāh 41 palāni 37 saṁkramaṇ-arkaḥ yogā Siddhi ghaṭikāh 25 palāni 15 saṁkramaṇa-yogṛ tāktikē Balavat-karaṇē śvam-āśī-panchāṅgā-suddhāḥ atra-dinē vṛtta-mānta-māṇḍa-vidyāy gata-ghaṭikāh 19 palāni 0 saṁyālaśakara-rāsa-vāha saṁkramaṇaḥ syāt. Tadā daksināpyāna hēmanītā-pitāu-Dhana-

1 I give the passages, throughout, just as they stand in the original almanac.

2 This is the most convenient name for quoting the almanac started by Prof. K. L. Chhatre. Since his death, it has been continued by his collaborators apparently on the same lines, and with the same title of saṁkrāntyāv niyātāḥ; udāgāyana-śāsārinīt-tvam saṁkramaṇa-yogṛ pravṛttiḥ. Tadā devānāṁ din-ādaḥ; dātīyānāṁ rātīr-udgāmah. Aṣaya-puṇya-kāla saṁkramaṇa-samayāḥ śvāya-sthāyāya nākhatraḥ. From this, with the page for the month of Pausha in the body of the almanac, we learn that the niyāgata Maṇḍa-Saṅkramaṇa occurred, or was cast to occur, at 19 ghaṭaḥ after sunrise on Monday-Saṅkramaṇa occurred, or was cast to occur, at a moment later than the ending-point of the expired tithi ordinarily belonging to the day. In the other years examined by me, Saka-Saṅvat 1802, 1803, 1804, 1807, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were different; in each case the moment for the Saṅkramaṇa is earlier than the ending-time of the expired tithi properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next tithi.

I find the practice to be the same in the Paṭwardhāni Pañchāṅgā. 3 In each of the years Saka-Saṅvat 1799, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807 (expired), the Maṇḍa-Saṅkramaṇa occurred, or was cast to occur, before the ending-time of the expired tithi properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next tithi. But in the years Saka-Saṅvat 1800, 1801, 1804, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were analogous to those of Saka-Saṅvat 1799 (expired), according to Ganpat Krīshnaji’s almanac; and in the same way there is named, first the tithi ending on the day, and then the next tithi, commencing at that moment, and current at the time of the Saṅkramaṇa.

And, as it emphasises in a special manner the point that I have in view, I will quote in full the passage in the samkrānti-phala of the Paṭwardhāni Pañchāṅgā for Saka-Saṅvat 1808.

Nṛsiḥ ākāśa Paṭwardhāni Pañchāṅgā "tā new or Paṭwardhāni Pañchāṅgā." As I have stated on a previous occasion (ante, Vol. XVI, p. 81), this almanac appears to be rather a theoretical one, intended to improve and rectify the calendar; and Ganpat Krīshnaji’s almanac is the one most in actual use in the Bombay Presidency.
(expired) (A.D. 1888-87). It runs thus—
Svasti; śrīman-nṛjpa-Vikramārka-samay-āṭṭā-
sanvat 1903 Hēmalamba-nāma-samvatsarē; tathā śrīman-nṛjpa-Sīlīvahana-Śakē 1908 Vyaya-nāma-
samvatsarē; daksīṇāyana hēmanta-ritau Pausha-māsē sukla-pakkuḥ tithau 13 gha 3 p
24 paraṇ 14 saṃkramaṇa-tīthau Maṅda-
vāśarē nakshatra Mṛga gha 10 p 7 paraṇ Āṛdrā saṃkramaṇa-arkshē yōga Aindra 52 p 19 saṃkramaṇa-yōgē tātākālīkē Vanija-karanē ēvaṃ-
ādi-paṃchāṅga-sūddhāv atra-dīnē uri-sūry-
odayād gata-gha 47 p 20 samaye Maṅka-
rāsau rāvaḥ saṃkramaṇa ayat. Tadā daksīṇāyana – hēmanta-rāṭha – Dhanasakrāntayō
tīyitāḥ; udayagaya-sīśāraṇī-Maṅkarasaṃkram-
tayāḥ pravṛttāḥ. Tadā dēvānām din-ādīyāḥ;
tattāḥ; tad-agre gauṁ. From this, with the page
text for the month of Pausha in the body of the
almanac, we learn that the śīryayā Maṅkara-
Saṃkṛantu occurred, or was cast to occur, at 47 gha,
20 p. after sunrise on Mandavāśarē or Saturday,
5th January, A.D. 1887. On that day, there
ended (1) the ordinary tīthi of the day, Pausha
śukla 13, at an earlier moment, viz. at 3 gha. 49 p.
after sunrise; and (2) the tīthi śukla 14 at 55 gha.
30 p., after the time for the Maṅkara-Saṃkṛantu.
According to the usual rule, this latter tīthi was
an expanded tīthi, for all ordinary purposes;
and it is so shown in the almanac. This tīthi,
however, though thus expanded, is the one which,
being actually current at the moment of the
saṃkramāṇa, is quoted as the tīthi of the saṃkṛantu.
In this case, the nakshatra is specified in exactly
the same way; so also both the nakshatra and the
yōga, in both almanac, in some others of the
ten years examined. For this, I can see no
particular reason; as it seems self-evident that
the actually current nakshatra and yōga should
always be quoted. But instances of mentioning
in this way, first the expired and then the current
nakshatra and yōga, are to be found in the Newār
dates Nos. 13 and 16, given by Prof. Kielhorn,
ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 249, 250.
In respect of the saṃkramāṇa-tīthi, the same
practice is disclosed in the Sāyana-Paṇchāṅga for
Saṅkara-Sanvatsarē 1888 (expired) (A.D. 1888-87),
where, in the śīyaya saṃkṛantu-phala, we have —
Svasti; sanvatsarē 1943 Viśāmī-nāma-samvatsarē;
tathā cha śrī Śa-Sā 1888 Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarē;
hēmanta-ritau Pausha-māsē krīṣṇa-pakṣē
dakṣināyana gha 29 p 31 vartamāna-dvādasayāṁ
Bhāuma-vāsāre Anurukhā-dīna-nakṣate
Vṛddhī-yōgē tātākālīkē Kaṇava-karanē sūry-
odayāt gha 50 p 56 tadā Maṅkara-rāsau
rāvaḥ saṃkramāṇaṁ bhavatī. Tadā udayagaya-
pravṛttī. Saṃkṛantu-punya-kālaḥ dvādaśayāṁ
Buddha-vāsāre sūry-odayāt asta-paryantam. Here
the details are for Tuesday, 21st December,
A.D. 1886. The ordinary tīthi of the day was
Pausha krīṣṇa 11, which ended at 29 gha. 31 p.;
but the hour for the śīyaya Maṅkara-Saṃkṛantu
being later, viz. 50 gha. 56 p., the tīthi that is
quoted as the actual tīthi of the saṃkṛantu, is
krīṣṇa 12, expressly specified as "current," and
connected here with the Tuesday, though in the
passage for the puya-kāla it is connected with the
Wednesday, to which it ordinarily belongs as
an expired tīthi, ending at 26 gha. 20 p. So also
in the same almanac for Saṅkara-Sanvatsarē 1899
(expired) (A.D. 1897-89), in the Grahalāpa
saṃkṛantu-phala we have — Svasti; śrīman-
nṛjpa-Vikramārka-samvatsarē 1943 Viśāmī-nāma-
samvatsarē; tathā cha śrīman-nṛjpa-Sīlīvahana-
Śakē 1899 Sarvajñā-nāma-samvatsarē; hēmanta-
ritau Pausha-krī-14 gha 20 p 31 vartamā-
ṇa-dvādasayāṁ Guru-vāsāre sūry-odayāt
gha 55 p 33 tadā Purv-Aśālīkā-nāma
nakṣatre Harshaṇa-yōgē Nāga-karanē Maṅkara-
rāsau rāvaḥ saṃkramāṇaṁ bhavatī. Tasya
punya-kālaḥ; Bhūrga-vāsāre sūry-odayāt sūry-
āsta-paryant. Here the details are for
Thursday, 12th January, A.D. 1888. The ordinary
tīthi of the day was Pausha krīṣṇa 14, ending at
29 gha. 31 p.; the śīyaya Maṅkara-Saṃkṛantu
occurred at 53 gha. 33 p.; and the tīthi then
current was the amsātāg or new-moon, Pausha
krīṣṇa 15 or 30, which ended at 18 gha. 7 p. on
the Friday.
From these passages we see that, in specifying
the tīthi of a saṃkṛantu, the custom is to
quote the tīthi that is actually current at the
moment of the saṃkṛantu. And the rule thus
disclosed will doubtless help to solve some dates
which otherwise may not apparently yield
correct results. It will be necessary, however,
in dealing with dates mentioning saṃkṛantu, to
note the actual wording of them, and to determine
whether the given tīthi is intended to be the tīthi
of the occurrence of the saṃkṛantu, or the tīthi of
the puya-kāla or meritorious time for celebrating
any rites and ceremonies connected with the
saṃkṛantu. For the puya-kāla, which is too
30; there being thus a misprint at one or other of
the two places. — The śīyaya Maṅkara-Saṃkṛantu occurred at
5 gha. 19 p. on Thursday, 22nd December, A.D. 1887,
Pausha śukla 8, ending at 48 gha. 15 p.; and this is the
only tīthi mentioned in the śīyaya saṃkṛantu-phala.
involved a question to be considered in the present note, probably the ordinary expired titki, and not the current titki, would always be quoted.

J. F. Fleet.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

The existence of a Vikrama year commencing with the month Āshāḍha became first known to me, several months ago, through a note of Mr. Fleet's, on page 79 of the Introduction of his Gupta Inscriptions. Since then, Mr. Fleet has drawn more prominently attention to this curious year, page 93 above, and it is in response to the request expressed in his concluding paragraph, that I publish the following dates, which distinctly refer themselves to the Āshāḍhādi samvat. According to the information collected by Mr. Fleet, the Āshāḍhādi year is a Vikrama year which commences three months later than the northern (Chaitrādi), or, which is the same thing, four months earlier than the southern (Kṛtiṭhādi) year; and, assuming this to be true, any dates of the Āshāḍhādi year falling in any of the nine months from Āshāḍha to Phālguni must, for the purpose of calculation, be treated as northern dates, while such dates as fall in the three months Chaitra, Vaisākha, and Jyaiṣṭha, must, for the purpose of calculation, be regarded as southern dates. My dates, which fall in the months Māgha, Śrāvaṇa, Vaisākha, and Phālguni, prove that on this point Mr. Fleet's information is correct; and the last date, belonging to a dark fortnight, shows that (in this instance) the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of the Āshāḍhādi year is the amavāsa (southern) arrangement. The dates are as follows: —

1. — In Archaeol. Survey of Western India, No. 2, List of Antiquarian Remains, pp. 264-265, there is (what appears to be) a rough transcript of an inscription at Aḍālij, 12 miles north of Ahmadābād, which records the building of a well by the Rājā Rājā, the wife of the Vaghela chief Varsintha of the Dandāhī-dōsa, and of which the date is given in the following passages:

L. 1. — Śani vāsanta mahā-bhājā-chāya, srī Mahimūṭa-vajrayājy; ।

L. 2. — Śati śripa-maṇḍrapa-Vikrama-samayātītā bālā (1) kām-pratāmaśa Hastinapura-bājā-chāya, (cha sampradāya) ।

2. — According to Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library, page 348, a manuscript of the Prabhāsakāśītāstrīthāyādvatākrama bears the following date: —

śaṅvat 15 Āśāḍhādi 34 vāras (vāras) Śrāvaṇa-śādi 5 Bhūthaśaumad ad[?]* cha srī-Kadaṇapura ethāniḥ pāṇaśaka-śrī[śrī]-Mahimūṭa-vajrayājy; . . . . . .
"on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the Āśāḍhādi (Vikrama) year 1584, here, at the place Kadananūra, in the reign of victory of the Sultān, the illustrious Mahmūd."

Calculating, again, for Śrāvaṇa śukla 5 of the ordinary northern and southern Vikrama years, we obtain the following results:

- for the northern year 1534, current.—Friday, 28th July, A.D. 1476;
- for the northern year 1534, expired,—or the southern year 1534, current.—Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, when the first tithi of the bright half ended about 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise;
- for the southern year 1534 expired, in which Śrāvaṇa was intercalary,—for the first Śrāvaṇa,—Saturday, 4th July, A.D. 1478;
- for the second Śrāvaṇa,—Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1478.

Of these, Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, is clearly the day intended by the date; and since Indian dates, as a rule, are recorded in expired years, we are justified in assuming that the year 1534 of the date was the expired Āśāḍhādi year, and that the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of this Āśāḍhādi year was also the bright half of the same month of the same northern year.

3. — According to Professor Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. I., page 69, a manuscript of the Tāḍāyabrāhmaṇa, which was evidently written in Gujarāt, is dated:—

svaśi samvat Āśāḍhādi 83 varah Vaiśāsha(kha)-sita-dviti[ya]-iyān Bhumitanyā... etc., apparently, "on Tuesday, the second lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Āśāḍhādi (Vikrama) year 83."

Here the figures for the century have, either purposely or negligently, been omitted; but, learning from Professor Weber that the MS. is an old one, and "may well have been written about samvat 1583, I feel no hesitation in saying that the year of the date is 1583, and that the copyist, similarly to what we have seen in the preceding date, intended to write or should have written "samvat 15 Āśāḍhādi 83 varah." And calculating for Vaiśākha śukla 2 of the ordinary northern and southern years, I find the following equivalents:

- for the northern year 1583, current.—Monday, 24th April, A.D. 1525;
- for the northern year 1583, expired,—or the southern year 1583, current.—Friday, 18th April, A.D. 1526;
- for the southern year 1583, expired,—Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, when the second tithi of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, and the date proves that the bright half of Vaiśākha of the Āśāḍhādi year is also the bright half of the same month of the same southern year.

4. — On page VII. of the Notes, Corrections and Additions to his Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, Professor Bhandarkar has given the date of a MS. of a commentary on the Sūkhana-stūlayāḥ, evidently also written in Gujarāt, thus:—

samvat 16 Āśāḍhādi vadi 99 varah Phağūna-vadi 11 tithi Śoma-dīnā.

Here the words Āśāḍhādi vadi, of course, are meaningless; and there can be no doubt that the writer, who was not copying from another MS., but wished to give the date on which he finished his own copy, meant to write or, and this appears more probable, actually has written—

samvat 16 Āśāḍhādi 99 varah, —

i.e., "in the Āśāḍhādi (Vikrama) year 1698, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Phağūna, on a Monday." And calculating, again, for Phağūna kṛṣṇa 11 of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama years, and for both the pāṛṇimā data and the amānta schemes of the lunar fortnights, I obtain the following results:

- for Vikrama 1699 current, pāṛṇimā data—Tuesday, 15th February, A.D. 1643;
- amānta—Wednesday, 16th March, A.D. 1642;
- for Vikrama 1699 expired, pāṛṇimā data—Sunday, 5th February, A.D. 1643;
- amānta—Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, when the 11th tithi of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, and the date proves that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of this Āśāḍhādi year was the amānta arrangement of the ordinary southern Vikrama year.

As regards the above dates in general, it may be noted that out of several hundreds of Vikrama dates in inscriptions and MSS. which I have examined, they are the only dates hitherto discovered which mention the Āśāḍhādi year; that they are all from Gujarāt, and that three of them belong to about the same time (Vikrama 1584, 1555, and 1583). Moreover, attention deserves to be drawn to the peculiar manner in which the year of the date is expressed in the second, third and fourth dates, and in line 9 of the first date, by separating the figures for the century
from the figures for the year within the century, and altogether omitting the word for 'hundred.' And in this respect I may be permitted to quote here, from page 166 of Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, as an even more instructive example, a date of about the same time and from the same part of India, which runs as follows:

svasti sanvat pañchadasa 15 asatat 60
pravartamāṇe uttarāyanāṃśu śrī-arjuna
grishma-ritau mahāmāṅgalya-pradhān Jyotisā\n(jyotisāḥ-māṣe) aṣita-pakās drādasa-
ghaṭikā-paryanta-puramāṇā taduṣṭaṃ-
pratiṣṭhaṃ tuṣṭim Bṛgu-vardhi adhyāya
Simhodraḍā-sthānā . . .

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BOOK NOTICES.


The study of Sanskrit Grammar may be profitably regarded, as having like that, for example, of Euclid, an interest and educational importance quite apart from its practical bearing. The Pāṇini system, though no critical student would venture to hold it up as an Ideal, is in itself so marvellously a monument of human ingenuity and withal so characteristic of India, that no real and scientific student of the speech of the country can entirely dispense with a knowledge of it. Its influence indeed extended, as was so ably shown by the late Dr. Burnell, throughout the Peninsula and beyond the confines of Aryan speech. The modern Indian student, for whom the present work is principally intended, may be regarded as occupying a place midway between the superficial learner in Europe for merely philosophical purposes, and the old-fashioned Indian śiśya who seems to have spent years in committing to memory rules, of which he probably understood at first even less than our own Eton students of their old Latin grammar.

The general plan adopted by Prof. Kielhorn has been, to adapt the rules of the chief Native grammarians to the requirements of teaching after Western methods. This has involved the inclusion of a considerable number of forms not actually occurring in Sanskrit literature. For all this, the grammar is not to be regarded as a mere introduction to the theoretic study of grammar above referred to; but rather, as Prof. Kielhorn puts it, in introducing his chapter on Syntax, which forms a new and acceptable feature of the present volume: "The forms . . . taught . . . are not learnt for their own sake, but for the use "to be made of them in the sentence." Thus recognizing, as all must do who have been privileged to hold converse with the best culture of India even of to-day, the great importance of Sanskrit as a medium of practical intercourse, Prof. Kielhorn in this work provides his readers with a book of instruction and reference to supply forms that can be justified from the main authorities still deferred to.

In the Chapter on Letters, spaced Roman type has been used for the more difficult forms, to great advantage. Indeed for European students it might have been well to have added it further on in the work for the more difficult paradigms, as has been done so successfully by Mr. Macdonell in his new edition of Prof. Max Müller's Grammar.

In the Declension-section, anvayāḥ, beloved of grammarians, appears in full proportions, in spite of its great rarity in the classical language, and even the theoretical feminine is retained, perhaps in deference to the Indian reader's feeling of reverence for the sacredness of its meaning; but it is satisfactory, and more characteristic of the general method of the work, to note that fictions like priyachate, discussed by the commentators in the same passage of Pāṇini (vii, 1, 98, 99), are excluded.1 In the rules for verbs, it might be of assistance to add at abular summary of the saulhi-rules, and in particular to note a case like vṛṣya, where the rule for the general tenses differs from that for the special tenses.

1 And yet I well remember being set to learn this form by even a European teacher, who rendered it, by-the-by, into a monstrosity of English worthy of the original: *donoir*-(having).
‘aait’ roots given in the five formidable couplets on p. 110. I may perhaps be allowed to record my own experience in learning and teaching, that the best way to master this crux is to divide the final consonants into two groups, according as they tend to cause the insertion or rejection of the i. The exceptions amongst verbs in ordinary use will be found to be very few, when this has been done, as it easily may be done, from the tables in Monier-Williams and Whitney.

In other cases, where the Pāṇiniyan nomenclature is concise, and not difficult even for beginners to acquire, e.g. the names of tenses, it might be added parenthetically. This would facilitate intercourse with Pāṇijits and their books, as well as prepare the way for the study of the older authorities.

The list of Irregular Verbs (§ 403) is printed with admirable clearness; but in some cases the verbs selected are of rare occurrence, at least in the forms tabulated. For example, the first root of seems only to occur in the ‘Classical’ Language in the Paramasī Special Tenses; the same applies to $\text{vni}$; while $\text{vrio}$ is, like $\text{anadu}$, to the ordinary student, little more than a grammatical curiosity. The statistical school, as represented by Prof. Whitney, would, it is to be feared, make great havoc of the elaborate rules for forming causal aorists from vowel-initial roots, interestingly parallel though they are to Greek forms like $\text{gryw}$; for we now learn that only three of these forms have been found in literature (Whitney, 'Verb-forms,' pp. 224, 225). Still it must by no means be concluded that the study of Indian grammar, as set forth from traditional sources, when unconfirmed by the statistics, confessedly and indeed necessarily imperfect, of modern research has no more than the theoretic value to which we referred at the outset. Much important literature in Sanskrit itself still remains to be explored, while the scientific study of the Prākṛta and Āryan vernaculars is daily progressing and throwing side-light's on the ancient grammatical learning.

A special feature of the edition is the addition of a Chapter on Syntax, which has great value as one of the first expositions of this portion of grammar by a European scholar already distinguished as an exponent of the Native authorities.

I must conclude this very inadequate notice by an observation on two syntactical points, which have always interested me, and on which it would be extremely useful to hear the further opinion both of Dr. Kielhorn himself and of the traditional interpreters of the old युक्तार्थम्, such as might be easily gained by many an Indian reader of this Journal with little trouble to himself and possibly great profit to us in Europe.

(1) In § 584 (a) Dr. Kielhorn states that "in the classical literature the three past tenses are used without distinction."

This no doubt holds good as a general statement as far as concerns the Imperfect and Aorist. But as for the Perfect Dr. Speijer's illustrations of the Pāṇiniya sūtra (iii., 2, 115) parakshā hit, from Danṣin and Sūmadēva, merit consideration, as tending to show that good prose writers do observe Pāṇini's rule; and to the same conclusion we are led by the rarity of the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd persons of the tense.

(2) In explaining the rule for the case assumed by the agent of the primitive when it becomes a causal, Dr. Kielhorn adheres to the old rule of Pāṇini (I. iv. 52, gati-buddhi).

But surely there is much force in the objections urged by Bābû Ānandārama Vaḍuji and by Dr. Speijer (op. cit. § 49), who point out that really the instrumental is always used when actual agency or instrumentality is emphasized: e.g.,

Mān, viii., 371, तां च तनि: सारस्वतिर्मा, which is against Pāṇini but still, I venture to think, a perfectly good construction, because the point is, not that the king makes the (possibly willing) dogs devour the criminal, but that the criminal meets her death by such degrading means. With this contrast another citation of Dr. Speijer, Kathāsarita-gāra, Tar. ix. 460. 10: च राजा प्राप्तम्; where the point is, not getting the porridge eaten by someone, but making the queen eat it. So too it would seem that, in spite of authority, the process of making a person pay (राजवत्), doubtless always familiar to Orientals, could not be expressed by so gentle a means as the instrumental construction but takes two accusatives.

Cecil Bendall.


Mr. Legge has done good work in bringing out this new translation of Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhist Kingdoms. And we regret not having been able to notice his book at an earlier date; the more so because, in addition to including

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* Sanskrit Syntax (Leiden, 1886), § 230.
* Higher Sanskrit Grammar (Calcutta, 1879), §§ 139, 166.
a new and noteworthy feature, in the production of the Chinese text, from a copy obtained through Mr. Bunyu Nanjo, it is enriched with such ample notes, embodying all the advances up to date attained by recent researches in this line of study, that it must almost entirely supersede previous translations and expositions of the same work.

The visits to India, paid in the early centuries of the Christian era by eager Chinese pilgrims, are most interesting historical events. They stand out to great advantage from the mass of myths and legends which do duty as Hindu history. The spirit which drove these restless monks, the Luthers of an earlier Reformation, to seek truth at the cradle of their faith, preserved the records they left behind them from all taint of fable or exaggeration; and the result is in many respects a trustworthy tale. Nor are those elements wanting which might move us to deeper feeling than a mere passing interest. When we consider what a journey from China to India by way of Central Asia means even in these days, we may well be moved to admiration by the devotion, the zeal, and the fortitude which must have inspired a humble traveller to venture on such a journey fourteen centuries ago. It is true that Fa-Hien took his time over it. After his start from China in A.D. 399 or 400, fifteen years passed away before he rested again in Nankin, having pierced Central Asia, crossed India from Peshawar to the mouth of the Ganges, visited Ceylon, and returned home by way of Java. In view of the large tracts of country crossed and the ample leisure Fa-Hien allowed himself, it must be admitted that his diary is meagre; the whole story reproduced in Chinese characters only taking up forty-four pages of Mr. Legge’s book. It deals entirely with the religious state of the countries he visited. In this respect, therefore, it is a work of less value than that of Huen Tsang, which tells a great deal of the political conditions of India. Huen Tsang clearly made good use of his time, but it cannot be said that Fa-Hien, as a diarist, was equally industrious; and it is a most peculiar point that, though his visit to India was made at the time when the power of the Early Gupta of Northern India,—by whom Buddhism appears to have been favoured quite as much as the national religions of India,—was still almost at its zenith, yet no references to that dynasty are to be found in his book. He saw or noted nothing but the special objects of his journey, which were the state of the Buddhist faith, the most approved views of Buddha’s doctrine, and the degree of piety with which its services were performed. He writes, however, as a simple, pious, single-eyed man; his writing is interesting in proportion to his zeal, and there is a fervour and simplicity about his diary which is very winning.

Mr. Legge, distrusting the power of Fa-Hien’s words alone to interest any but scholars, has inserted an attraction for the general reader, by illustrating the narrative with a series of interesting Plates. It would have added to their value, if Mr. Legge had told us something of the age and history of the original drawings. So far as we can judge, they are studies by a modern Chinese artist from older drawings. A few touches here and there are clearly modern, and some points, especially in the treatment of landscape, might well be the work of an artist who knew something of the way Europeans deal with the subject. These illustrations, however, are of great merit. They are taken from what Mr. Legge enthusiastically calls a superb Chinese edition of the Life of Buddha. There are nine in this book, and all are so good as to make us wish there were more. As illustrations by a Buddhist artist of incidents in the life of the great Buddhist Teacher, and as furnishing some striking examples of the likeness of the chief incidents of the Buddhist and Christian creeds, they are of special interest. The frontispiece, for example,—“The Devas celebrating the attainment of the Buddha-ship,”—might almost be the work of some Mongol Fra Angelico. The Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus, surrounded by ranks of adoring hierarchies. Allowing for the difference of the Christian and Buddhist symbols, there is much in this picture to recall Fra Angelico. The handling of the Chinese hagiology, in fact, pointedly recalls the work of the Christian monks. The other illustrations, though not so striking, are remarkable and will repay study.

A further help to reading the story is to be found in Mr. Legge’s profuse and scholarly notes, which occupy on an average one-half of each printed page. But, in respect of both the notes and the text, we cannot help remarking that an undesirable course has been followed in omitting to give always a transliteration of the exact Chinese representation of all the Hindu and other non-Chinese words and names that occur in the book. In respect, for instance, of the geographical names, no doubt the identification of most of the better-known places is now sufficiently well established. Yet on many points there is still room for doubt and controversy. And, as much for help in following the writings of other Chinese pilgrims, as for further investigation of doubtful points in connection with the present book of travels, the exact Chinese equivalents ought to have been given throughout, along with the established or supposed Hindu and other names.
The sketch map of Fā-Ḥien’s travels is very good as it stands, and shows the whole course of the journey in a way which is indispensable to following the text. It would have added to the value of the book, however, had this map been supplemented by others, on a larger scale, of portions of the countries he visited. Such detail is, of course, impossible when one has to show half Asia and Polynesia on a quarto page.

MANAVA-DHARMA-SAstras, THE CODE OF MANU; THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXT, critically edited according to the standard Sanskrit Commentaries, with Critical Notes, by J. JOLLY, PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Würzburg; late Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta. TRUBNER’S ORIENTAL SERIES; London; Trübner & Co. 1837. Post 8vo; pp. xix., 346.

Professor Jolly’s edition of the text of the MANAVA-DHARMA-SAstra or Manu-Smriti, popularly known as the Code of Manu, is a very useful addition to the list of reliable texts of important Sanskrit works. Of this book “the two European editions, Sir G. C. Houghton’s published in 1825, and Loiselle Deslongchamps’ published in 1830, though very creditable productions in their own time, belong to a bygone period of Sanskrit studies, and have long been out of print, while the numerous Indian editions are on the whole nothing but reprints from the two earliest Calcutta editions, published in 1813 and 1830.” These remarks, in his Preface, by the editor of the present Text, will be fully understood and appreciated by anyone familiar with the usual quality of the Hindu “editions,” so-called, of Sanskrit works, prepared otherwise than under European superintendence, or by those who have studied under European teachers and have acquired the Western method of critical editing; and will serve to indicate the special importance of the present version of this ancient book. In addition to the previous printed editions, and to manuscripts of the text only, the preparation of the present Text has been facilitated by the recovery of early Commentaries, by Mādhavītirtha, belonging probably to the ninth century,—of which nine copies have been consulted,—and by Gōvinda-rāja, composed apparently in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and somewhat later ones by Sarvajñā-Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, and Nandana, including also an anonymous commentary from Kāśmir “contained in an ancient carefully written and corrected birch-bark MS. in the Sārāda character,” which is now in the Deccan College Library; selections from all of which are being published by Professor Jolly in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, and will of course form a useful and indispensable aid in any detailed study of the original precepts. And a curious result is,

that it is now found that Kullāka’s commentary, which until recent times was always thought to be the most authoritative exegesis of the Code, and was always associated with it, does not possess the claims to special consideration with which it was invested by the early editors and translators of Manu, but, belonging apparently to the fifteenth century, is most substantially indebted to the preceding commentaries, and in particular to that by Gōvinda-rāja. Copious notes on the various readings of the Text are given in pages 287 to 335; and these are followed by a special feature, viz. a synopsis of the more important discrepancies between the present edition and the text as rendered in the four principal translations, by Houghton, Deslongchamps, Burnell, and Bühler. The last two translations, of which Burnell’s was completed and brought out by Hopkins, are of recent date. To them the present edition of the Text, beautifully printed by W. Drugulin, Oriental and Old Style Printer, Leipzig, will be a most valuable accompaniment.


This is a learned and very useful pamphlet on the coins of the successors of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, who stamped his mark literally on all the coinage of the Paṇjāb, excepting that of Lāhūr and Amīrsar and of Kāśmir. This paper, however, only deals with the coinage of his successors on the throne he established from 1778 to 1842. The history of the Durrānīs is, as Mr. Dames very rightly remarks, “an almost unparalleled series of treasons, rebellions, plots and murders,” and as their coins very fairly represent the various fluctuations of power which so rapidly succeeded each other, Mr. Dames has done good service in recording them.

Ahmad Shāh was succeeded by Taimūr Shāh, his son, who reigned 20 years, and between his death in 1793, and the extinction of the dynasty in 1842, there were 11 reigns over the whole or a part of the kingdom. In this interval, too, one ruler, Shujā’-u’l-Mulk Shāh, remained three times, and another, Mahmūd Shāh twice. Of the sons of Taimūr Shāh that came to the throne, there were Zamān Shāh, Shujā’-u’l-Mulk Shāh, Mahmūd Shāh, Sultan ‘Ali Shāh, and Ayyūb Shāh. Of his grandsons there were Kāmrān, Qaisar Shāh and Fath Jang.

The varying fortunes of these princes can all be noted in the 156 carefully described coins to be found in Mr. Dames’ pamphlet as issued from 15 mint-towns in the Paṇjāb, Kāśmir, Afgānistān, and Turkistān.
A DATED GRÆCO-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE.

BY V. A. SMITH, B.C.S.

The date of the interesting School of Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Kabul Valley has formed the subject of discussion, and is still unsettled. The paucity of inscriptions has rendered the solution of the problem especially difficult. The few which have been found are all in the Arian character.

The only published inscriptions which are directly associated with Græco-Buddhist Sculptures have been found at Jamālgari and Kharkai. Those at the former place consist of some masons' marks, the Hindu names of a weekday and a mouth on a pilaster, and seven characters, read as Sapkal dañamukha, on the back of the nimbus of one of the statues supposed to be those of kings. The record from Kharkai consists merely of the three characters $a$, $r$, and $d$, on the sides of a relic-chamber. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to read these as equivalent to the name of Aryan-Deva, a Buddhist leader at the beginning of the Christian era; but this interpretation is too conjunctural to command confidence. Masons' marks in Arian characters were also noticed at Kharkai.¹

I reserve for another occasion a full discussion of the chronology of Græco-Buddhist art. My present purpose is confined to the publication of the only dated inscription which has yet been discovered, associated with an Indo-Hellenic work of art. I am indebted to the liberality of the discoverer, Mr. L. White King, B.C.S., for permission to publish this unique record.

In or about the year 1883, at Haastnagar, the site of the capital of Peukelosaites, in the modern district of Peeshawar, Mr. King came across a statue of the standing Buddha, which was ignorantly worshipped by the Hindus as an orthodox deity. He could not carry away the statue, but was allowed to remove its inscribed pedestal. This pedestal, like most of the Gandhara sculptures, is composed of blue slate, and is $14\frac{1}{2}''$ long by $8''$ high. Its front is adorned by an alto-relievo, enclosed between two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, representing Buddha, seated, and attended by disciples, who seem to be presenting offerings to him. An Arian inscription, consisting of a single line of characters, deeply and cleanly cut, and in greater part excellently preserved, occupies a smooth band below the relief. This band was evidently prepared for the inscription, which must have been executed at the same time as the sculpture. The accompanying facsimile is from a rubbing taken by Sir A. Cunningham. The record is incomplete at the end, and it is probable that the lost portion contained the name of the person who dedicated the image. The extant portion was read, for Mr. King, by Sir A. Cunningham, as follows:

Sas\(274\) emborasmassas masasa mi p\(\tilde{a}\)chami 5.

Scale '50

The record, as it stands, consists of a date, and nothing more. The month is stated to be intercalary, but is not further named. The numerals are distinct, and their interpretation appears to be certain; the 274 is expressed by two units, a symbol for 100, three symbols, each value 20, one symbol for 10, and one for 4; and the 5 is expressed by I and 4.

The main question suggested by the inscription is the identity of the era referred to. It may be the Saka era of A.D. 78, which was probably used by Kanishka; if so, the date of the record is A.D. 351 or 352. Or the era may be that used by Gondophares in his Takht-i-Bahi inscription from the same region where this pedestal was found. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated in the year 193, and numismatic evidence shows that Gondophares ruled in

¹ Arch. Surv. Ind., Vol. V. pp. 54, 63, Pl. xii. xvi.
the first half of the first century A.D.\textsuperscript{3} The era used by him, consequently, cannot have differed very much from that beginning in 58 B.C., which afterwards became known by the name of Vikrama. I do not, of course, mean to assert that the Vikrama era was actually used by Gondophares; I merely note the fact that he used an epoch which closely approximated to that known as the era of Vikrama. The era employed by Gondophares may have been that of the "great king Mogu," in the 78th year of which the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Lankaka-Kusulaka is dated.\textsuperscript{3}

I hope that some one more learned in eras than I am, may solve the problems propounded by these inscriptions from the Yusufzaï country. The style of the Hashtnagar relief is not very good, the figures not being undercut, as they are in the best examples of Greco-Buddhist art; and I feel more inclined to date the work in A.D. 351-52, than in or about A.D. 210-220; but I cannot say that the earlier date is impossible.

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TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

By V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

There are several ancient poems still extant in the Tamil language, which are of great historical value, but are as yet unknown to European scholars. I do not speak of those poetical works, which are only professedly historical, such as the \textit{Madhurā-Sthalā-Purāṇa} and the \textit{Kāči-Purāṇa}, which are translations of Purāṇas composed in Sanskrit by pious Brāhmaṇas for the glory of the temples or local deities in which they were interested; they are full of absurd stories spun out of the imagination of the authors, interspersed with a few legendary traditions, and are utterly unreliable as historical guides. But I refer to those poems which were composed in praise of contemporary kings or chieftains, and which belong to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamil by the name of \textit{Kēvai}, \textit{Uld}, \textit{Paraśi}, and \textit{Kalambakam}. They are all written in a conventional style peculiar to each class. The \textit{Kēvai} is an anatory poem, in every stanza of which the praises of his patron are cunningly brought in by the author. The \textit{Uld} gives a description of the personal appearance of a king or hero, when he comes out of his palace surrounded by his nobles and officers of state, and of the enamoured behaviour of women, young and old, who are fascinated by his beauty. The \textit{Paraśi} describes a battle or campaign, in which the victor is the author's patron. The \textit{Kalambakam} is a poem very similar to the \textit{Kēvai}, with only this difference, that in the former each stanza is of a different metre, and is addressed to the patron as uttered by his mistress, while in the latter the stanzas are all of one metre, and the patron is not one of the lovers. A poem of any of these kinds would be usually read by the author in a public assembly presided over by his patron, who on the conclusion of the recital would reward the poet with gifts of money or land, and with costly presents such as horses, chariots, elephants, and the like.

These poems owe their preservation to the esteem in which they have been held, not as records of historical events, nor as relics of the poets who composed them, but as rare specimens of the class of metrical compositions to which they belong. Making due allowance for the exaggerations that would naturally find their way into eulogistic verses addressed by poets to their patrons, there is no reason to question the truth of the main events narrated in them; and to the antiquarian and archæologist who have now to elucidate the ancient history of India from inscriptions on temples and copper-plates, such works should be of great interest. The facts that may be gathered from this class of Tamil literature, would enable such enquirers not only to correct or confirm the information they have already collected from inscriptions, but also to trace the history of those periods for which no information can be gathered from the inscriptions.

\textsuperscript{3} Cunningham, \textit{Archaeol. Surv. Ind.}, Vol. II. p. 50; V. pp. 50, 60; Gardner, \textit{Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India}, p. xlii.

\textsuperscript{3} Cunningham, \textit{Archaeol. Surv. Ind.}, Vol. II. p. 132; V. 67; Gardner, p. xlii.
With this view, I have commenced the translation of a few of the poems, which I consider would be most interesting to those who wish to study the ancient history of Southern India. I give below the translation of a small poem, belonging to the class of Paṇḍuṇ, called—

Kaḷaḷvaḷi or the Battle-field.

It is popularly known as the Kaḷaḷvaḷi-Nāṟṟpatu, or "forty stanzas on the battle-field." But all the extant manuscripts which I have examined, contain forty-one stanzas. A printed edition published some years ago by Subbarāya Chettiyār, late Tamil Paṇḍit in the Government Normal School, Madras, also contains forty-one stanzas. The metre of the poem is known in Tamil prosody as Veṇpā. Each line consists of four feet, except the last one in each stanza, which contains only three feet. There is no restriction as to the number of lines in a stanza; but usually it is never less than four. The rhyme is always at the beginning of each line, and not at the end as in English poetry. A few lines of prose, prefixed to the poem, state that, when the Chōla Cheṅkaṇaṟṟu and the Chēṇaṟṟa Kaṇaṟṟkāṟṟaṟṟumppōṟṟu, engaged in battle, and the latter was defeated and taken prisoner, the poet Polkkāyār recited this poem before the Chōla king and obtained the release of the Chēṇa from captivity. This fact of the Chōla releasing the Chēṇa king on hearing the Kaḷaḷvaḷi, is mentioned in many later poems which I shall translate hereafter.

It appears from the poem that the battle which it commemorates was fought at a place called Kaḷumālam (stanzas 36) which was situated somewhere in the Koṇaṟṟu or Chēṇa country. There was then a famous town of the same name in the heart of the Chōla country, which is now known as Shiyāli (a Station on the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District); but this cannot be the place mentioned in the poem. The battle was evidently a very sanguinary engagement, and was fought on a forenoon (St. 1). The Chēṇa army was particularly strong in elephants, while the Chōla had a numerous band of archers and horsemen. The elephants were unable to stand the ceaseless fury of the arrows shot by the Chōla archers, and were slaughtered in great numbers by the cavalry and swordsmen. The Chōla king drove in a chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes (St. 33). He is described as young, valiant, and terrible in war. He wore ornaments made of gold and of precious stones, a sword and scabbard, and garlands of fragrant flowers. His name was Cheṅkaṇ or “Red-eye” (St. 4, 5, 11, 15, 21, 29, 30, 40). He is also described as the lord of Punal-Nādu (“the land of floods,” a name of the Chēṇa country), Cheṃbiṇ (a descendant of Sibi) and king of the country watered by the Kāvērī. Nothing is said of his rival, the Chēṇa prince, beyond that he was the king of Vaṇji (St. 39) and that his soldiers were Koṇgas (St. 14). The modern name of Vaṇji is Karūṟ, according to the Tamil metrical dictionary Tiṇṉkāram. But the identification of this town with Karūṟ in the Coimbatore District, by all the European scholars who have discussed the Ancient Geography of Southern India, is erroneous. They were apparently misled by the similarity of the names. Ancient Tamil works however describe Vaṇji as situated west of the Western Ghauts. In the Peria-Purāṇam, a history of Saiva devotees, which was written in the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of the Chōla king Anabährāya-Kulottāṉaṟṟu, Vaṇji is mentioned as the capital of the Chēṇa king, and it is stated that it was known also as Makōṭai or Kodukōḷḷur. The name Makōṭaipattanam occurs in the Chēṇa grants in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Cochin, and it is alluded to therein as the capital of the Chēṇaṟṟa. Ptolemy correctly places it (Carura Regia Cerobothri) near the western coast, on a river flowing into the sea, close to the port of Muziris. In the Kēṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟறi, a legendary history of the Malabar country, Karūṟ or Tirukkarūr (the prefix tira means ‘sacred’) is mentioned as the capital of a Chēṇaṟṟaṉ who embraced the Buddhist faith. The site of the ancient Karūṟ should therefore be found somewhere near the modern towns of Kodukōḷḷur or Tirukkarūr in the Cochin Territory.

We also gather from the poem that swords, javelins, lances, bows, and arrows, were used as weapons of war. Leathern sandals were worn by the soldiers to protect their feet. Big
thundering drums were carried to the battle-field on elephants, and tall banners were borne on chariots as well as on elephants. The soldiers fought on foot or on horseback; the nobles and princes rode on elephants, while the commanders drove in chariots. Umbrellas, with straight handles and flat circular tops covered with white cloth, were carried behind the officers of the army as tokens of their dignity. Another curious fact mentioned in the poem is that women went to the battlefield, to recover the bodies of their slain kindred (St. 29). Such of the bodies as were not taken away by their relations, lay on the field to be devoured by crows, hawks, eagles, and jackals. The Kārttikai feast or the “feast of lights,” peculiar to the Dravidian people, is also alluded to in the poem (St. 17).

The date of the poem cannot be later than the sixth or seventh century A.D.; for Chekkanān or Kōchekekkanān (the prefix kō means ‘king’) is mentioned in the Leiden grant (see Archaeol. Surv. South. India, Vol. IV. p. 217) as one of the ancient and illustrious ancestors of Rājarāja-Chōla, who lived in the eleventh century A.D., and the poem is to be taken as composed in his life-time, very shortly after the battle described in it. He is similarly mentioned as a progenitor of Vīra-Nārāiyana-Chōla, whose date is presumed to be about A.D. 935 to 955 (see the grant of the Bāla king Hastimalla, published by Mr. Foulkes, Manual of the Salem District, Vol. II. p. 369). It will be seen from other poems which I shall translate, that his date is also anterior to that of Pallava-Malla-Nandivaran, who lived most probably in the seventh or eighth century A.D. (see his grant published by Mr. Foulkes in the Manual of the Salem District, Vol. II. p. 355). In the later Tamil poems which I shall notice hereafter, Chekkan is described as having extended his authority over the Pāṇḍya and Chērā kings; as having settled Brāhmaṇas, and built for them houses, at Chīṟambalam (now known as Chilimbam, a station on the South Indian Railway, in the South Arcot District), where there is a famous temple of Siva; and as having built no less than seventy temples, dedicated to the worship of that god, in different parts of the Chōla country. He was, in fact, one of the earliest of the Chōla kings who favoured Saivism, and helped the revival of the Brāhmaṇical religions in Southern India.

TEXT.

(1) Nāg bāyiruṟa cheruvikku vīntavargava nāy kuruti kaljiṟalkak tāṟmāyuntu mun pakal ellam kūḷamπali pin pakal tappa takali keḻum punāndan tappiyar adda kalattu.

(2) NāḍpiṆuḷ ešhīya nāḷāṅcheṟ yānaiķiḷi pōṟpil idī murraindu pōm ṝeṟkuruti kāṟpeyoḷ peytaipin chekkuḷak kōḍduķiḷi nīṟtūmbu nīṟniliya pōnra punāndan ārttamadda adda kalattu.

(3) Oḷukkuṅkuruti uḷakkiṟaljavār iṇjukkuṅkaljiṟukkuṟduṟi eḻuvar māḷaiṟkuṟam māmurachin малку нтр нăдан pilattāṟaṟi adda kalattu.

(4) Uruvakkaduntē murukki marptṭar puruṭchumanteḷuṇta yānai yiruvichumbi chēlchudar chērnta malai pōnra Chekkanāmāl pullāṟai adda kalattu.

(5) Terikaṟai eham tiṟanta vēvellar kuruṭi padintundh kāṟam uruvīṟantu kūkkil pūṟṟaṭa chiralvāya Chekkanāmāl tappiyar adda kalattu.

(6) NāṆnāriṟchiṟum pīṟm pīṟpana yānai adukkanpē ṝeṟiṟkkidanta iditturaṟi aṅkavichumpin urumeṟinthukum perumalaṟṟuṟiṟṟipṟiṟṟey arunai pūṟṟēṭiṇin māṟpiyaṟṟipḷēr Chekkhantēv vēntarai adda kalattu.

(7) AṆiṉaṭaiBuilders Ṽiṟkkēykkum yānai amarujakki īṟkulikak kunṟē pōṟṟuṟunum chekkuṇa varirvar mīṟpḷanum Kāviri nādan porunarai adda kalattu.

(8) Yānai mēl yānai neritam anāṭu kaṟṟē kaṭiṟkai mey-meyyppa evvāṟum eṉṟurum kunṟiṟ kurinṟam pōṆṆavē paṆṟi idī murachil pēy pūnai nṯ rī nādan naṟṟaṟi adda kalattu.
(9) மேலையை கிளை குறுக்குள் குறாய்ச்சியைக் காட்டுக செரிய கப்பல் காரை குருவிக்காலத்து நிலா குறுக்கில் போன்ற புனாதான் நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(10) பல்காந்தைய பயத்தூல் செரிய டாக்குக்கு நன்குக்கள் செரிய்கள் தோல் யானை காளத் போர்ட்ராம் புனாதான் தோன்றுகை கட்டுக.
(11) காய்மியிற்கு கூட்டத்திற்கு இரண்டாம் போர்ட்ராம் குறுக்கு நண்பர் இழந்து பிறந்த விழா குறுக்கில் முடிது தோன்றுகை கட்டுக.
(12) கல்வி பாண்டை எல்லை வேல் பத்ய குறுக்கு தின்னுக்கு செரிய்கள் புரதாக்கு புநாதான் நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(13) நிறந்த நிலைக் குறுக்கு வரை பராளர் குரங்கு நிறம் செரிய குறுக்கு நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(14) காவல்தைத் தனியை குறுக்கு குறுக்கு புரதாக்கு பாராளர் பீம் தோல் — தவளை தோன்றுகை தோன்றுகை தோன்றுகை கட்டுக.
(15) கோலண்டை பயக்கு முற்றுக்கு பயர்வூம் புரதாக்கு பிரம்பியாக்கு செரிய விழா படியில் தோன்றுகை கட்டுக.
(16) புரம் சுமாகக்கட்டி மாநாட்டை எடுக்கு வெளியும் குரங்குக்கும் புரதாக்கு பாராளர் முற்றுக்கு நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(17) ஆர்ப்பேட்டா புரோனை எஜேட்டோ செரிய கர்த்தைக் காய்க் கல்வியாக் குறுக்கு பாராளர் போர்ப்பு நேர்வாய் நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(18) புரம் தமிழை செரிய குரங்கு பிரம்பியாக்கு செரிய கர்த்தைக் கால்வாய் குறுக்கு நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(19) இடா மருப்பின் கால்வாய் கும்ஹா கல் முட்டி காடை பாண்டை குளிர்கள் நேர்வாய் குறுக்கு நேர்வாய் கட்டுக.
(Stanza 1) In the forenoon it was miry with the blood flowing from the sword-wounds of those who fell in the fight, trampled by elephants; and in the evening it was bright with dust of a coral hue, — in the battle-field where the lord of Punal-Nádu killed those who had failed in their duty.

(2) The bright blood of the elephants which had dropped during the strife, streamed through the torn drums that were tied to their backs, like water bursting through sluices in the high embankment of a tank, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nádu rushed to the battle shouting the war-cry.

(3) The warriors who sank with weariness from wading in the blood that was spilt in the fight, rose again by holding the tusks of slain elephants, — in the field where the lord of the land abounding in water killed those who had erred.

(4) The elephants, which rose lifting up on high the shining wheels of strong and well shaped chariots which they had broken, resembled mountains on the brow of which descends the setting sun, — in the field where Cheṅkaṉmāḷ killed his foes.

(5) Red as jungle-cocks were the crows which dipped in and drank the blood flowing from wounds caused by the well-directed arrows and lances, — in the field where Cheṅkaṉmāḷ killed those who had failed in their duty.

(6) Piles of slaughtered men and elephants lay on all sides like the boulders of a mighty rock scattered by a terrific thunderbolt, — in the field where the Chembian, riding on a strong chariot, and bearing on his breast jewels set with rare gems, killed the rival kings.
(7) Elephants which looked like black rocks, when they entered the fight, resembled hills of red sand after the conflict, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the Kávērī, in which the striped catfish (delight to) sport, killed his foes.

(8) Elephants, huddled one with another, and pierced on all sides by swiftly shot arrows, appeared like countless rocks with birds perched on them, — in the field where the lord of the land of the bounding waters, who owned thundering drums, killed those who slighted him.

(9) The feet of the horse-soldiers covered with leathern sandals and adorned with anklets, which were cut off by the warriors on foot, rolled in the flowing blood like blue sharks in the great ocean, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nādu killed his enemies.

(10) The elephants, which, unable to hide the storm of numberless arrows flying on all sides, were in great distress, appeared like the famous red mountain (Mēru), — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nādu slaughtered his enemies.

(11) The drums, abandoned by the weak in the thick of the fray, bathed in blood, and kicked by blinded elephants, resounded like thunder proceeding from dark-clouds, — in the field where the dauntless Chekkanmål destroyed his foes.

(12) Majestic elephants, shedding crimson blood, having been pierced by ceaseless arrows, appeared like rocks with red peaks, washed by rain, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the Kávērī, charged fiercely and killed those who would not be his friends.

(13) The trunks of elephants, lofty as mountains, which were cut down by warriors flourishing their bright and long swords, rolled on the ground like huge rocksnakes struck by lightning, — in the field where the young king, valiant in war, killed (his foes).

(14) The bright blood flowing from the maimed trunks of elephants, fell like strings of coral dropping from bags, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nādu defeated the Kōngas.

(15) The furious elephants having broken umbrellas and killed men wherever they charged, the scene appeared like the workshop of a carpenter, — in the field where the wrathful Chekkanmål engaged in battle.

(16) Like tigers springing on rocks, columns of mailed steeds, ridden by veteran warriors, charged against the elephants which stood (motionless) unawed by the shouts of the horsemen, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nādu slaughtered his rivals.

(17) Amid the battle-shouts the bright blood, shed by warriors who rushed on each other, resembled the lights in the Kārttikai feast, — in the field where the lord of the land of raging waters, who leads-bannered hosts, killed his enemies with a loud shout.

(18) Corpses floated in the running blood like ships in the broad sea, — in the field where the young king, who wears garlands of full-blown flowers (on his breast), and a sword and scabbard (at his waist), killed his enemies.

(19) Elephants, pierced by javelins which had entered deep between the tusks, appeared as if they had three tusks, — in the field where the lord of the land of waters killed his enemies.

(20) The eagles, flapping their extended wings, and feeding ravenously on the bleeding corpses, appeared like musicians beating their drums with both hands, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nādu killed those who opposed him.

(21) Pierced in the chest by rows of javelins, and sorely wounded by waves of arrows, helpless, faint, and weary, the elephants sank on the ground like falling rocks, — in the field where the wrathful Chekkanmål engaged in battle.

(22) The massive trunks of elephants, whose foreheads are wrinkled, cut off by undaunted swordsmen, lying on the ground alongside of the umbrellas, appeared like serpents licking the full-moon, — in the field where the lord of the land of surging floods, possessing thundering drums, killed those who would not be reconciled.
(23) Slain elephants, floating in blood, with their foreheads cut open by warriors, appeared like dark clouds in a red sky, — in the field where the Chembian, who possesses the bannered chariots and the ever-victorious army of lancers, killed those who frowned at him.

(24) Men's heads, cut off by strong-shouldered warriors, rolling on the ground, appeared like (the round black fruits which had dropped down in) a grove of palmyra-palms shaken by a storm, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the Kaveri, who wears garlands of fragrant flowers, killed those who would not be attached to him.

(25) Like rocks advancing on rocks, elephants rushed against elephants, and the tall banners borne aloft on them shook and fluttered as if brushing the sky, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not be united with him.

(26) The red-haired hawks, which flew upwards holding in their mouths the hands cut off by warriors, appeared like the red-beaked eagle which soars in the sky, seizing a five-headed snake, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not submit to him.

(27) The bright crimson blood which gathered in the deep foot-prints, left in the red mire by furious elephants, appeared like the juice of flowers collected in pots, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not be allied to him.

(28) The jackals which snatched away the hands of warriors, with shields in their grasp, cut off by heroes who had never fled (from their foes) and who rushed furiously brandishing their massive swords, appeared as if holding up mirrors, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed those who would not approach him (to be his friends).

(29) Like troops of peacocks flying from groves shaken by a tempest, came women, wailing for their kindred slain in the fight, — in the field where the furious Chekkanmal engaged in battle.

(30) Like floods which washed down rocks, was the flowing blood that dragged down the elephants, — in the field where the wrathful Chekkanmal, brave and strong as a lion, killed those who would not submit.

(31) The gold plates adorning the foreheads of fierce elephants killed by fearless warriors, were dazzling, like flashes of lightning (mid dark clouds), — in the battle-field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed his enemies.

(32) The faultless fair lady earth crimsoned, as if she had clothed herself in red, — in the field where the glorious lord of the land of raging floods, who possesses drums adorned with garlands, killed those who offended him.

(33) Broken swords of shining steel lay glittering in streams of blood, like fishes struggling on land inundated by floods which had burst suddenly from a tank, — in the field where the Chembian, driving in a bannered chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes conquered his enemies.

(34) The jackals which tugged at the entrails cut out by warriors with flashing swords in the mêlée, appeared like chained wolves (struggling to get free), — in the field where the youthful king, adorned with ornaments of gold, killed (his enemies) in battle.

(35) Like rocks rolled down with lions on them by the shock of a thunder-clap, the royal elephants fell, with the princes that rode them, — in the field where the king of the country watered by the Kaveri which bursts its banks when swollen by floods.

(36) Like mushrooms trodden by cattle, were the enemies' umbrellas trampled by warsteeds, and the comparison was indeed too true, — in the battle-field where the king of the country watered by the Kaveri seized Karumal.

(37) Big drums, and the dead bodies of princes and of tusked elephants, floated on all sides, like ships at sea, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nadu killed his enemies.
(38) Huge caparisoned elephants, wounded and sore, rolled like snakes struck by lightning, — in the field where the Chambian, valiant in war, and adorned with necklaces and anklets of gold, killed those who would not approach him (in friendship).

(39) Where hardy warriors strove, setting foot against foot, the white umbrellas, lost by the enemy, lying without handles, and filled with blood, appeared like salvers containing water coloured with red cotton, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nâdu defeated the king of Vânji.

(40) The elephants all dropped down, and seemed as if raking the soil with silver ploughs — in the field where the fierce Chêkkanâl, with an army possessing thundering drums, and countless lances, showered arrows on his enemies.

(41) The elephants, pierced in their breast with lances by warriors and unable to stand, dropped, and laid their ears on the ground, as if to hear the secrets of the earth, — in the field where the lord of the land of leaping floods, who possesses thundering drums, killed those who would not unite with him.

BAGUMRA GRANT OF NIKUMBHALASSAKTI;
DATED IN THE YEAR 406.

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of the Bagumra grant of Nikumbhalassakti has been prepared according to an excellent ink-impression taken by Mr. Fleet. It is frequently the case with imperfectly preserved inscriptions that a good impression is easier to read than the original, where the half-effaced strokes are difficult to recognise. And it thus happens that, thanks to Mr. Fleet's work, I am able to restore now the whole text, and to give a number of important emendations of the version published in my German article "Über eine Sendraka Inschrift aus Gujarâti" (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Band CXIV. p. 169. etc.) from the original plates. The most important is the new reading of the date, which I formerly gave as saumâtesarâtârâchatukâta akhâvâta shatkatâdristâdralâdhih, etc. The reading shatkatâdrik is plain on the accompanying lithograph. It was first recognized by Mr. Fleet.

The grant is engraved on two copper plates, — now in the British Museum,— each measuring about 7 ¼" by 5 ¼". The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and on the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates are inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size, and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxidation. The letters closely resemble those of the Kâvi and Nansâri inscriptions of the Gurjara king Jayabhâta IV. A few peculiarities, such as the round form of the subscribed ma in lakshmîkâ (l. 9) and in bhrmânâtâd (l. 17), occur also in the later Valabhi inscriptions. The abnormal form of the same letter, which looks like sâ, e.g. in Nikumbhalassakti (l. 15), and in grâmâd (l. 17), is probably due to want of skill on the part of the engraver. The language is throughout Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory verse and the quotations from Vyâsa towards the end, very faulty prose. The grammatical knowledge of the author of the document must have been very limited. He uses the accusative instead of the nominative in savitâram ivâpayam antam anurâktaśravam (l. 7), kalpadrumam aiva, and Janârdhana aiva (l. 8), makes the accusative plural of the a-stems and i-stems end in the annexed before consonants and in m before vowels (l. 17-18), and forms compounds like vikasitamahâtayya (l. 2-3), instead of vikasitamahätayyasi, amalâgâna (l. 7), instead of yajñâ, and apakritâanaâkabālirāja (l. 8-9), instead of apahritâanaâkabālirājya. It is to his ignorance and carelessness that we owe the monster râjaârî (l. 29), instead of râjaârî or
rājyaśrīḥ, as well as the omission of various consonants, vowels and visargas, the erroneous repetition or transposition of words, and numerous mistakes in spelling. The details may be learnt from the transcript where the necessary corrections have been inserted.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Balisa, which was situated in the āhara of Trēṇāṇa to a Brāhmaṇa called Bappavāmīn Dīkshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, a member of the Bhāradvāja gotra, and a student of the Mādyandina śākhā of the White Yajur-Vēda. The granter was the illustrious Prithivivallabha-Nikumbballāśakti of the Sēndraka line of kings, whose father was the illustrious lord of men, Ādityasakti, and whose grandfather was the illustrious lord of men, Bhānuśakti. Trēṇāṇa is no doubt the same place as Trēṇā or Tēnā, the modern Tēn, near Bārdīlī, which the Rāthōr grants mention as the head-quarters of a political district; and Balisa, the modern Waṃesā, south-east of Tēn. Both localities thus are not very distant from Bagunā, the place where the plates were found. Regarding Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, the residence of the grantee, I am not able to offer any conjecture. The above identifications make it certain that the Sēndraka Prithivivallabha-Nikumbballāśakti held a portion of southern Gujarāt. As far as the information, furnished by the formerly known inscriptions, went, the Sēndrakas appeared to have been settled exclusively in the Kanarese country and in Māisūr. In one of the Kādamba grants published by Mr. Fleet, ante, Vol. VI. p. 32, the Kādamba Harivarman grants the village of Māruḍū to certain Jāinas “ at the request of Bhānuśakti-rāja, the ornament of the Sēndraka race.” Again the Chalukya Vikrama-ditya I. (A.D. 670-80-81) presents ten Brāhmaṇas with some fields in the village of Raṭṭagiri “ at the request of the illustrious Dēvaśakti-rāja, who was famous in the Sēndraka family” (Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVI. p. 239). Further, in a third inscription (Fleet, Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 152) the name of the Chalukya Vīnayaditya (A.D. 680-81-96) is found together with that of the illustrious Sēndraka Pogilli. Finally, in Mr. L. Rice’s Mercara inscription (Inscriptions from Mysore, p. 283), a Sēndraka is named among the witnesses. The first three documents indicate, as Mr. Fleet has stated in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 10, that the Sēndrakas were feudatories first of the Kādambras and later of the Western Chalukyas who overthrew the former. The appearance of Sēndrakas in Gujarāt must under the circumstances excite surprise, and it would be inexplicable, if we did not know that southern Gujarāt was conquered about the middle of the seventh century by the Western Chalukyas. The oldest document which proves this conquest, is the Khēdā grant of Vijaya-rāja, who in (Chēdi)-Sāṅvat 394 or A.D. 642-43 held the Kāskālūkā viśaya, immediately north of the Taptī. To somewhat later times belong the grants of the Yuvārāja Śrīlāditya-Srīrāṣṭra, dated (Chēdi)-Sāṅvat 421 and 443, or A.D. 689-70 and 691-92, the grant of his brother Maṅgalarāja, dated Śaka-Sāṅvat 663 or A.D. 731; and the grant of Pulakēśi-Vallabhā-Śrīrāṣṭra, dated (Chēdi)-Sāṅvat 490 or A.D. 738-39. As the Sēndrakas in Kanara were feudatories of the Chalukyas, it seems probable that they came to Gujarāt in the service of their liege lords, and were rewarded with grants of districts on the conquest of the country. In support of this conjecture it may be pointed out that the titles, ‘the illustrious lord of men’ and ‘the illustrious,’ which are applied respectively to Bhānuśakti and Ādityasakti, and to

I have intentionally not changed those words where the sanātī has been simply neglected in prose sentences. Permission to make any number of breaks in prose and to use them, instead of the sanātī, the final forms of the single words, is clearly given by the well known Kārīka—

Sanātānapādaḥ nityā nityā dhātupārasagayah 1
nityā sanātā vākyaḥ tu sa vivaksham apēkshatēḥ 2

The first line is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyādīnākārsvarāntītī, v. 1, 2, and the verse no doubt goes back to early times.

1 See ante, Vol. XII. p. 181, and Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XI. p. 322. Tēn is to be found on the Trig. Surv. Map, Guj. Ser., No. 34.

2 The change of la to na is very common in Gujarāt, e.g. in nāhān for labān.

3 For the grant itself, see ante, Vol. VII. p. 248, and for the identification of the geographical names, ante, Vol. XVIII. p. 197.

Nikumbhallaśakti, indicate their being vassals of some great power. It may further be urged that the possessions of the last chief lay exactly in those districts which we know to have been included in the Chalukya possessions. A connection of these three personages with the Southern Śendrakas of Harivarman's and Vikramāditya's inscriptions is, I think, indicated by the not very common termination śakti, which occurs in both sets of names. If this conjecture is to stand, it is, of course, necessary to refer the year 406, in which our grant is dated, to the Chêdi era, and to take it as equivalent to A.D. 654-5. The characters of the inscription too may be adduced in support of this view. They cannot, I believe, be assumed to belong to an earlier period. The specification of the date, "the full-moon-day of the month of Bhāradvāda," without any such details as the week-day, does not permit us to test its exact equivalent by calculation.

In conclusion, I will add that, when I sent my German paper on this inscription to the late Dr. Bhagwânâlî, he informed me that he possessed several sets of Śendraka plates from southern Gujarât. It is advisable that they should be looked for and published. They will probably bring us certainty regarding the points at which present are merely conjectures.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ī[ū]* Prathama* dik-sarasă-pri(pri)thu-paṁkajah gaganā-vāridhi-vidruma-pallavaṁ
[1*] tridaśa-rakta* japa-kusumaṁ navāṁ

2 diśatu vō vijayaṁ ravi-mañḍalāṁ ll Svasti Mēra-mahīdhara-vijara-sthira-racita-sammanatē vikasī-

3 ta-mahati-yaśasī Śendraka-rājāṁ-anvayē naika-chānū(du)rddanta-gaja-gaha-
ōha-samad-saṅghatasa-la-

4 bdha-vijayō vijit-āśēśha-rīpu-gaṇāḥ sva-bhūja-bala-vikram-ākrānta* mahī-maṅḍalāḥ
praṇat-āśē-

5 saha-sāmanta-sīrō-muk[ta]* nīghṛīṣṭa-pāda-paṁkajāḥ maya-vinaya-satya-śauch-āchāra-
dama-dayā-dama-da-

6 kahinya-ārī-saṅpad-upēto nara-patīḥ śrīmad- Bhānuśaktiḥ taṣya putras-tat-pād-
ānudhyātō(ā) śa-dama-sa-

7 la-śaṅthin-kṣa-maṅḍalānala-yaśasalā* savitāram-iv=ōdayavanatā* anurakta-maṅḍalāṁ (ā) chal pa-lu(dr)-

8 mam-iv=ābhinīñcḥhit-āśeḥhan-ōpabhujyāmāna-vibhav vā Janārddanam-iv=āpa-

9 hri(h)īrtam-āśeḥa* Bal[i]*- rājya[b*] para-chakr-ānurukta-lakṣmikāḥ śrīman-[n*] para-patīḥ Ādityaśaktiḥ

taṣya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātā[b*]

10 śrīmān dakṣiṇa-gur[u*]-bhu-duṁdhaḥ(ī) pri(pri)thivi-pālana-kshamō vyapagata-sajalā
dama-[i*] jaladham-

11 paṭala-dhyāy(vy)ma-tala-gata-śa-rad-indu-kirāṇa-dhavalatara-yaśo-visānala-vā-ūtānō dhī-

12 y[ī*] para* 20 parama-pabhāḥro di(ī)ya-dvijāti[i*] tava* jana-b[ā*] m dhav-ā(ō) pabhujyāmāna-vibhav

Bhava-sūnur-iva pra-

13 tihat-āratiḥ Satīr[i](iv=ōpatta-rajyaḥ samad-dvināda-vara-sallas-gatir- Arjuna iv=

āśeḥa-sam-

14 grāma-vijayā anavartara-vikram-ā(ō)tsaṁ-śaṭaka-shapannahā[2] Kāma iva samāna-yuva-
jā(ja)na-

* Expressed by the Valabhi symbol for 9. 9 Metro, Dvapāvilambitā. 10 rakta is doubtful.
11 If the text stands thus, then read mahā-ganīṇa; but the syllables mahat-ganis are dubious.
12 Possibly ṭkṛnā. 13 Read kalpa-drama iv*. 14 Read saṁvīr-vādayavā.
13 Read jāvārdhana iv*. 15 Read opaḥ; it śi-nāha. 16 Dele this word.
17 Read satra-mardonah. 18 Dele these two syllables.
Second Plate.

20 mahârthâna va(ch)a śrutvâ dataḥ Tûryâṅga-hûrâ-ûntaggata-vishâyâl Balîsa-grâmô
21 bali-charu-vaiśvadê-vâgn(ê)nîhôtr-âdî-kriyô-tôsarpān-ârthathâ[m*] mätâ-pitr[ô*]r-âtmanâsa- chapha-pa
22 sîya-yâsô-hîrvi(vrî)dîhanô a-ch[â]n*[d]-àrkt(kk)-àrâpana-kshiti-sthitô-samakâlanâh putra- pô(pau)tr-sînâyvâ-kram[ô*]-
24 bhûmichchhida-nânâyâyân-ûchata-bhûta-pravâsanâbhô sôdrângulô sî[ô]nârikararô Bhâdrapadô- paûrânâ[â*]syaûn Vîja-
25 y-ûniruddhaspurî-vâstavya-Bhûradvâja-sagôtra-Vâjî(â)sandyâ[â*]M[â*]dhyâdôina-sabramhachârî Râppavâmâni
26 n*[ô*] Dikshatasyitya[ô] udak-ûtâsarggnâ pratipaditâ[ô] yatë-smad-va[m*]kajaierô anyairô-yv-ô-
28 sûrâsa-kusuma-sadri(drî)û-chânmâpâcha[â] yuvanâ[m*] giri-nâl-sâlîla-gatvarâpi ch= aîsvary[â]jî prabasa[lâ]-
29 pavan-ûhat-ûvattha-pat[t*]tra-çhâncalâ cha rajâ-ûrî[ê]îty-âyam[â*]-ûkâlay=ûyam=smeñal-dâyô-numaîtavâch[ô]
30 pratipâsyanayasyâ-cha yô v=ajûña-tîrîsa-ûtâlî-vrî(vrî)ta-matirûcchhîniyadûcdhûdhyamânân v=[â*]înnûmodêta
31 sa panhchabhîrn[â*]mûmâh[â*]jî[p][â*]takàja[ô]sêpanêpattakàja[î] samañyakta[ô] yadî=îty= nktuñ cha bhagevatà Pârâsâryîdpe vê-
32 dvâryâçhna Vyâsânta II Bahlubbhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhib Sagar-ûdibhir=vyasya yasa yâdā bhûn=[s*]=
33 tasya tasya tadà phânak II Viûdhî-ûùvahâ tûyâs[â*] ûshkha-kûtrôa-vásînà= kri(kri)shô-ûhayô hi jayantô bhûmi-d[û*]-
34 x x ranti yô II Shashî[û*] varshash[â*]-sastrasânâ avargge môdati bhûmida- [î*] uchchhettâ cha= x x mantâ cha tûy=ûva narak[û*]
35 vasó x x x x para-dattâ[û*] vaû(ô) ya[t*]ûdû-ûkâha Yudhshîjû(ê)ûrû mah[î*]jû mah[û*]matoû sûû x x x x yô=ûpûlanânî[û*]
36 Yân=icha dattâni purû narêndnara=ûdnânî dharmmarûtha-ûsûkaraûni ni x x x x x manû tiû kô
37 nâmô saûdho punar=adûdita II Samvatsara-baûchaîtûshyay shaq-uttarê Bhâdrapada-su(û)ddha-panchadas[û]="

23 Read aûnâmarañôh.
24 Read aûnakarînayûty.
25 Insert yâh after this word.
26 Read 'tav, i.e., vêta.
27 Delo parikaraô which appears again in the next line
28 Read dikshiyiîs or diksh intensified.
29 Delo ayam, which gives no sense and is superfluous.
30 Read viûndhi=ûvahà, which is preceded by a r as and followed by a vowel, is, however, found in all MSS. from Southern India. Its occurrence in this inscription may indicate that the Pâpûti who composed it was a Southerner.
TRANSLATION.

Oh! May the orb of the sun, the broad water-lily of the lake-like eastern region, the coral-branch of the ocean of the sky, the newly-opened flower of the red Japa of the gods, grant you victory!

(Line 1.) — Hail! In the race of the Sôndraka kings that is free from decay, firmly fashioned and high like Mûru, the great fame of which has unfolded itself, the son who he obtained victory by the furious onslaught of arrays of troops of four-toothed elephants, he who conquered the crowd of all his foes, he who gained the circle of the earth by the valour of his arms, he whose lotus-feet were scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending vassals, who he was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, virtuous behaviour, self-restraint, mercy, liberality, kindliness, glory and wealth, the lord of men (narapati), the illustrious Bhûnavakti.

(L. 6). — His son, who meditated on his (father's) feet, (was) he who possessed a fame spotless like the orb of the pure antumnal moon, he who (daily) rose (higher) (udayavân) and had a loyal kingdom (anurakta-mandala) and thus resembled the sun who (daily) rises (udayavân) and whose orb is coloured (red in the evening) (anuraktamandala), he who resembled the tree of paradise, his wealth being desired and constantly enjoyed by all people, who he took tribute or (their) empire (bahirâya) from all (kings) and thus resembled Janârada who took the whole kingdom of Bali (bahirâya), he whose Fortune was attached to the kingdoms of his foes, the illustrious lord of men (narapati), Adityasakti.

(L. 9). — His son, who meditates on his (father's) feet, who is glorious (and) able to protect the earth with his weighty staff-like right arm, whose canopy of glory is more brilliant than the rays of the antumnal moon that stands in the sky from which the water-laden clouds have departed, who is most deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brhîma and his Gurus, who is the son of Bhava repulses his enemies, who like Satî has gained a kingdom, who has the coquetish gait of a most excellent rutting elephant, who like Arjuna is victorious in all battles, who destroys his foes by unceasing acts of bravery and energy, who like Cupid is the joy of the eyes of the courtiers, the illustrious Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallasakti instructs even all, however they may be connected (with him), (viz.) kings, viceroys, thief-catchers, policemen, messengers, Gamagamikas, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and so forth, Brhîma, traders and lower provincials and others, rulers of vishayas, heads of râkhârâs and of villages, officials (âyuktha), Mahâtamas, persons in authority (âdîhâdikâra), and so forth (as follows):

(Line 18). — "Be it known to you (that), being convinced of the reference (of donations of land) to the next world, and having been taught (their) great advantage, I have therefore granted, (confirming the gift) with a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents' merit and fame, the village of Balisa in the vishaya included in the âhara of Tréyântâ, for a period equal to the duration of the moon, sun, seas and earth, — (the said village) being to be enjoyed by (the donor's) sons, grandsons, and their offspring, together with the bhûvâvatâpatrâyâ, together with the udraâya, (and) together with the taxes payable by non-

37 Read mānasaddētā (?) 38 The syllables dâni and jä are very faint.
39 The connexion of samadda, 'furios,' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before sâga.
40 I translate ñâha by 'array,' as the author seems to have used it in the sense of eytha.
41 This means, I suppose, that his Fortune was not contented with his empire, but desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them.
42 Probably the Prajâs are meant.
43 I understand bhûmidânaya, with paraõdãkshakatvam and mahârãhãm.
resident cultivators, being exempted from all ádána, ditya, forced labour and prátiśhédíká, (and) not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, — (the grant being made) according to the maxim concerning land unit for tillage, on the full-moon day of Bhádrapada, to Bappasvámin-Dikshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, a member of the Bháradvája family, a student of the Mártyanána (branch) of the Vájasaneyi (or White Yajur-Veda) in order to defray the expenses of the hali, charu, vaisvátva, agníhótra, and other rites. Wherefore future kings, whether of our line or others, understanding that worldly existence possesses as little kernel as a reed, a bamboo or a plantain-tree, and that life is comparable to a water-bubble, and considering that youth is liable to fade like the sárisá-flower, that sovereignty passes away like the water of a mountain-torrent, and that regal splendour is unstable like an ávattha-leaf which is struck by a very strong wind, should agree to and protect this our grant. But he, who with a mind covered by the dense darkness of ignorance resumes it, or allows it to be resumed, shall be guilty of the five mortal and the minor sins. And it has been said by the worshipful son of Paráśara, Vyása, the arranger of the Védas ............

(L. 37). — In the year four hundred and six, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Bhádrapada. The messenger for (the conveyance of this) grant is Sruvállabha-Bappa. By order of the great general (mahábaladhikrta) Mása, this has been written by his younger brother Dväddinna, the minister of peace and war (svádhivyagráhádikrta).

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 182.—Belur Inscription of the time of Jayasimha III.—Saka-Samvat 944.

Belur is a village about seven miles south-east of Bándámi, the chief town of the Bándámi Taluká or Sub-Division of the Bijápur District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Bellow', Lat. 15° 51' N., Long. 75° 49' E. It is mentioned in this record by the old name of the Pádr agrahara, in line 33; and as simply Pádr, in lines 35 and 38. There are two inscriptions at this village; both inside the Fort. One of them is on a large stone-tablet that stands facing a modern shrine of the god Hanumanta. On this stone there are the remnants of an Old-Kanarese inscription of sixty-seven or sixty-eight lines of about thirty letters each; but a great deal of this record is now illegible; and, at my visit, I only noted that the date (line 32 f.) is Saka-Samvat 962, the Vikrama samvatásara. The other inscription, which I am now editing, is on a stone-tablet at an old temple, now known as the temple of the god Náráyaña. A photograph, from my estampage, has been published in Páli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 70. And I have noticed it in Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 43 f. But it is now edited for the first time.

The temple, which is now half below the level of the ground, is of some interest, though it does not elaborate any elaborate architectural decorations. Instead of having the usual porch and entrance-hall, it is entered by a small door about 5' 6'' high by 3' 0'' broad. The first hall, the roof of which is supported by sixteen pillars, is about forty-five feet square. The second hall is smaller, about thirty feet long by twenty feet broad. Over the door from the first hall to the second, there is a sculpture of Lakshmi and her elephants; and the same is repeated over the door from the second hall into the shrine. In the shrine, standing on an abhiséka-stand, there are three stone images, between three and four feet high, of the gods Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, with emblems and attendant figures, and of beautiful antique workmanship. They are, in fact, among the best specimens of their class that I have ever seen; and, if they are still in a state of perfect preservation, as at the time of my visit in January, 1877, it would

43 See Gupta Inscriptions, p. 138, note 2, and the rectification on p. 221 above.
44 I suppose that the real name of the town is Aniruddhapuri, and that the prefixed 'vijaya means 'victorious' as in Vijaya-Vajrayanti, Vijaya-Paldikh, etc.
1 In connection with the results for the date in the inscription now edited, it would be useful to have the full details of this date. But, as they are not in my notes, they are probably illegible.
be well worth while to remove them to a Museum; this could probably be easily arranged, as I found that the temple was not used for purposes of worship; and, as the roof had begun to fall in, it is desirable that the images should be secured and removed. The presence of these three images in the shrine, is in accordance with line 34 of the inscription, which speaks of "the hall of the Traipurushas," i.e. of the three gods Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. And the record shows that they date, with the temple, from in or about A.D. 1050. The inscription is on a stone-tablet which stands outside the temple, against the east or front face, on the south side of the door. As it is fixed in its position, I could not remove it, to place it in safety inside the temple; but I covered it with stones, so as to guard it from further injury.

The emblems at the top of the stone have at some time or another been purposely defaced; but enough of them remains to show that they were: — In the centre, a kūtra on an akkāsānd, with an officiating priest; on the proper right, the bull Nandi or Basava; and on the proper left, a cow and calf. There must have been also the sun and moon; but these have been quite destroyed. — The writing covers a space of about 1' 9½" broad by 5' 1½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation; not many letters having been destroyed. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kannarese characters, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. They include, in line 30, the decimal figures 4 and 9. The virāma occurs only twice, in médinyaḍ, line 13, and dēviṣur, line 28; and is represented by its own proper sign. In bedapāpiya, line 27, we have very clearly the separate form of g, as distinct from d. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kannarese, with four Sanskrit verses in lines 42 ff. And the inscription is in verse and prose mixed. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the anusvāra, instead of the proper nasal; and (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by b, in nirbhāhavā, for nirbhāhtaṇā, line 16.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēka-malla-Jayasimham III. And its object is to record that, while governing the district known as the Kusumad Seventy, his elder sister Akkādevī, apparently in memory of her elder brother Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya V, made a grant of the Pērūr agrahāra, and caused to be built there "a hall of the Traipurushas," the Elders of which granted some land for the purpose of feeding and clothing students. The inscription is of interest in giving an instance of the combined worship of the three gods, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. And we also learn from it that Akkādevī practised the religious observances of Jains and Buddhists, as well as those of Vishnu and Siva.

As regards the identity of the names Pērūr and Bēlūr, there can be no doubt about the fact, though the record contains no specification of the boundaries of the Pērūr agrahāra. In the first place, there is no other name in the vicinity at all resembling Pērūr. In this part of the country, the only Herūr or Hārūr, written 'Yehroor' in the map, is in the Hungund Tālukā, about twenty-seven miles from Bēlūr, in a north-easterly direction. And, though in the Paragad Tālukā there is aHIRūr, yet this is a different name altogether, and the village is about forty miles distant from Bēlūr, to the east. And in the second place, the text tells us distinctly that "the hall of the Traipurushas," i.e. plainly the temple at which the inscription stands, was in the Pērūr agrahāra. I may mention that, in spite of the spelling in the map, 'Belloor,' which might be thought to indicate the short e, the ē in Bēlūr is long. And the metre, in line 38, distinctly marks the ē in Pērūr as long. In this name, ē has been changed to i; an instance of the opposite change, from I to ē, occurs in Kādalavalli, which appears elsewhere as Kādarāllī, and is now Ḍādarāli (see the Kalbhāvi Jain inscription, in the next number of this Journal).

The date is given as Saka-Saṁvatsara 944, expressed in decimal figures, the Dundubhi saṁvatsara; the Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti or winter solstice; a vyātipāta; on Ādityavāra or Sunday. The month and the titra are not given. And the details that are given, refer to the making of the grant; not to the writing of the record. By the southern luni-solar system, the Dundubhi saṁvatsara coincided with Saka-Saṁvatsara 945 current; i.e. with the
given year, 944, as an expired year. But I find, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, that in this year the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṅkrānti, occurred, not on a Sunday, but on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1022, at about 5 ghaṭis, 19 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bāḍami; and this must, apparently, have been the proper day for the celebration of any rites connected with it. For, the general rule regarding the puṇyakāśa of the Makara-Saṅkrānti is that, lasting according to some for twenty ghaṭis and according to others for forty ghaṭis, it comes after the saṅkrānti; and, though there are certain exceptions to this, and though there is a rule that, at the solstices and at the equinoxes, the rites of bathing, making a grant, &c., should be performed after fasting for either three nights or one night beforehand, yet this seems to refer only to the fast, and neither in the Nīrṇayasaṅdhu nor in the Dharmasindhuśudra can I find any authority by which, as this saṅkrānti occurred after sunrise on the Monday, the making of the grant could properly have been performed on the Sunday.

The term vyatipāta ought to help in explaining the date; but what it may mean in this passage, is not apparent; and all that I can say is that it does not seem to denote the Vyatipāta yōga. For, by Prof. Jacobi’s Tables, at sunrise on Sunday, 23rd December, the yōga was Vṛiddhi, No. 11; and at sunrise on Monday, 24th December, the yōga was Dhrūva, No. 12; so that the Vyatipāta yōga, No. 17, did not occur even on this day. Later on the Monday there commenced the Vyāghita yōga, No. 13; but the vyatipāta of the text is very distinct, and can hardly be a mistake in writing for vyāghita. In the preceding year, however, Saka-Saṅvat 944 current, the Makara-Saṅkrānti occurred at about 49 ghaṭis, 47 p. on Saturday, 23rd December, A.D. 1021; and it must apparently have been then celebrated on the Sunday, in accordance not only with the general rules, but also with a special rule in the Dharmasindhuśudra which states that, if the Makara-Saṅkrānti occurs in the night, — in the present instance about 43 minutes after midnight, — its puṇyakāśa is always on the following day. This date, accordingly, Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, may perhaps be the day that is intended. This solution entails the application of the given year as a current year; but to this there is no obstacle in the expression that is used in the text. And as regards the saṅvatasara, it is at least a curious point that, by the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, if it can be established and can be carried back so far, the Dundubhi saṅvatasara would coincide with Saka-Saṅvat 944 current; for, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit’s Tables, it commenced on the 5th December, A.D. 1019, in Saka-Saṅvat 942 current; and by the northern luni-solar system it coincided with Saka-Saṅvat 943 current. But here, again, the term vyatipāta fails to help in deciding the question; for, at sunrise on Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, the yōga was either Pṛiti, No. 2, or Ayushmat, No. 3. This date, therefore, must remain for further consideration, when the rules regarding the puṇyakāśa of saṅkrāntis have been fully elucidated, and when we can determine what is meant by the use of the word vyatipāta in this passage.

The exact meaning of the mention of Vikramāditya V. in this record, seems to call for some remark. His name is introduced in line 32, where it stands in the dative case, and is apparently governed by the immediately following word parākṣham. This word in Sanskrit governs the genitive, and means “out of sight, behind one’s back, in the absence of; without the knowledge of.” And we have met with it in a rather peculiar passage in the Miraj grant (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 17; see also Vol. XVI. p. 19), where Vikramāditya V. himself is mentioned as supporting the earth “behind the back, or in the absence (parākṣham),” — i.e., as I take it, “in succession after the death,” — of Satyāśraya II. Now, the latest certain date that we have for Vikramāditya V. is Saka-Saṅvat 933, in an inscription at Galagnāth in the Raṇibennur Tāluk (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 40), which mentions him as then reigning. While, in an inscription at Hirūr in the Hāngal Tāluk (ibid. Vol. I. p. 44), Jayasimha III. is mentioned as the reigning king in Saka-Saṅvat 940. The inference is that Vikramāditya V.

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* The difference of time for Bombay is only 90 palas earlier; so that nowhere in India did the saṅkrānti occur on the Sunday.
* See my remarks, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.
* See page 222 ff. above.
died in the interval, and at least four years before the date of the present record. And the same inference is to be drawn from the omission of his name in the genealogical part of this record. The use here of the dative case with paroksha seems certainly peculiar, even in Old-Kanarese. And the sense of the passage could be considerably altered by the insertion of an anusvara after Tribhuvanamalla, in line 32; thus making it a nominative case, instead of taking it, as part of a compound. The meaning might thus be arrived at, that it was Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramaditya V., who had previously granted the Pūrān agrahāra, to a god named Vikramaditya-deva after himself, and who had caused the hall of the Traipurushas to be built; and that, on the specified date, Akkādevi simply made a grant of land for the purpose of feeding students. But this seems hardly a satisfactory method of dealing with the passage; especially because it leaves paroksha[uvi]nayati, line 32-33, and mānīgala[a]yaurvaruṇa, line 34, without any apparent context and meaning, and because line 40 expressly refers to a "pious act of the Five-hundred" which can only be found in line 34f. And taking the passage as it stands, including the perhaps wrong or at least exceptional use of the dative case with paroksha, the meaning seems certainly to be that Akkādevī granted the agrahāra and caused the hall to be built, and did so "behind the back, or in the absence," or as I understand it, "after the death, and in memory," of Vikramaditya V.

**TEXT.**

1 [Om Svast[i] Samastabhuvaṇāśraya śiripi(prī)hṛvivallabhā mahā-rājādhrāja
2  [pa]rambhāṭārakaṁ Satyārāya-kula-tīkāṁ
3  [Chā]jukyā-bhārāpaṁ śrīmaJagadēkamallādevaṁ vijaya-ra-ya-
4  [jya]m-uttar-āṭhābhivriddhi-pravardhdhamānaṁ—a-chāndr-ār k a-tā rāṁ
7  nuta-Śitēvīge Mālēvīge bhū-dēvīge saman-enma nri-
dinēa-nibhaṁ Bhāga-
12  ladēvī panyavatī saty-ālīpe tāy-ḥakravartī ni[a]-pr[j][1]vala-kirtti-
murttī Jayaṁśhaṁ ta[a]va-āmī aśe mēviniy[i]l śri-negaļ-ō-
13  kavākṣeyya yasa(sab)-prahyāti-sāmānyam[ni] Avinnam(mr)-[ri]-nri(nri)-
pāla-prale(a)ya-sāmāda-ksham-ōchchaṇḍa-Bhairavi tān-āgiyum-n-
yde sāntatara-rūp-anvī[te] [11] nimbhatsan[i][12]rava-sīṁh-āgrajeyν-
14  gīyṛi mat-da-gaj-ādyad-yānṛ-sad-āntu dhā(dhan)ā-vichitraṁ negalā[=ēk-
16  dr-āgama-nigadita-dharmaṁgaḷaṁ[ñi] maḍī kasyāntana[--- - - ]
17  vrajakk[=āpp-o].
18  nītan-anudinam koṭṭu sarv-ōṛvvyi[dl]a-næy-āḷāṁkāre rāṃ-
19  jisida[a]-akhapati-vi[dl]-nandivate-Akkādēvi dharmaṁ-āgr-
21  la-jagat-praṇāṭeyum samasta-agamāṇa[dl]a śri[y]a-samasta-ripurṣi-pacha-ṛaṇaṛavindō-
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

During the reign of the asylum of the universe (samastabhuvanārāya; line 1), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Mahārājādhirāja, the Paramēvara, the Paramabhaṭṭarāka, the orna nent of the family of Satyākraya (l. 2), the glory of the Chālukyas, the glorious Jagadēkamallaḍēva (l. 3):—

The elder sister of that same Chakravarthi Jayasimha (III.) (l. 5) is Akkadevi (l. 6), who has the epithets of 'she who is charming by reason of her virtues' (goṣada-bedaṅgi, l. 8; and goṣada-bedaṅgi, l. 27), and 'she whose speech is single and uniform' (ekavāyē, ll. 9, 13-14, 17-18, 26-27), and who is a very Bhairavī in battle and in destroying hostile kings (ll. 9, 15). Her father was the glorious Dasavarmadēva (l. 11), the Chālukya diamond or thunderbolt; her mother was the virtuous Bhāgaladēvi (ll. 11-12); and her younger brother is the
Chakravartin Jayasinha (III.) (l. 13). And she has practiced the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina (l. 18), Buddha, Ananta (Vishnu), and Rudra (Siva).

While, she, the glorious Akkadevi, is governing the Kusakad Seventy (l. 29) with the delight of pleasing conversations; (At) the Uttarayana-Samkranti (l. 31) of the Dundubhi samvatsara, which is the 944th (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king (l. 29); and (At) a vyatipita (l. 31); on Sunday,—in the absence of her elder brother the glorious Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramadityadeva (V.) (l. 32), she with reverence allotted the Paur agrahara (l. 33) as a saravanayaga-grant, and caused to be made there a hall of the Traipurushas (l. 34), the Five-hundred Elders of which, for the purpose of feeding and clothing students, gave (one) mattrn of land, and two mattras out of the flower-garden, consisting of fifty (mattras), belonging to the five-hundred houses of Paur (l. 35).

The Four-hundred Mahajananae of Paur (l. 38) shall preserve this grant, as long as the ocean and the mountains endure. And seeing, and honouring, the excellence of this pious act of the Five-hundred (l. 40), Mannaya-Chanta, the ornament of the Pnduwaniha (l. 41), gave a mannaya-grant, to endure as long as the sun.

The inscription ends with four of the customary Sanskrit benedictory and imprecatory verses, in lines 42 to 51.

FOLKLORE IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

No. 1.—Maung Pauk Kyasing, or the Bull Boy who became a King.

In former times at Tetkatho there were congregated, for their education, sons of Pins, Ponnas, Thate, and Thagywes, from all parts of Zabudie. Among them was Maung Pauk Kyasing, a young man of obscure birth, who, despite his long residence at the schools, was found to have made no progress whatever in his studies. His restless energy, his superior physical strength, and his aversion to books, convinced those who came in contact with him that his sphere lay not in secluded cells and cloisters, but in the wide work-a-day world. His preceptor, therefore, taught him the following three formulae and enjoined on him to make good use of them as occasion required:—

1. Thud thay na mya thay na yaut—Distance is gained by travel;
2. Ma thay na mya thay na yaut—Information by inquiry;
3. Ma thay na thay na yaut—And long life by wakefulness.

Maung Pauk Kyasing bade his preceptor good-bye and started for his home. Arrived there he could find no congenial occupation for his restless spirit, so he resolved to leave his country and carve out a fortune for himself.

22 parakshana; see the introductory remarks.
23 mohi seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit mani, 'respectable, wearable'; and the present meaning is doubtless to be given to it in also the Alohe inscription, a.c., Vol. IX., p. 74, No. 63.
24 This passage seems to give the average size of the village at that time; and to indicate the proper meaning of such expressions as the Sixty Cultivators, the Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four, which occur, for instance, in Jour. Be. Br. R. At. Soc. Vol. XII. pp. 22, 23. The point, however, requires further consideration.
25 The transliteration, or rather the method of rendering Burmese sounds, for strict transliteration is impossible, adopted, is that usually used officially in Burma, so that those acquainted with the Burmese language may at once know how the words are spelt in the original. Pronounce 6 as short 6, 0 as in useful, 6 as in air; th as in English, t, s, in the or thing according to context. In aspirated consonants k is placed before the letter, thus kh, hp, hs, etc., in the sound. For instance, in the case of aspirated semi-vowels and nasals, it is pronounced though it is pronounced after the consonant as usual; but in the case of aspirated semi-vowels and nasals, it is pronounced after the consonant as usual; but in the case of aspirated semi-vowels and nasals, it is pronounced though it is pronounced after the consonant as usual (see the Pronunciation Appendix, and the light staccato point by ** under the letter affected).
26 Maung, with Kyasing is a well-known character in legendary Burmese history, as Thadon Ganaing. He was the ninth of the Saka dynasty of Saka Kings supposed to have reigned at Tagaung.
27 Tetkatho = Takshakil (Skr.) = Takila (Greek), near Rawal Pinj in the Pajjab.
28 Pins, Ponnas, Thate, and Thagywes = Khatriyans, Brahmanes, and Vaishyas; Thate and Thagywes being classed under the third caste. Observe the precedence accorded to the warrior-caste, to which Gautama Buddha belonged.
29 Zabudie = Jambudvipa, the southern continent in the cosmogony of the Buddhists.
Applying the first formula of his preceptor to his case, he travelled on and on and passed through strange scenes and countries. During his journey he asked the people he met questions on various subjects, and gained much information. At last he reached Tagaung, the most ancient capital of the kings of Burma. His inquisitive spirit soon made him acquainted with the condition of the country he was in. The King had been dead for some time, and his Queen had taken a Naga, or a huge serpent, for her spouse, much against the will of her people. The ministers and her other subjects wanted a human being to rule over them; but their wish was foiled because every one of the candidates elected by them to be their King, was killed by the Naga after passing a single night in the palace.

Maung Pauk Kyaing became desirous of aspiring to the hand of the widowed Queen, in spite of the rumors that all that had done so met with sure death. He accordingly intimated his wish to the ministers, and was, in due course, ushered into the palace. He observed that the Queen was sedate and silent, and he vainly tried to put her in good humor by his joviality.

Night came on, and the Queen put on her blandishments to induce Maung Pauk Kyaing to fall into a slumber. But he was too sharp for her. He had ascertained that all the former aspirants to her hand were killed by a Naga, whose spouse she was, and that to sleep in the palace was to sleep for ever.

He therefore pretended to go off to sleep and snore as loudly as possible. The Queen slept by his side. As soon as he found out that she had fallen into a natural slumber, he got up and placed the trunk of a plantain-tree on the bed, covered it up with his own blanket, and retired behind a screen to see what would happen. He had not to wait long. Out from the darkness came a huge serpent hissing and wriggling along in a fearful manner. It reached the place where the Queen was sleeping, and taking a well-directed aim its head descended on the plantain tree with a tremendous crash. The Naga could move no more. Its fangs had been deeply buried in the fibrous tree, and tenaciously held there, while Maung Pauk Kyaing with the quickness of lightning darted forth from his hiding place and plunged his dagger into the Naga, cutting it in twain.

In due course Maung Pauk Kyaing was crowned King. There was great rejoicing and jollification among his subjects, but the Queen would not cast off her sullen and melancholy aspect.

The news of the good fortune that befell Maung Pauk Kyaing soon reached his parents, who accordingly set out for their son’s kingdom. On nearing Tagaung they rested under a tree on which two crows, who were husband and wife, were perched. The male bird said: “Wife, to-morrow we shall have a good feast.” “Why?” asked the female bird. “Because the King is to be executed. He and the Queen, you know, laid a wager that on his failure to solve a certain conundrum he was to forfeit his life, but that if he was successful, the Queen was to die.” “What may that conundrum be?” “It is this:—

\[
\begin{align*}
Htaung & \text{ pɛ̀ , hòk} \\
Yd & \text{ pɛ̀ lo ʔók} \\
Chit & \text{ tê lâ ʔo} \text{ sâjgô , sâjgô lôk}.
\end{align*}
\]

“A thousand is given to wear; A hundred to sew; And the bones of the loved one Are made into hair-pins.”

The female crow observed that his solution was very easy, and she said: “This conundrum refers to the Naga, the loved one of the Queen. A thousand coins were paid for tearing...”

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6 Tagaung is on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, and lies about a hundred miles north of Mandalay, reputed to be the most ancient capital of Burma, and to have remained as such during the reign of 50 kings. The founder was Abiyûrâ (Abhirāja) who immigrated from the valley of the Ganges long before the birth of Buddha (628 B.C.).

7 The Nagas play an important part in Burmese folklore. They are represented as huge serpents; but as a matter of fact they are the indigenous Naga races inhabiting the country.
off its skin, and a hundred to sew it into pillows and cushions; and its bones were made into hairpins, which are worn by the Queen."

The aged parents of Maung Pauk Kyaing overheard the conversation of the crows, and with increased speed they resumed their journey. They were just in time to save the life of their son; and the Queen, in accordance with the terms of the wager, offered herself to be killed, but the King, with great magnanimity, characteristic of a real hero, spared her life.

Eventually the Queen became reconciled to Maung Pauk Kyaing, who assumed the title of Thadonagansing;9 and they reigned happily together.9

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**MISCELLANEA.**

**PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.**

No. XVIII.


(a) The finding of a hoard of Bulgarian coins in the year 1887; by A. Likhachev.

On the subject of Jōchi numismatics there is an interesting question, which remains to the present time unsettled. Among the coins of the Jōchi dynasty relating to the XIIIth-XVth centuries, a whole series is met with, struck in the city of Bulgar in the name of the Baghdādī Khalīfa An-Nasr-IH-dīn-Allah who is known to have ruled the Eastern Khalifate from 585 to 622 A.H. = 1189-1225 A.D. On these coins are no dates, and the time when they were coined can only be ascertained relatively. The obverse contains the Khalīfa's name and title 'Commander of the Faithful'; the reverse the name Bulgar and some pious expression. It is found both in silver and copper. Among the latter some are stamped with the Jōchi mint in the name of Mangu, the Mongolian Khān. The name of the Khalīfa An-Nasr-IH-dīn-Allah is met with earlier than that of Mangu Khān. In consequence of this fact, Ch. D. Fuchu thought that the money coined at Bulgar in the name of An-Nasr was an independent coinage during the XIIth and the first quarter of the XIIIth century, before the country had been conquered by the descendants of Chałgę Khān. This opinion gained ground from the antiquity of the coins. Thus these coins were considered the last monument of independent Bulgaria on the Volga, which from the tenth century became connected with the Eastern Khalifate and Muhmmād. Fuchu found that the Bulgarian mālīks as they were called, coined their own money, like the Sāmani dirhams. He found among the hoards of Kufic money some Bulgarian coins, upon which are recognised the names of Talib, the son of Ahmad, who coined money, A.H. 338, in Suvār, and his brother Mūmīn, A.H. 366, in the towns of Bulgar and Suvār. He was able to furnish a quantity of dynastic knowledge, adding to the information gained from coins thus preserved in their histories. The coins discovered by Fuchu are very rare. They differ from the Sāmani dirhams by the inscriptions which resemble those found on monuments on the soil of ancient Bulgaria, and sometimes barbarous corruptions of words are found. Besides the coins described by Fuchu, there was found at Bulgar in 1888 a dirham of Talib, the son of Ahmad, coined A.H. 338. It has come into the writer's collection, and as so far as concerns the place where it was struck it is still unpublished, he calls attention to it. After these coins, till the end of the twelfth century, no independent Bulgarian money is met with, and the cause of the long interval is unknown. Judging by the rarity of these Bulgarian coins of the tenth century, we may conclude that they were never much used and could not supplant the Kufic money introduced into the country in large quantities. Consequently they are only attempts at establishing a national coinage. But the plan was abandoned, probably because there was not

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9 Thadonagansing = "the Prince who conquered the Nyāga;" note 2.

9 The above tale is widely known among the Burmese. It was narrated to me by Maung Tin, late Sayegyl (clerk) of the Huttaw (Late Royal Council Chamber at Mandalay), but now employed in the Burma Secretariat. [This tale is common in many variants throughout India. See Wide-Awake Stories, p. 401, where many instances are quoted: and again pp. 24, 35, above, where the tale crops up in Bombay. S. D'Ollendorn, quoted in Trumpe's Record, 3rd series, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 11-15, says: "The oldest known version of the legend about the snake and the girl is found in Kathānītīgarā, vi. 49, where Gondūr is the child. For other versions of the birth of Śālikābhāna, see the Śālikābhāna-priyakātī-kātī. In Buddhist books serpents and Nyāga tribes are often confused with one another. Concerning Śālikābhāna, compare a number of snake stories in Thanattha's History of Buddhism, especially pp. 168, 190. For Buddhist stories about serpents, see further the portion of the Mahāhāra ed. Pendall (J. R. A. S., April, 1880); Th. Pârvī, Quelques observations sur le mythe du serpent chez les Indois (Journal Asiatique, 5th series, Vol. V, pp. 469-509), and the Nāgāphāyārā, a small Buddhist tract (Paris, Bibl. Nat., D 117). These serpent tales are by no means confined to Aryan and the old world folklore, but are common to America: See Journal of American Folklore, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 446, and 747.—E. C. T.]
enough of workmen and there was no experience in the technical parts. They therefore returned to the use of foreign money. While there was so much of this the attempt to coin native money was not stimulated by any need, but was only the fruit of the ephemeral fancy of royal personages. This is further proved by the fact that, when in the first quarter of the eleventh century the importation of foreign money was stopped, there was no fresh attempt at coining. Coined money was exchanged for bars of silver of various kinds, such payments being common at the time. In hoards, besides perfect coins, many such bars are found which have been cut, and sometimes scales are discovered with a balance. Thus we see that money was taken according to the weight of the metal. So matters went on to all appearance till the close of the twelfth century, when a new attempt was made to coin real Bulgarian money, and the issue lasted not only till the end of the independent kingdom of great Bulgaria, but even after the conquest of the country by the descendants of Changâz Khân. These coins are totally different from those of the tenth century. They are coined, however, like them, by illiterate workmen. There was thus felt to be a complete want of good coiners. But still coins were struck in great numbers. They bear the name of the Khalîfa An-Nasr-li-dîn-Allah, and it is by the years of his reign that we are enabled to tell their date. The coining was protracted even after his death. Their transformation into Jochi coins only occurred in the time of Mangh Khân. He was elected in 1259, whereas the conquest of

Bulgaria on the Volga occurred in the year 1237. That the Khâns of the Golden Horde did not establish the use of their money in the country immediately after its conquest, is explained from the descendants of Changâz never destroying the institutions of a conquered country unless they were opposed to their interests. Besides, they thought only of new conquests, and being able to gain what they wanted by plunder they had no need of money.

Among the Jochi there have been found other coins, struck in the name of the Khalîfa An-Nasr-li-dîn-Allah, but with the date A.H. 692-693 (= 1293-1294, A.D.), exhibiting a completely inexplicable anachronism. They only resemble the previously mentioned coins in having the Khalîfa's name, and were coined in the Jochi epoch in the time of Tokhtâ Khân. Why was the Khalîfa's name on them, when he had been dead already seventeen years? This led Facht to alter his views about these coins and look upon them as Jochi. 1

P. S. Saveliev, however, the Russian numismatist, looks upon these as special coins of the independent Bulgaria of the Volga, and makes a class of their coins before the Mongols. The periods he subdivides into (a) Xth century, (b) the end of the XIth and first quarter of the XIIth. These coins only agree in having been coined in the names of the 'Abbâsî Khalîfâs, whose spiritual power was reverence in Bulgaria, when converted to Islâm. But on the first coins, together with the names of the Khalîfâ Mustâfî Bîllah, Mutas Bîllah and Tal-Bîllah, there were also included

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1 There had been already an attempt to coin money among the Mongols in the time of Changâz Khân. [Tiesenhausen]. [The above abstract has much interest for me because it suggests I think I can throw light on its subject. A paper will be shortly published in this Journal illustrating my collection of the coins of the modern Padjâb Native Chiefs. All these coins are now in the British Museum. The modern Padjâb Native Chiefs who are entitled to coin money are Pâtilâ, Jnd, Nâbbâ and Mâlîr Kôshâ. They obtained the right in the last quarter of the XVIIth century, originally from Ahmad Shah Abdâll (Durrâraj) Afghan conqueror of Dehîl. Pâtilâ, Jnd, and Nâbbâ are Sikh, Mâlîr-Kôshâ is Afghan. They all coined as independent Chiefs, and used the coin of Ahmad Shah of his fourth year, i.e., of A.D. 1721, exactly as it stood. From that day to this there has been no change in the dies beyond a mark, as the reigning Chief's special mark or crest. A gold coin struck for me at the mint at Patiala in 1884 in my presence, bore the date 1721, i.e., year 4 of Ahmad Shah. The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nâbbâ, which State dates its coins by the Vikrama Sambat, on the obverse, and uses the coupled adopted by the Sikh. Ldih is in the days of Ahmad Shah. The reverse bears the date, "Saxed Ldih." I once had a set of gold mohers from the Râjput (Hindu) State of Jâypur, purporting to have been struck during each year of Bahkâr Shâh, the last emperor of Dehîl (1858-1857 A.D.). But Jâypur was at no period of Bahkâr Shâh's reign under his sovereignty, but was more under British sway than any other Râjput State. The fact is that the Râjps used the Dehîl coin as a convenience. The legends contained no record of real historical or political facts.

In a letter to the late Mr. Gibbes, a good authority on such subjects, said that the same adaptation of anachronistic coins to local use was the universal rule among the native states in Kachch. In &c. of Burmese coins (1832-1878 A.D.) established a mint, indenting on London and Calcutta for its dies. This was about A.D. 1860, but his earlier coins all bear date Burmese râs 1214 = A.D. 1832. All in Mandalay tell me that Mîndîs Min used the peacock as his crest, and his son, Thîbi Min (1878-1883 A.D.), whom the English deposed, used the lion (or dragon). But I have "Hou" coins dated 1214 = A.D. 1832. I am told by a man who was once employed in the mint, that this was because the Burmanse would sometimes use the reverse die of one coin with the obverse die of another! It is also doubtful whether the Pâtilâ Chiefs really coined before Sambat 1820 = A.D. 1763, though their coins bear date A.D. 1721. The coins of the Buddhist kings of Arakan bore Muhammadan titles and designations on them long after the country ceased to be tributary to Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, Prisse's History of Burma, p. 72. The history of the early British coinage in India strongly exhibits the same falsification of facts and is described by Prisse as an "unhappy tissue of misstatements as to names, places, and dates." Useful Tables, Pt. I, p. 4.

The inferences therefore are (1) that anachronisms are the rule, not the exception, in the coinage of Minor Oriental Mints; (2) by analogy the deductions about the Bulgarian coinage are probably all correct.—B. C. Tetley]
the names of the Bulgarian kings Talib and Momin. On the coins of the second class is only read the name of An-Nasir-li-din Allah. Saveliev considers them the last memorials of the independent Bulgarian Empire, and thinks that they were coined in great quantities.

These coins are generally copper, and of an antique type. The silver money is rarest with the inscription: "Use life, short as an hour, in honourable works." The writer disagrees with Saveliev’s opinion that many were coined. On the 2nd of December, 1887, some silver coins were brought to the writer from Al-Kasar. The discovery had been made while a grave was being dug. 104 silver coins were found in a heap. There was no Jachl coin among them. Their condition showed that they had long been buried. They were rudely fashioned, and the inscriptions ungrammatical.

He then proceeds to give a few of the most interesting:

1. Obverse:—En-Nasir-li-din Allah, Commander of the Faithful.
Reverse:—a dirham, coined in Bulgaria.
The Khalifa’s name is spelled wrong; and instead of dirham, which means gold coin, dirhrəm, silver coin, should have been used.

2. Obverse and reverse the same as above, but on the reverse a kind of zigzag is cut.
3. On the obverse there are three stars placed horizontally. Reverse: the inscription is, "Life is an hour; use it for piety."

Some of these coins are rare. The writer, during thirty years, has had only one example of No. 3. He concludes by stating that the coins are independent Bulgarian money, the coinage of which continued after the conquest of the country by the Mongols till the establishment of an independent Jachl rule.

Finds of large hoards of money coined in the name of An-Nasir-li-din Allah were not known up to this time.

(b) Nicholas Spathari, before his arrival in Russia; by P. Sirku.

There is a Chinese account in the Manchu language of the stay of Nicholas Spathari in Pekin. This document is valuable, because it explains the relations existing between Russia and China. Only some extracts have previously appeared in the Manchu Christomathy of Prof. Vasiliev. The writer of the article does not propose to give a complete account of Spathari, but some new material about him, especially from the Greek State Papers. He was born about 1625 in Moldavia, of a family which had come from the Peloponnesus, and was educated at Constantinople. Here he acquired ancient Greek, Turkish and Arabic, and afterwards probably finished his education at Padua. In 1653 Stephen Giorgisa seized the hospodarship of Moldavia from Basil Lupu, and Nicholas became his secretary and private friend. In 1657 George Ghika was hospodar, and into his good graces Spathari insinuated himself. But under a subsequent governor we find Spathari caught intriguing, and he had his nose cut off, hence he was called Kurnal or the snub-nosed. Afterwards on the recommendation of Dositeus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, he was received into the Russian service. In consequence of his great knowledge of foreign languages, the Tsar Alexis sent him as ambassador to China in 1675.

(c) List of Persian-Turko-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of St. Petersburg (concluded): extends from page 197 to page 229; by V. Rosen.

In a note at the conclusion, the writer thanks J. Gotwald for the presentation to the Library of a very old copy of the celebrated work of Gasamit. It is true that a Bulaq edition exists of this work; but a good old manuscript always preserves its value, inasmuch as the greater part of the oriental editions are only reproductions of some one manuscript, and it is good to test them by other copies.

There is also an additional list of ten manuscripts given by E. F. Kahl, which he collected in Bokhara and Tashkand.

(d) ‘The Wisdom of Balavar,’ a Georgian version of the History of Varlaam and Joasaph.

The writer became acquainted with this Georgian version of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph during his stay in the Caucasus. He was told of two copies, one in possession of the priest of the Alaverd monastery, Simeon Gadszliev, and the other in that of Ivan Berdzenov, who died two years ago. There were also in Guria some persons with the name of Balaver, which might point not only to the existence of a book about Balavar, but also to its popularity in Georgia, because in that country personal names are often taken from popular works. In the Georgian Gazette (Ieris), was an account of some books, which had been given to the Society for Spreading Education among the Georgians, and among these was mentioned the Wisdom of Balavar. When the writer was in Tiflis, he copied the whole MS. It was of the very recent date 1890, but this very circumstance gave hopes of finding the original, and with this object he put a notice into the Ieris of his desire to find it. Soon after, in the Gazette, No. 104, there was a communication that the copy of the Wisdom of Balavar had been made from that of the
Miltaurow, inherited by them from the Georgian Tsareviches, under one of whom a Miltaurow was the court captain. The manuscript, which belongs to the Society and includes the Wisdom of Balavar, has the form of an ordinary pamphlet. The story of Balavar, which occupies the first 153 pages is followed by 20 pages containing various poems, and an interpretation of the Lord's prayer. The last ten pages are blank. It is in the civil character, with the exception of the capitals, which are in the ecclesiastical. The pagination is in Arabic numerals.

At the beginning of the manuscript we read:—
The Wisdom of Balavar: the work of Father Sophronius of Palestine, the son of Isaac. There are some lines at the beginning of the tale, apparently by the author, pointing to the Ethiopian i.e. Indian, origin of the book:—"Once I was in the country [Ethiopia] where in the library of the king of the Indians, I found this book, in which his deeds are described." The following is the inscription at the end:—"On October 6th, 1860, this tale was copied by the Government Secretary, the noble Anthony Zakharievich Daykiv.

"The hands of the labourers are turned to dust:
"Their work will remain, like a treasure."

The language is ecclesiastical, with all those peculiarities of style which we find in the Bible and religious authors of the best period of Georgian literature. The use of the demonstrative pronoun in the place of the definite article, and many other archaic forms of speech and ancient words,—thus the proper word for nightingale, võdnai, which has become supplanted in modern Georgian by the Greek ἁβüler, &c. &c.,—all show the value of the manuscript.

Up to the discovery of the Georgian manuscript, two chief redactions of the tale of the Indian king's son were known: the Greek, which was most celebrated, and the Arabic, which was only recently published from a defective manuscript. In it the story is interrupted at the moment when Balabar has bidden adieu to the king's son, and the king 'takes counsel with the wizard how to bring back his disobedient child. Hommel, of Munich, reckons among the sources of the Fihrist some books about Balavar, translated from Pahlavi into Arabic, and thinks that this tale is in the closest connexion with the Khaliha and Dimmis, also translated from the Pahlavi. At the same time he states that the Hebrew redaction, called The Son of the King and the Wrestler, is a translation from this Arabic redaction, which is Musalman and not Christian. There were many versions of the history of Barlaam in Pahlavi, whence there was an Arabic translation, which was turned into Greek by John, a monk of the Savva Monastery. There is also another Arabic translation from the Pahlavi which is the original of the Hebrew riscimento of Ibn Khidr.

In the tale about the son of the Indian king, if we contrast the Georgian version with the Greek and Musalman Arabic, we can distinguish three elements:—(1) A fable; (2) A parable; (3) Religious teaching.

The writer compares the various redactions and alludes to an edition of the Georgian text which he is about to publish. He gives the Georgian version with a translation. The Greek and Arabic redactions are also compared. The Arabic version appears to be of the least importance: in the Greek two of the creeds are cited: in the Georgian, only one. The article concludes with a list of proper names contained in the tale, in Georgian, Greek, and Arabic. The author hopes in a forthcoming work to trace the progress of this tale from the East to the West.

(c) Various Notes.
(1) Baron V. Rosen on the Anthology of Ahmad-Ibn-Abi-Tahir.

In the British Museum (MS. Add. 15532), is preserved a fragment of the anthology of one of the remarkable writers of the third century, A.H., namely Abu'l-Fadhl, Ahmad-Ibn-abi-Tahir, Taipna, ob. 290 A.H. (893-94 A.D.). This is a most important century of Arabic literature, as all Arabists know. These works were driven from popularity by the great compilations, such as the History of Tabari, the Book of Sons (Kitbu'l-Aqās) of 'Ali Isfahān, and others, which have not preserved all the material which existed. The anthology cited above had been described by Dr. Rien in his Arabic Catalogue, and the writer, during his stay in London in 1875, made some extracts from it, in the hope that interest may be awakened in it.

Ibn-Abi-Tahir, the author of the Fihrist tells us, came from a family of Khurasān, and was born at Baghdād A.H. 204. He died in the 78th year of his age. He is accused of pilfering from other poets. Of his numerous works mentioned in the Fihrist, not one has come down complete, as far as the writer knows. Only fragments of two of them have been preserved: viz. (1) The Book about Baghdād; (2) The Book of Prose and Verse. These fragments are in the British Museum. The Book about Baghdād treats of the history of the 'Abbásids; the London fragment is that which treats of the Khalifa Māmūn. The Book of Prose and Verse is an anthology. According to the Fihrist it consisted of 14 parts, but only thirteen were published:
the London fragment contains parts 11 and 12. The loss of the greater part of this manuscript is much to be regretted. The eleventh part is entirely devoted to women, distinguished and undistinguished, free and slave, clever and stupid, pre-Islamic and post-Islamic; their speeches, and witicsisms are introduced with many anecdotes. The author gives some of the heads of the chapters which he noticed, as a supplement to Dr. Rieu's work. In the twelfth part two poets especially deserve attention: Ahmad Ibn-Al-Fi-Qarim has an elegy on an old shirt, the whole history of which the author lays before us; the other gives a very realistic picture of the sufferings which were endured by the tax-gatherers, &c.

The text of the London manuscript is very mutilated. One chapter is devoted to the 'incomparable verses' of various poets. The author was to all appearance a special worshipper of Nabigt. Among other things there is an Epistle of Abu'l-Kabi-Muhammed-Ibn-al-Lais to Constantine, the emperor of the Greeks, which is no doubt the same as the book of the Answor to Constantine in the name of Hanon which the Fihrist mentions among the works of that celebrated secretary. It contains an enthusiastic defence of Talâm, with a quantity of citations from the Old and New Testament, and deserves notice as one of the oldest specimens of Muhammadan polemic with Christianity. The Epistle appears to be complete.

The rest of the MS. contains letters and fragments. Enough will have been said to shew the character and importance of this anthology.

We see from this manuscript that (1) the ancient poems, or mu'allaha, as they were called in later times, in the time of our author, i.e. the third century A.H., already formed a subject of study. (2) The Khalifa 'Abdu'l-Malik collected seven pieces of poetry, which up to that time had never been gathered into any recueil. Among these number were six pre-Islamic; and, strange to say, there was not one production of the Yaman or South-Arabian races. Finally, it is curious that our author does not make use of the term mu'allaha, and knows nothing about the mu'allaha or any other ancient poems, which were written in golden letters and hung at the Ka'ba: so we must consider Ibn-'Abdu'l-Rabbi, as the oldest author acquainted with this legend.

(2) The latest discoveries in Egypt and Southern Arabia.

V. S. Golitschev has already communicated on pp. 121-125 of the Journal of the Russian Archaeological Society, some notes on the discoveries made in Egypt in Tal-el-Amarna, cuneiform tablets and rubayat (a collection of portraits). Bezold has contributed further information to the Allgemeine Zeitung, his report being partly compiled from that of L. A. Budge.


S. F. Oldenburg in a letter from London, dated 17/29 of October has written to say that there is a Persian Varalaam and Joasaf in the British Museum. The MS. is without date: it came from the Churchill collection, and belongs to the last century. It is in tallik handwriting, and contains 33 leaves. This MS., the speedy publication of which would be very desirable, will perhaps give the full text of the Musalmân version of the Romance, which in its Arabic form has no conclusion. The opening lines of the MS. quoted in the letter of Oldenburg, give us the first account of the Romance among Musalmâns.

The Ibn-Batavah mentioned in this part, must be the celebrated Abu'Ja'far-Muhammed-Ibn-'Ali-Ibn-Batavah-al-Kummi, ob. A.H. 381 (A.D. 991), whom the Shi'a authors considered the best of the scholars that came from Kumm, and one of the most notable Shi'a teachers. He compiled about 300 books, of which a few are preserved in the great European libraries. There is also mention in the same passage of Abu-Bakr-Muhammed Ibn-Zakari-ar-Razi, the celebrated philosopher, surgeon and polymathist, who died probably A.H. 320. Among his numerous productions is the Book of the man who has not a surgeon at hand, a short guide to medicine. Ar-Razi was a many-sided writer; among other things on Ethics, and in his works we might hope to find mention of the Romance; moreover he was not unacquainted with foreign languages.

(5) N. Mieglakov: on the coin No. 1 of the collection of A. V. Komarov.

On a previous page is described the 'Abbas fels coined at Merv, A.H. 156, in the reign of the Khalifa Al-Mahdi. Here an inaccuracy has crept in, inasmuch as Al-Mahdi ruled from 158 to 169 A.H. (A.D. 775-785). This fels was not coined in the time of Al-Mahdi, but in that of his predecessor Al-Mansur.

(6) Criticism and Bibliography.


The book is uncritical: the author connects the Chinese language among others with the Aryan.
An attempt is made, by an analysis of the characters, to give a sketch of the old Chinese culture. The results already obtained by the study of early Aryan culture are well known, but these results have been brought about by a comparative study of roots, which are unquestionably connected, but even about which scholars are not uniform in their opinions. Our author only investigates the Chinese language, and is very fantastic in his explanation of the Chinese combined characters. And in the Chinese characters the same group has a different meaning with different keys.

There is also this radical fault in his interpretation: he accepts the idea that the present style of writing is nothing else than simplification of the ancient styles. But why should we not believe that, as the culture changed, the writing changed, so that in their different conditions the people would naturally express their thoughts by different combinations and thus change the old methods? He frequently treats as old characters those which are late. He attempts to prove, among other things, that the Chinese, at the time when they settled in the east from Central Asia, had not black hair, and were of a fair complexion, but not one of the examples introduced confirm this. He interprets the combination of characters which Vasiliev takes to mean 'black-haired' as signifying 'ploughmen, agriculturists,' which he holds the primitive Chinese to have been.

The writer is too fond of seeing allusions to foreigners everywhere. He is led to this by the fact that the names of foreigners are written with keys denoting the dog, snake, &c., but this may point to the custom of calling races after animals, and does not shew any attempt to look upon them with dislike. Throughout, the author interprets the characters from preconceived notions, and also explains the same character differently in different parts of his book. Thus, as explaining the earliest unit of the Chinese family, father, mother and son, he interprets the character tara, on page 21, as 'three people under a roof,' and on page 97 he says, 'the character tara, 'house or family,' is compounded of mi, 'a roof,' and Shi, 'swine,'—i.e. each Chinese family had swine.

To conclude: the Chinese language and its literature are still too little studied for it to be possible to investigate the primitive culture of the Chinese people: the analysis which our author gives, is arbitrary and can lead to no satisfactory results.


This work answers a want long felt in Russia. It is valuable both to the general public and to specialists. There is not only a careful map appended, but plans of some of the Chinese towns. Perhaps the former is somewhat overcrowded with names, but the work is a very valuable one.

(g) Catalogues of Oriental MSS.; by Rosen.

The materials for the study of these three Muhammadan languages are constantly increasing; the British Museum and the Library of Berlin being very active in their purchase. Dr. Rieu's Turkish Catalogue will be warmly greeted, because, with the exception of that of the Viennese Library by Flügel, there was little to aid our study of Ottoman literature.

The collection of the British Museum contains 444 Ottoman MSS. (including some from Azurbijan) and 39 Chughabal. It is rich in ancient works preserved in ancient copies. In this respect it almost surpasses all other collections. Those of Paris and Oxford, of which up to the present time there is no description, perhaps will prove richer. The British Museum has no copy of the Kudatku-Bilik, of which Vienna is justly proud, and manuscripts in the Uighur character are wanting, but it boasts an old copy of the History of the Prophets by Rubguzi, compiled A.H. 710, and referred by Dr. Rieu to the X.V. century. The MS. is not dated, but we can rely upon such a competent scholar as Dr. Rieu. He identifies the Amir Nasiru'd-din Tukbogha, mentioned in the preface of Rubguzi, to whom the whole work is dedicated, with the Amir Tukbogha, whom Ibn-Batuta (A.H. 733) saw in the camp of Sultān Termashirin, near Nakheb. When Rubguzi is edited again,—which is much to be desired,—the London copy must be compared with the text.

Besides this pearl, we find (p. 290) a rare old Chughabal work, Mubabbat-nadma, by a certain Khwariżmī, compiled in A.H. 754, in a manuscript of the year 914, which also contains the Makhzan-ul-tārīkh of Haydar Telbê, the Gul-i-Nard of Maşhānā Lutfī and also his dīwān, the De-nadma of Amīrī (compiled in A.H. 833), the Qasīda of Shahbān Khān, the Lāfīfatu-nadma of Khoshdūnī (a work up to the present entirely unknown), the Ta'ash-Shah-nadma of Sīdī Ahmad ibn-Mirān Shāh and some other small poetical productions. There is also the Dīwān of Sakkakī, the oldest contemporary of Mir 'Allahār, unfortunately.
incomplete. The works of Mir `Alaullah are to be found in several examples: especially remarkable is the dated copy of his diwan of the year A.H. 887 and the copy of his Majdīs-an-nafāris of A.H. 987. There is also the historical work of Tawārisī-Gusīda-i-Nurat-nāma, compiled in A.H. 908, which contains the history of Shaibān Khān. The Shaband-nāma, according to Dr. Rieu, appears to be an abridgment of this work. The London copy is incomplete. Among Oghāhata MSS. the only known copy of the great Oghāhata-Persian dictionary, Senk-Lakh, compiled by Mīrzā-Mahdi Khān, the historian of Nādir Shāh. Among Osmany MSS. very rare are the Turkish translation of Tabari (in MSS. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the Dīwān of `Ashīq Pāshā, the contemporary of Dante, and an excellent copy, a treatise on Sufism by the patron of the Janissaries, Hājī Bāsbāsh, the Iskandar-nāma, of Ahmadī, composed A.H. 792 in three copies, Futahash-Sham by the Pseudo-Wākīdī, (compiled, according to Dr. Rieu, A.H. 792, by Zāvrī-Mustafa of Erzerum), the very rare Safi treatise Bashdrat-nāma, by a certain Rāfi who wrote A.H. 811, the Khushkān and Shīrāz of Shāhī in three old copies. These books must be studied if we wish to have a really scientific Ottoman grammar and Ottoman dictionary.

In history the British Museum Collection is poorer than that of Vienna, but it possesses a small number of valuable MSS. even in this branch. In some of them we may hope to find fresh information about the Crimean Khanate, or events connected with Russian history: for example, the History of the Ottoman Sulṭān from Iderīs Bayazīd to the death of Muhammad II, written by Sinān Chelebi, surnamed Bihāshā, the contemporary of Nasīrī—the Histories of Bayazīd II. and Selim I. by an unknown author, but a contemporary. Here we should perhaps find an account of the stay of Sallūm al-Kaffa and the visit he paid to Mengli Ghirai. Valuable are the works of Kōhī Nishānī and Mustafa-Jalālādād on Sulaimān the Great and Selim I. The London copy of the latter work is the third which has been found.

The History of Iṣlām-ghirāi from A.H. 1054-1060 (1644-1650) has a direct connection with the Crimea; the copy is almost unique. The conquest of Georgia, by Lūlā-Mustafa-Pāshā, is told in the Wusrat-nāma, written by `Alî of Gallipoli, his secretary, who is preserved in an excellent copy.

In the collection of Letters of Abūl-Kāsim we appear to have the oldest specimens of Ottoman prose. In another collection are letters from and to Peter the Great, and a copy of the treaty of the Pruth in July, 1711. There is also a very old cosmography, translated from the Persian. The original Dr. Rieu assigns to the beginning of the fourth century A.H., but it has not been found. Everyone who is acquainted with the Persian Catalogue of Dr. Rieu, will find in this new work the same excellent qualities which made that a model. We see in it the same vast erudition and perfect criticism. Moreover there is a copious index.

The Persian Catalogue of Dr. V. Percsich, contains a description of about 1150 manuscripts. Numerically Berlin is the richest in this branch, but in quality it yields to the British Museum and probably to Paris and Oxford. There are however some ancient MSS. one a Recueil of Fairy Tales, dated A.H. 543. Six dated MSS. refer to various years of the seventh century A.H. We may here mention the Persian translation of the Kasīla-ua-Dinna of A.H. 669, the very rare Astronomy of Muḥammad-UL Masūdī of A.H. 685, the Cosmography of Tābī of A.H. 687. There are six MSS. belonging to the eighth century A.H. One of A.H. 731, a very rare translation of Samarkandī. One of A.H. 734, a little treatise on the difficult words in the Qurān, &c.

Persian MSS. of the ninth century A.H. meet us pretty often in all great libraries. The writer has not remarked many rare ancient works on going through the Catalogue. There are, however, a short encyclopedic work of Avicebron, almost unique; a rare Tazkīra of Auff, a valuable copy of the mystical poem of Senaie, and the Dīwān of his pupil Sazeni; and some comparatively old copies of the works of Nizāmi. No ancient copies of the Shāh-Nāma of Firdūsī are to be found in this library, and the manuscript of the Vis-ur-Rawāmī has no value. But an old copy of the great Medical Encyclopedia of Jurjānī and two copies of the Cosmography of Tābī deserve notice. This last work is very interesting both in contents and language, and deserves editing.

Besides these there is a copy of Tabukīt-i-Nāṣirī, incomplete but somewhat old; two good copies of Zafar-Nāma; a comparatively rare Dastūr-nī-Vusārī of Khondamīr; the History of the Kirmān Selīkās, not long since edited by Houtama; the History of Haidar-Rāštī, the Memoirs of Shāh Tahmāsp, important for the modern history of Persia; &c.

Generally speaking, the Berlin Collection is richest in Indo-Persian history and literature, as might be inferred from the fact that the greater part was brought by Spranger from India. The Catalogue here published is the best known of Persian literature, with the exception of that of Dr. Rieu. The condition of Dr. Percsich in
oriental literature is already known from his Catalogue of the Arabic books at Gotha. The reviewer has only two faults to find:—(1) There is no systematic reference to copies of the books in other libraries; (2) The author in the case of the minor tazkira gives full lists of the poets mentioned in them; of these there are about 4,000; our knowledge of Persian poetry is certainly thereby increased, but instead of so many names of mere rhymesters it would have been better to have given extracts from rarer works.

The indices are copious: these include the geographical names and ansāb, lists of Indian words in Arabic transcriptions, and indices of MSS. in which are found seals, miniatures, remarkable arabsques, beautiful bindings, &c. The Catalogue of Dr. Persich will undoubtedly take an honourable place in the library of all students of Persian literature.

The first volume of the Arabic Catalogue of Prof. Ahlwardt embraces about the sixth part of the vast collection of the Berlin Royal Library, which in all possesses about 6,500 vols. of Arabic MSS. The great characteristic of the Library is its richness in the works of all periods of Arabic literature.

The following MSS. are especially worthy of attention:—

Fragments of the Encyclopaedia of Nusairi (with the author’s autograph) written in A.H. 733, an old copy, about A.H. 600, of a work of Khwarizmi which up to this time was considered unique in the Leiden collection, a work by Gazzari, extracts from the Qur’an in Kufic writing, two very rare Kufic fragments of an historical character, a Qur’an of A.H. 888, with Turkish interlinear translation, three copies of Abd-ul-Aziz-al-Kinâni, a work of Abu Obeid-al-Karim Ibn-Sallâm, almost unique, rare and important works on the various readings of the Qur’an by Mkhî, a valuable Dictionary to the Qur’an by Rajah Isfahân, and some very rare commentaries on the Qur’an forming a complete series.

The Catalogue of Prof. Ahlwardt is compiled upon a plan in complete contrast to those of similar works. In the descriptions of the books, the European literature on the subject is completely ignored. The various parts of a manuscript are described under different heads, and therefore we do not realise what were the literary tastes of the compilers of the recueil.

The reader is obliged to be constantly referring to the indices. There are quantities of cross-references. It would have been better to describe each manuscript separately, and to add, as Dr. Rieu does, at the end a systematic index to the subjects. As regards ignoring European literature, it leads to constant repetitions. The authorcatalogues with equal accuracy the rarest MSS. and those in everybody’s hands. At the end of each section he gives a kind of summary of Arabic literature on the subject, but the reviewer does not think this beneficial. The history of Arabic literature will be produced by the united labours of many generations, founded on a great number of monographs, and in no other way. The ordinary system of a detailed description only of unknown or little known books is the best.

The reviewer then proceeds to show some instances of confusion in the Catalogue, but concludes that he is far from wishing to undervalue the importance of the work of Prof. Ahlwardt. He looks upon the Catalogue as a triumph of erudition and industry, and dwells with affectionate enthusiasm upon the time when he sat at the feet of the author. For a course of more than twenty years Prof. Ahlwardt devoted himself for ten hours a day to the compilation of this Catalogue. But great as is the work, the author might have found some more original task more worthy of his splendid abilities.

W. R. Morfill.

A LITERARY QUERY.

Can any of your readers, more especially those in South India, give me any particulars as to the authorship or date of a Sanskrit philosophical work called Gurajñānaśeśītha? A quarto edition of a portion (Jñāna-Kāvyā) of this work appeared at Madras in 1882, under the editorship of Appayadiokshita of Pattamadai (? a descendant of the well-known writer on alanaktra, etc.) It would seem, from the preface in Telugu, that the book has other Kāydas (Upanasa-kha, Korna-kha); but if it is connected with the Yoga-vāsishtha or Jñāna-vāsishtha-rāmāyaṇa, it must belong to an unknown recension of that work, as the latter work is not divided into Kāyasas.

More recently, an extract from the same Gurajñānaśeśītha has reached me (Kāyan 1, vada i. ādhyāya, xi. 45 — xiii.), under the curious title Yajñavaśātha-bhagavatadī, and edited with an extensive Telugu commentary by a scholar whose name is itself a crux. — Mantri Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa. This appeared recently, undated, at the Adi-Kallamidi Press, Madras. As to the editor’s name, I at first took Mantri for a kind of family epithet, and the remainder for a compound personal name, children being, in North India at least, often dedicated to two deities. But this supposition is rather disconfounded by the circumstances that in a Sanskrit Slōka at the
beginning, the Lakshmi is dropped, as if an unessential part of the name. Even if no one can settle my bibliographical query, perhaps some correspondent can at least solve this point of nomenclature.

According to Dr. Oppert's Catalogue (i. 7053), a copy of the Gurjya Madhavatisa exists at Kottapal, Vijayanagaram (Library of Mandadi Kondayya Pantula).

Cecil Bendsall.

British Museum.

Calculation of Hindu Dates.

No. 29.

In the spurious copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya I., from Kurkataki in the Gadar Taluk, Dhurav District, published by me, with a lithograph, ante, Vol. VII. p. 217 ff., the passage containing the date (line 20 ff.), with all its inaccuracies, runs — viditam-satru sas-thatri-bhrih-bhitara-pamchar-satidahu Saka-varahesh-viitidahu vijya-rajiyasa-sambacha-sara-sara-varsho pravartatamana Kisuvolal-mahâ-nagarâ vikhyato sthitvâ taasya Vaisakha Jashthâ masya madhyam amavasa-yah Bhakara-din Rohenya-raksha madhyakhâ-kâlê Vikrayâ diityaya âtma cha âtma-vinito râma mahâ-devita-yuvâ-suhkadyâ-Vrishabha-râsan tâ-kîmin Vrishabha-râsan sârûrya-grâhâna sarvamâsi (read sarvagrasi) bhûtâ, — "be it known to you that by Us, when there have expired five hundred Saka years, increased by the thirty-second (year); in the current sixteenth year of the years of the victorious reign; (by Us) stationed at the famous great city of Kisuvolal; on Sunday, which is the new-moon day of the months Vaisakha and Jyesththa of that (year); (the moon being) in the Rohini Nakshatra at noon . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (the sun being) in the sign Vrishabha; there being a total eclipse of the sun." And the charter goes on to record a grant of the village of Kurkataki, — the modern Kurkataki, — of some land at that village, to a Brahman.

Here the details for calculation are — Saka-Saunvat 532, distinctly specified as expired; the new-moon day between the months Vaisakha and Jyesththa, i.e. the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisakha, since, in the purnimanta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, the phase of the moon that separates these two months, is the full-moon of Vaisakha, and the new-moon of Vaisakha, or of Jyesththa, falls in the middle of its month; Bhaskaradina or Sunday; the Rohini Nakshatra, for the moon; the sign Vrishabha, for the sun; and a total eclipse of the sun, apparently indicated as central at noon, or at any rate as including the hour of noon in its duration.

With Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, in the given year Saka-Saunvat 533 current (532 expired), the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisakha ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 28th April, A. D. 610, at about 59 ghâtâs, 20 palas, after mean sunrise for Badami.1 On this day, the sun was in Vrishabha; having entered that sign at about 46 gh. 39 p. on Sunday, 19th April. And, though by the equal-space system of the nakshatras with Prof. Jacobit de, the nakshatra, No. 3, commenced at about 48 gh. 42 p., and Rohini, No. 4, did not commence till the next day, yet both of the equal space systems there was the Rohini Nakshatra, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhânta system at about 36 gh. 38 p., and by the Garga system at about 39 gh. 55 p. On this day, however, there was no eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The eclipse, a total one, which was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only in northern Europe, North America, and the Pacific Ocean, took place on Monday, 30th March, and on that day there ended, at about 40 ghâtás, the new-moon tithi of the amânta Chaitra or the purnimanta Vaisakha. This eclipse, however, is expressly barred by the wording of the text, which distinctly specifies the new-moon of the amânta Vaisakha. Moreover, the week-day is not correct; for, even if the word madhyakhâ-kâlê is not to be connected with the eclipse, still the tithi only commenced at about 44 gh. 37 p. on the Sunday, and was not current at noon (15 ghâtás) on that day. Also, the sun had not then entered Vrishabha. And the nakshatra at sunrise being Ashvin, No. 1, by all three systems, there was no Rohini, No. 4, at all on that day.

If it should be thought that the given year is wrongly specified as expired, then we have to consider the circumstances for Saka-Saunvat 532 current (531 expired). In this year the new-moon tithi of the amânta Vaisakha ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Friday, 9th May, A. D. 609, at about 15 gh. 19 p. On this day the sun was in Vrishabha; having entered that

1 The tithi was nominally amânta Vaisakha krisna 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 6 gh. 29 p. on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth tithi was expanded. The results with Prof. Jacobit de's Tables are very nearly the same; the ending-times being respectively 2 hrs. 25 min. = 6 gh. 2 p., and 23 hrs. 51 min. = 56 gh. 39 p.

2 The times here are for Badami all through; that place being the Western Chalukya capital, and Kisuvolal the modern Pattadakal, quite close to Badami.

3 For this and the following eclipse, see von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 174, 175, and Plate 87.
sign at about 31 gh. 7 p. on Saturday, 19th April. And by all three systems the Röhiṇī nakṣattra was current at sunrise, and up to about 38 ghaṣṭa. But there was no eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The preceding new-moon tithi, of the amānta Chaitra or the pārśva-danta Vaiśākha, ended at about 57 gh. 18 p. on Wednesday, 9th April. At this new-moon, again, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which, owing to the difference of longitude, is entered in the Tables for Thursday, 10th April; and which again was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only on the west coast of North America, in the Pacific Ocean, and in Australia. In addition, however, to the week-day not being correct, and to this not being the given new-moon tithi of the record, the sun, as we have seen, did not enter Vṛṣabhā till ten days later; and by all three systems the nakṣattra at sunrise was Āśvinī, No. 1, so that Röhiṇī, No. 4, could not occur at all on that day. This eclipse again, therefore, is not admissible from any point of view.

If it should be held that the Prakṛti word ba, 'two,' is not acceptable as part of the date, but is a pure mistake, e.g. for the visarga of the preceding word amāndhiś, which otherwise was omitted, then we have to consider the circumstances for Śaka-Saṃvat 531 current (539 expired). In this year the new-moon tithi of the amānta Vaiśākha ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Saturday, 20th April, A.D. 608, at about 16 gh. 42 p. The sun was then in Vṛṣabhā; having entered that sign at about 15 gh. 46 p. on the preceding day, Friday, 19th April. By the equal-space system of the nakṣatras, Kṛṣṭi, No. 3, commenced at about 15 gh. 7 p.; and Röhiṇī, No. 4, did not commence till the next day, Sunday; but by both the unequal-space systems there was the Röhiṇī nakṣattra on the Saturday, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhānta system at about 43 ghaṣṭa, and by the Garga system at about 46 gh. 20 p. And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun; though it was visible only in Australia and towards the South Pole, and not in or anywhere near India. As we have seen, however, the week-day is not correct; and therefore this eclipse also fails to give a completely satisfactory solution. In this year there was no solar eclipse, visible or invisible, at the preceding new-moon, of the amānta Chaitra or the pārśva-danta Vaiśākha. And in A.D. 607 the only solar eclipse in this period of the year was a partial eclipse, not visible anywhere north of the equator, on Wednesday, 31st May, at the new-moon of the amānta Jyāśṭhā or the pārśva-danta Āśvinī.

Thus, in no way can a completely satisfactory solution of this date be obtained. This result was not needed in order to establish the spurious nature of the grant, which is perfectly clear (1) from the extreme inaccuracy of the language and orthography; (2) from the standard of the paleography, which marks at least the ninth or tenth century A.D. as the period of its composition; and (3) from the fact that, according as we omit or retain the syllable ba as part of the date, it gives a day corresponding either to the 20th April, A.D. 608, or to the 28th April, A.D. 610, as falling in the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikramādiyaputra I., whereas we know perfectly well from the unquestionably genuine records of this family that his father Pulikēśa II. only commenced to reign in A.D. 608, 609, or 610, and continued to reign at least up to A.D. 634-35. But the important point that attracts attention is the analogy between this spurious grant and the spurious Umēta, Bagumrā, and Iḷā grants of the Gurjara chieftain Dadda II., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 400, 415, and 417. The Umēta date cannot be actually tested; and the nature of the record has only to be decided in accordance with that of the other two. As we have seen (page 93 above), the possibility of obtaining uniform results for the Bagumrā and Iḷā dates rests entirely upon the use, by the person who calculated them for the forger of the grants, of the amānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, not only for his calculation, but also for the purpose of actual record in the civil reckoning for a period when it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Śaka era, even in Gujurāt; supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible. In the case of the present grant, it is not easy to decide whether the calculator worked out the eclipse of Saturday, 20th April, A.D. 608, with a correct result, except for the week-day, and except for his improper use of the amānta instead of the pārśva-danta month in formulating his results for record in the charter according to the civil reckoning; or whether he worked out the eclipse of Monday, 30th April, A.D. 610, again with a wrong week-day, and also with the mistake of a month either in the course of his work, or in formulating the results. And perhaps, under all the circumstances, the 13 hrs. 13 min. = 58 gh. 2 p.

4 Here, also, the tithi was nominally amānta Chaitra krishna 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 3 gh. 45 p. on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth tithi was expunged. With Prof. Jacob's Tables the ending-times are respectively 1 hr. 55 min. = 4 gh. 47 p., 3 This point could be put right by assuming that bhāra-dīrṣi is a mistake for bhakara-pūra-dīrṣi, Śani, the regent of the planet Saturn, being a son of the Sun.
BOOK NOTICES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOMBAY SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PREGNANCY.

On eclipse days, whether the eclipse be of the sun or of the moon, a pregnant woman is strictly prohibited from cutting anything asunder by means of a knife or any other cutting instrument, lest on her delivery she should have the child, then in her womb, injured.

Bombay.

R. JAGANNATHJI.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; DEATH.

In Bombay.

One of the funeral rites amongst the Parsees is to carry a dog into the presence of the dead a certain number of times, from the time of death to the time the body is carried away. The dog’s eyes are made to turn in the direction of the face of the dead. Does this custom bear any reference to the ‘dog-hound,’ the Kerberos of the Greeks?

Mandalay.

H. E. B.

In Kasmir.

With reference to Indian Notes and Queries, Vol. 1., notes 333 and 917, most Mussalmans declare that the tombs in the valley of Kasmir have oblong hollows on the top, whether the tombs of men or women or children. The friends of the deceased are accustomed to meet round the grave once a year when the roses are in bloom, and to pour water and about a sati of rose-leaves into these hollows. A few prayers are then offered and the company depart.

Srinagar.

J. HISTON KNOWLES.

MADRAS SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PARTURITION.

In South India, before a woman is confined, the room, in which her confinement is to take place, is smeared with cowdung, and in the room at the outer gate, to the height of four or five feet from the floor, are fixed small wet cowdung cakes. These cakes are stuck to the wall and are then covered over with mangosa (Hindustâni nám, Sanskrit nimba) leaves and cotton seeds. The cakes with these leaves and seeds are supposed to have a very great power in averting evil spirits from entering the room and doing mischief to the new-born baby or the lying-in woman.

Madras.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

Masmavi-Maʿnavi, the Spiritual Couplet of Maulana Jalalu’d-din Muhammad-i-Rumi; translated and abridged by E. H. Whinfield, late B.C.S., London. Trübner & Co.

In issuing a judiciously abridged translation of this work, so widely celebrated and respected throughout the East, Mr. Whinfield has added to the laurels already gained by his charming rendering of the quatrains of Umr Khayyám. The Masmavi of Jalalu’d-din Rumi, which Mr. Whinfield rightly calls the Divina Commedia of Jalâm, is well deserving of a rendering into English, and we may congratulate ourselves on the task having fallen into such competent hands. We may further congratulate ourselves on the judiciousness that has reduced its 26,000 couplets to a readable size, without detracting from the value of the abridgment as an exponent of Eastern philosophical thought.

The philosophy of Jalalu’d-din Rumi was that the true basis of religion is love, and that all faith and piety not based on love are false. In illustrating at interminable length his doctrine that the visible universe is but what medical science would call the “symptom” of the spiritual reality within, the great poet took as his bases the Qurãns, the Hadîses, and the writings of the theologians and of the Sûfis. By his “Love” (‘Ishq) the poet, as Mr. Whinfield insists at some length, meant the “Love,” the “Charity” of the New Testament, and his “Knowledge” (Gnosis) is the result of this Love. “The more a man loves, the deeper he penetrates the purposes of God.”
The "Knower" (Gnostic, 'Arif) therefore is he who possesses this Love, and whose "faith" is based on love alone. No writer, in fact, deals more severely with that faith which consists of orthodox dogmas (jumad'at) and is based on orthodox customs (taqlid). For mere ritual he expresses no respect.

Taking the above as a very brief expression of the cardinal points of the Sufi faith, as expounded by one of their greatest representatives, it will be sufficient here to note one or two points of the practices he inculcated and of the doctrines he taught, to show what a remarkable thinker and teacher we have before us in this book. The Sufis aimed at perfection by self-annihilation (jund) and Jaldun'din Rumi countenanced ecstasy (hdi) as an attendant of jund, though he was aware of its liability to abuse. He believed in saints as the special favourites of heaven, gifted with miraculous powers, which were not, however, of much consequence; and he also taught the doctrine of unrecognised saints, or those who were endowed with spontaneous goodness: "against such as these there is no law."

The poet also always, as emphatically as he could, taught the "paramount obligation of compassion, humility, toleration, patience, and the peaceful temper": the mystical meaning of the text of the Quran; the final restitution of those who throw themselves on the mercy of God at the Day of Judgment; and the doctrine that woman is "not a mere plaything of man but a ray of the Deity."

We may justly quote, from Mr. Whinfield's book, his dying instructions (273) to his followers as a means of judging what manner of man this remarkable philosopher was: "My testament is this, that ye be pious towards God in private and public: that ye eat little, sleep little, speak little; that ye depart from wickedness and sin; that ye continue in fastings and steadfastness in vigilance; that ye flee from carnal lusts with all your might; that ye endure patiently the contumely of all men; that ye shun the company of the base and foolish, and consort with the noble-hearted and the pious. Verily the best man is he who doth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short and guideth men aright. Praise be to the God, who is the Unity!"


The Fables of Bidpai, equally well known by their other title of Kalllah and Dimnah, in their Arabic and Syriac forms have long attracted the attention of Orientalists; and the distinguished Italian scholar who has now presented us with four distinct editions of Stephanites and Iochemelates, as the title of the Greek version runs, has earned the gratitude of all students of this class of Folklore and conferred a lasting benefit on the newly formed Italian Asiatic Society.

AN ANCIENT TERRA-COTTA SEAL FROM BULANDSHAHR.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., C.L.E., B.C.S., FATEHGARH.

THE curious terra-cotta seal, of which a full-size print is here given from a wax impression, was found about eight years ago at Bulandshahr, the capital of the District of that name, in the North-West Provinces. The site was a piece of high broken ground immediately to the west of the modern town. This was popularly known as the ‘Môî Chauk’ or ‘Môî Bázâr,’ meaning, of course, not that it had ever been a ‘pearl-market,’ in the literal sense of the words, but that it was once the principal bázâr of the place; in the same way as the beautiful mosque in the Ágra Fort is called the ‘Môtî Masjîd.’ The spot is now occupied by the new Town-Hall and Municipal Garden, the latter—in order to preserve the old tradition—being styled the ‘Môtî Bâgh.’

The seal was turned up accidentally in levelling the ground, and was only a few inches below the surface. Though probably some fourteen hundred years old, the lettering is perfectly fresh and clear, and the rudely moulded ring that forms the back of the seal, still shows the texture of the workman’s fingers who had handled the moist clay. It was inside a closed earthen jar, which accounts for its excellent preservation. It is oval in shape, with a dotted rim, and is divided into two equal compartments by a pair of parallel lines across the centre. In the upper portion are two devices, one of which is a couch-shell; the other, which is raised on a little stand, looks like a wing. Mr. Fleet was inclined to take it for a nautilus; but it seems difficult to understand how such an emblem could be used so far inland. I myself had at first thought that it might be intended to represent the chakrod or Brâhmaṇi duck, so frequently introduced in old Hindu painting and sculpture. In the lower compartment is the owner’s name, in characters of about the 5th century A.D. Though the letters are so clear, they are somewhat abnormally shaped, and there has been considerable difference of opinion as to how they should be read. My first proposal was ‘Sattîla,’ which Gen. Cunningham corrected to ‘Mattîla,’ and this has been finally endorsed by Mr. Fleet, who thinks the person in question may possibly be identified with the king Matila, of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, where the omission of the second t may have been a mistake. Dr. Hoernle had suggested ‘Hattiya;’ and Mr. Pincock, ‘Hattipa.’

In spite of its modern Muhammadan designation, which is more correctly restricted to the Fort, the town of Bulandshahr, which stands on an eminence overlooking the river Kâlîndâl, is of prehistoric antiquity. It was originally called Baran (the Sanskrit varâna), and the name still survives as the title of the Pargàtâ. Bactrian and Gupta gold coins have frequently been found, which attest its existence as a place of some wealth in those early days; and at the time of the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1017 A.D., Har-dât, the Râja of Baran, though nominally a feudatory of Kanaùj, was virtually the independent sovereign of all the country now included in the districts of Aâligarh, Bulandshahr, Mêrâth and Dehli, with parts of Murâdâbâd, Mathurâ, and Etâ. He was a Dôr Râjput, and, according to a copper-plate grant of one of his successors dated in the year 1076 A.D., he was the seventh of his line who had ruled at Baran. The Dôr—a now almost extinct—claims to be a branch of the great Pràmar clan.
TABLES FOR THE APPROXIMATE CONVERSION OF HINDU DATES.

BY DR. ROBERT SCHRAM; VIENNA.

Professor Kiellhorn's kind remark upon my *Hilfszahlen für Chronologie*, in his valuable paper on the epoch of the Névar era, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 247, and the wish he expresses that these Tables may become more widely known, induce me to place before the English reader those of my Tables which treat of the Hindu luni-solar year, hoping that they may prove useful for an approximate, but rapid, conversion. The resolution of years and months in days, which in most cases facilitates the conversion of dates given in different eras, is especially fit for the Hindu year, in which the counting up of the *ahārgaṇa*, or number of days, is a constant practice. The reader must, however, be cautioned that Tables like the following cannot, for the Indian dates, be expected to give always absolutely true results. There must remain some uncertainty, which, it is true, will not generally exceed one day, but which in exceptional cases may even amount to two days. This must always be borne in mind; as well as the circumstance that the place of an intercalated month also may sometimes be found to be different by the different rules. A calendar like the Indian one cannot be brought with absolute accuracy into a simple Table; and I consider it not a little dangerous to give dates as absolutely certain ones, which by means of a general Table cannot really be fixed with accuracy.

Tables 1 and 2 serve for converting dates of our own calendar (old or new style) into days of the Julian period, and *vice versa*. Table 1 gives the number of days elapsed since the beginning of the Julian period to the beginning of each century; whilst Table 2 gives the number of days elapsed from the beginning of the century to the beginning of each month of every year within the century. And to obtain the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we simply add up three quantities, viz. (1) the number of days corresponding to the given century; (2) the number of days corresponding to the given year and month; and (3) the given date of the month.

As regards Table 2 it will be observed that it is arranged after the manner of logarithmic tables, the first number of the first column being common to all columns; *e.g.*, for the 22nd year January, we have the number of days 8038; for the same year, September, the number of days is 8379. There are always to be taken the *preceding* numbers, so long as the figures in the column of the months are not printed in italics, in which case the *following* number should be taken. *So, e.g.*, the number of days for the year 65, February, is 23773, while for the same year, November, it will be 24045. Supposing it now to be proposed to find the day corresponding to the 20th October, A.D. 879, we shall have the following calculation:

| Table 1, century 800, old style | 2013 257 |
| Table 2, year 79, October | 29 123 |
| Date of month | 20 |
| **Sum** | **2042 405**; |

*i.e.* the 20th October, A.D. 879, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period.

Similarly, for the 10th February, A.D. 1889, we find:

| Table 1, century 1800, new style | 2378 495 |
| Table 2, year 89, February | 32 539 |
| Date of month | 10 |
| **Sum** | **2411 044**; |

*i.e.* the 10th February, A.D. 1889, corresponds to the day 2411 044 of the Julian period.

The date of the month, which is always a number not exceeding 31, may with some advantage be added immediately to the number taken from Table 2, so that the two above examples would stand as follows:
Table 1, century 800, old style..............2013 257
Table 2, year 79, October, + 20............29 148

Sum 2042 405;
and Table 1, century 1800, new style.....2378 495
Table 2, year 89, February, + 10...........32 549

Sum 2411 044.

Two other remarks are necessary. When calculating for one of the years 1700, 1800, 1900; 2100, 2200, 2300; 2500, etc., new style, one should in Table 2 use the line 00\{ g. K.\}, (and not the line 00). Accordingly, for the 3rd February, A.D. 1800, we find:

Table 1, century 1800, new style...........2378 495
Table 2, year 00\{ g. K.\}, February, + 3........35

Sum 2378 530.

When calculating for a year B.C., we should bear in mind that years are given here as counted by the astronomers, who count the year commonly called 1 B.C. as 0, the year 2 B.C. as — 1, the year 3 B.C. as — 2, and so on. The number expressing years B.C. must therefore be diminished by 1, to get the negative number of years counted in the astronomical manner. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, whilst the number of the centuries B.C. in Table 1 are negative, the number of years in Table 2 are always positive; and that therefore, in case we had to calculate e.g. for — 813, we would have to take — 900 from Table 1, and 87 from Table 2, because — 900 + 87 = — 813; in other words, we must always take from Table 1 the preceding century, exactly as in the case of years A.D. we take the (completed) preceding century. If then we should have to find the day corresponding to the 18th February, B.C. 3102, we should have (since B.C. 3102 = 3101 = 3200 + 99):

Table 1, century — 3200 ..................552 257
Table 2, year 99, February + 18 ..........36 209

Sum 588 466;

i.e. the 18th February, B.C. 3102, corresponds to the day 588 466 of the Julian period.

If, on the contrary, the day of the Julian period be given, and we have to find the corresponding day of our calendar, we must first subtract from the given number of days the next lower number in Table 1 to find the century. From the remainder we must subtract the next lower number in Table 2; the place which this number occupies in Table 2 gives the year and the month, and the remainder gives the day of the month. For instance, having to find the date corresponding to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period, we have —
given number of days ..............2042 405
— next lower number in Table 1 old style ...........2013 257 = century 800, old style;

Remainder 29 148
— next lower number in T. 2. 29 128 = year 79, October;
Remainder 20;

i.e. the day 2042 405 of the Julian period corresponds to the 20th October, A.D. 879, old style.

Here, again, the substraction of the number in Table 2 can be easily made, without writing it down. Thus, for converting the day 2411 044 into a date of new style, we simply have the following calculation:

given number of days..............2411 044
— next lower number in Table 1, new style........2378 495 = century 1800, new style;

Remainder 32 549 = year 89, February; remainder 10,
i.e. the day 2411 044 of the Julian period corresponds to the 10th February, A.D. 1880, new style.
**TABLE 1.**

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

<table>
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<th>Years B.C. counted astronomically</th>
<th>Years A.D. Old Style</th>
<th>Years A.D. New Style</th>
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When calculating for one of the secular years put in brackets, use the line 001 g.K. of Table 2 (not the line 00).
### TABLE 2.

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

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<td>244</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>305</td>
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<td>365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table continues with similar entries for subsequent years.
These examples will suffice to show how dates of our own calendar are converted into days of the Julian period and vice versa, by Tables 1 and 2. By the construction of similar tables for the Hindu calendar, we shall now be able, when a Hindu date is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period and afterwards into a date of our own calendar; or, when a date of our own calendar is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period, and afterwards into the corresponding Hindu date.

The Tables 3 and 4 for converting Hindu luni-solar dates into days of the Julian period, and vice versa, are arranged in exactly the same manner as the Tables 1 and 2; the only difference being this, that in Table 3, which takes here the place of Table 1, the argument does not proceed by complete centuries, but in a rather irregular manner, by periods of 19 or 122 years. To calculate the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we first take out from Table 3 (using either the column expired or the column current, as the case may be) the number corresponding to the year next lower than the year of the date. We then add from Table 4, the number for the month of the date, in the line corresponding to the difference between the year of the date and the year taken out of Table 3; and to the sum we add the given date of the month. Thus, to ascertain which day of the Julian period was Kārttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, we have —

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{given year} & \quad 937 \\
\text{next lower year in Table 3, Vikrama current} & \quad 845 = 2008 \ 562 \\
\text{Remainder} & \quad 92 \\
\text{Table 4, year 92, month Kārttika, + date 1} & \quad 33 \ 843 \\
\text{Sum} & \quad 2042 \ 405;
\end{align*}
\]

i.e. Kārttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period. As and as this day has been already found (see above) to correspond to the 20th October, A.D. 879, this is the European date which corresponds to the given Hindu date.

The Table 4 is arranged for the amānta scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the same month. Here the nth day of the śukla-paksā or bright half is, of course, the nth day of the month, while the nth day of the kṛishṇa-paksā or dark half is to be sought as the (15 + n)th day of the same month. With the pūrṇimānta scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the preceding month, the nth day of the śukla-paksā will likewise be the nth day of the month; but the nth day of the kṛishṇa-paksā must be sought in Table 4 as the (15 + n)th day of the preceding month. But in applying this rule, we must always keep strictly to the year of the date, and must never account for the preceding year. Thus, calculating for Chaitra kṛishṇa 9 of the northern Vikrama year 837, current, we have to look in the tables for Phālguna (15 + 9 =) 24 of Vikrama 837, current (not of 836 current). The reason of this is that, even with the pūrṇimānta scheme of the lunar fortnights, the year always begins with the bright half of the month; and consequently Chaitra kṛishṇa 9 belongs to the end of the given year.

It will be seen that in every second or third line of Table 4, two numbers are given for one and the same month; e.g. for the month Jyaiṣṭha of the year 00. This shows that the month to which the numbers refer, is an intercalary month; and in such a case the upper number serves for the first or adhika, the lower one for the second or nīva month of the name.

A few examples, suggested by Professor Kielhorn or taken from his papers on the Chōd and Nēwār eras (the results of which have been adopted in the construction of Table 3) will show the practical working of Tables 3 and 4, in conjunction with Tables 1 and 2:—

1. Which day of the Christian era corresponds to Vikrama 1397, current, Māgha sudī 4 (Archaol. Survey of India, Vol. XXI., Plate xxix.)?
Given year: Vikrama 1397, current.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3, Vikrama current, 1371</th>
<th>2200 688</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 4, 26, Māgha + 4</td>
<td>9 807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>2210 495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Table 1, old style, next lower number 2195 882 = century 1300, O.S.
  - Remainder 14 613
- Table 2, next lower number 14 610 = year 40, January
  - Final remainder 3.

Answer: 3 January, A.D. 1340.

2. Which day corresponds to Vikrama 1275, expired, Mārga sudi 5 (Archaeol. Survey of W. India, No. X. p. 111)?

Given year: Vikrama 1275, expired.

| Table 3, Vikrama expired, 1229 | 2149 187 |
| Table 4, 46, Mārga + 5       | 17 073   |
| Sum                           | 2166 260 |

- Table 1, old style 2159 357 = century 1200, O.S.
  - Remainder 6903, by Table 2 = year 18, November 24.

Answer: 24 November, A.D. 1218.

3. Which day corresponds to southern Vikrama 1224, expired, Ashāḍha sudi 2 (Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XXI. Plate xxiii. 9.)?

Southern Vikrama 1224, expired.

| Table 3, column for Ashāḍha, 1106 | 2104 625 |
| Table 4, 118, Ashāḍha + 2 | 43 295 |
| Sum                           | 2147 830 |

- Table 1, old style, 2123 832 = century 1100, O.S.
  - Remainder 24 998 by Table 2 = year 68, June 9.

Answer: 9 June, A.D. 1168.

4. Which day corresponds to Néwār 923, expired, Mārgāśira vadi 10 (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 248)? Since the Néwār year has the omāda arrangement of the lunar fortinights, Mārgāśira vadi 10 = Mārgāśira 10 + 15 = 25; and we accordingly have:

Néwār 923, expired.

| Table 3, column for Mārgāśira 819 | 2341 313 |
| Table 4, 104, Mārga + 25         | 38 266   |
| Sum                           | 2379 579 |

- Table 1, new style, 2378 495 = century 1800, N.S.
  - Remainder 1 084 by Table 2 = year 2, December 19.

Answer: 19 December, A.D. 1802, new style.

5. Which day corresponds to Chēdi 793, current, Phālghuna vadi 9 (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 215)? Since the Chēdi year has the pūrṇimānta arrangement of the lunar fortinights, Phālghuna vadi 9 = Māgha 9 + 15 = 24; and we accordingly have:

Chēdi 793, current.

| Table 3, Column for Māgha 680 | 2060 064 |
| Table 4, 113, Māgha + 24     | 41 602   |
| Sum                           | 2101 666 |

- Table 1, old style, 2066 307 = Century 1000, O.S.
  - Remainder 15 359 by Table 2 = year 42, Jan. 18.

Answer: 18 January, A.D. 1042.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>This column serves for the months:</td>
<td>This column serves for the months:</td>
<td>This column serves for the months:</td>
<td>This column serves for the months:</td>
<td>This column serves for the months:</td>
<td>Exp. Curr.</td>
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<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>Bhādra.</td>
<td>Month year.</td>
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<td>Mārgasīra</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Āśvina</td>
<td>This Year.</td>
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<td>Pausha</td>
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<td>Āshāḍha</td>
<td>Mārgasīra.</td>
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<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
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<td>Bhādra</td>
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<td>Exp. Curr.</td>
<td>3688</td>
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<td>3788</td>
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<td>Bhādra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exp. Curr.</td>
<td>4499</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows the conversion between Newār, Chāḍī or Kalachuri, Śaka, Vikrama, and Kaliyuga eras, along with the corresponding day of the Julian period.
### Table 4

Table for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

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<tbody>
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<td>00</td>
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<td>0300</td>
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<td>0720</td>
<td>0930</td>
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<td>042</td>
<td>048</td>
<td>054</td>
<td>060</td>
<td>066</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Amānta season*: nath unda - nth of same month + nth unda - (15 + nth) of same month.

*Purāṃnta season*: nath unda - nth of same month + nth unda - (15 + nth) of preceding month.
6. Was Ashâdha an intercalary month in Chêli 958, current (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 219)? Deducting by Table 3, Chêli, column for Ashâdha, current, the next lower year 923 from the given year 958, we have a remainder of 35; and turning with 35 to Table 4, we find that in that year Ashâdha was intercalary.

7. As a last example, we will ask, to which date of which northern Vikrama year current, corresponds the 2nd April, A.D. 1036?

Table 1, century 1000, old style ............ 2086 307
Table 2, year 36, April, + 2, ............... 13 242

Sum 2099 549

— Table 3 .......................... 2060 064 = northern V. 986, current.

Remainder... 39 485, by Table 4 = year 108, Vaisâkha 3.

Sum, north. Vikrama 1094, current, Vaisâkha 3.

Accordingly the 2nd April, A.D. 1036, corresponds to the 3rd of the bright half of Vaisākha of the northern Vikrama 1094, current (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 292, No. 24).

For the Hindu solar year it is generally more convenient to use Tables which give directly the beginning of the different months, according to the European calendar, without necessitating the conversion into days. But as it may be sometimes useful to have ready at hand, also for this year, Tables like those for the luni-solar year, our Tables 5 and 6 may not be altogether superfluous. The arrangement of these Tables is exactly like that of the rest, and requires no further explanation. They will be found convenient when we seek the solar date corresponding to a luni-solar date, e.g., the solar date of the beginning of the luni-solar month; and they will also be useful for the computation of Sāmkrantis. As the new-moon days correspond to the 0th days of the luni-solar months, so the Sāmkrantis correspond to the 0th days of the solar months; and we have—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0th Vaisākha = Mēsha-saṁkrānti</th>
<th>0th Kārttika = Tulā-saṁkrānti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0th Jyaiśthha = Vṛisha</td>
<td>0th Mārgaśirha = Vṛishchika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0th Ashâdha = Mithuna</td>
<td>0th Pausha = Dhanuṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0th Śravaṇa = { Karkaṭa</td>
<td>0th Māgha = { Makara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ Daksahigṛaha, }</td>
<td>{ Uttarāṣṭra, }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0th Bhādrapada = Sūhka</td>
<td>0th Phālguna = Kumbha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0th Āśvina = Kanyā</td>
<td>0th Chaitra = Mina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two examples may show the application of Tables 5 and 6:

1. Which day of the solar Chaitra corresponds to the beginning of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881 expired?

Northern Vikrama 1881, expired;
—next lower year in Table 8...1877.............2385 875

Table 4, 4, Chaitra + 1.............. 1 477

Sum 2387 352

—next lower number in Table 5 .............. 2361 429

Remainder... 25 923; by Table 6 corresponds to the 20th Chaitra.

Accordingly Chaitra 1 of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881, expired, corresponds to the 20th solar Chaitra (Warren, Kāla-Saṁkalita, p. 315).
### Table 5.
Tables for the Hindu Solar Year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaliyug. current</th>
<th>Kaliyug. Saka. current</th>
<th>Day of the Julian period</th>
<th>Day of the Julian period</th>
<th>Saka. current</th>
<th>Day of the Julian period</th>
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</thead>
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### Table 6.

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<td>1299</td>
<td>1332</td>
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</table>

**Note:** The tables continue with similar data for subsequent years.
2. Was there a Saṅkrānti on the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha of Vikrama 1187, current (above, p. 57) ?

Vikrama 1187, current,

— next lower year in Table 3, 1108 .......................... 2104 625

Table 4, 79, Mārga + 13, .......................... 29 129

Sum 2133 754

— next lower number in Table 5 .......................... 2121 454

Remainder .... 12 300; by Table 6 corresponds to the 0th of Pausha or the Dhanuṣ- Saṅkrānti.

And accordingly there was a Saṅkrānti on Mārgaśīrsha sudi 13 of Vikrama 1187, current.

In conclusion, it may be added that the Tables may be used for finding the weekday in a very simple manner. For, dividing the day of the Julian period by 7, the remainder 0 always indicates a Monday; 1, a Tuesday; 2, a Wednesday; 3, a Thursday; 4, a Friday; 5, a Saturday; and 6, a Sunday. E.g., as 2133 754 divided by 7 leaves remainder 0, the Saṅkrānti spoken of in the last example took place on, and Mārgaśīrsha sudi 13 of the example was, a Monday.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 108.)

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH EDICTS.

(Formerly a seventh and an eighth edict were distinguished, the latter being engraved circularly round the base of the column. Really, as Dr. Bühl has pointed out, these two form only one, and it is convenient to reunite them in a continuous text. A separate enumeration, 1, 2, &c., is however retained for the lines which go round the pillar.)

Prinsep, pp. 597 ff.; pp. 602 ff. — Lassen (p. 270, n. 1; p. 275, n. 3) and Burnouf (p. 740 ff.) have only commented upon or given new translations of short fragments.

TEXT.

11 Dévañaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hēvaḥ āhā [.] yē atikāntaṁ
12 aṁtalāṁ lājāṁ huṣṇ hēvaḥ ichhīsāṁ kathaṁ janē
13 dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍhēyā nō chu janē anulupāyā dhammavaḍhiyā
14 vaḍhētā [.] ētaṁ dévañaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hēvaḥ āhā [.] ēsa mē
15 hūthā atikāntaṁ chaś aṁtalāṁ hēvaḥ ichhīsāṁ lājāṁ kathaṁ janē
16 anulupāyā dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍhēyāti nō cha janē anulupāyā
17 dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍhētā [.] sē kina su[.] jotā anu-paṭipajyāy
18 kina, su janē anulupāyā dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍhēyāti kina su kānī
19 abhyumāṇayēhānā dhammavaḍhiyāti [.] ētaṁ dévañaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hēvaḥ
20 āhā [.] ēsa mē hūthā dhammavaḍhāvanāṁ sa-vāpayāmi dhammānusathini
21 anu-sāmisāti ētaṁ janē su[.] anu-paṭipajyati abhyumāṇamīṣati
1 (a) dhammavaḍhiyā cha bādhām vaḍhāyati [.] ētaṁ mē aṭhāyē dhammavaḍhāvanāṁ
2 (a) sa-vāpayāmi dhammānusathini vividhāni anapitāni [.] yathātiyēpiṁ pi bahuṁ
3 (a) janasi ayātā tē śalīya-vāsitaṁ pi pavi-thālaśānti pi [.] lajūkā pi
4 (a) bahuṁ pānasa-tasāhāsaṁ ayātā tē pi mē anapitā hēvaṁ cha hēvaṁ cha
5 (a) pali-yādāthā

(a) Here commences the so-called vilith Edict.
2. The correct form would be *hunṣu*. We have already met the two spellings *husṃh* (Kh. viii. l. 22) and *hunṣu* (G. viii. l. 2), and we shall subsequently come across *husṃ* (S. l. 2) and *hunṣ* (R. l. 2). This word is the form which corresponds to the abhūṣ or abhunṣof
Buddhist Sanskrit. With regard to third persons in thā, like vaḍhīthā, and in the next sentence kuthā, cf. Mahāvastu, I. p. 378. It is plain that we must supply an iti after vaḍhēyā, as we see is done when the sentence is repeated lower down, the phrase expressing the intention of these ancient kings. Anulōpa, 'conformable,' appears to refer to the wishes of the kings.

2. I strongly doubt if ētha should be taken as a pronoun, either here or when the sentence is repeated in line 19. A stereotyped formula, such as we have here, would scarcely be modified, and least of all by an addition of so little meaning. In dealing with Gīrṅār (viii. I. 3) and Khālsī (viii. I. 23), I have mentioned examples of ēta representing avra (Pāli ētha); I believe that we have here another case of the same use (ēta, as we have at Kh. ētā, and as we have had savatañ, &c.), and that in both the sentences the word would be exactly represented by our 'now.'

3. The repetition here gives a singularly embarrassed and clumsy turn to the whole idea of the passage. The two formulas dévāṇaṇīpiyē . . . ētha are, so to say, on different levels. The first simply introduces the observations made by the king; the second, the practical solutions and the decisions to which he comes regarding them; for this is the drift of ētha mé kuthā, 'I have taken this resolution,' as its repetition in line 20 shows. The ēta which appears in this connection, corresponds to the one which follows in nō cha janē.

4. It is kāsaṇu which we should understand here; for the exact form of this instrumental is kānē, see Hāmāchandra, III. 69. It is the Pāli kāsaṇu, in Sanskrit kēṇa eva. The phrase is shortly afterwards completed by the addition of kāni, which particle I have already explained in dealing with a former edict.

5. The active form abhyumnamati is, as we see from line 21, used here in the sense of 'to rise up,' which in Pāli (Lotus, p. 456) is applied to unnamati, and which we should only expect to find in the passive. Abhyumnāmayati therefore signifies 'to cause to go forward.' We have several times had occasion to refer to the potential in ēhau, for ēyuā.

6. With regard to sāvana, cf. I. I of the circular part. We shall again come across it at Rūpānā (I. 5), and at Sahasāram, where it is erroneously written savanē. The ē must be long, for the word refers to causing to hear, to the promulgation, the preaching of the religion. It is hardly necessary to point out that anuṣṭāumi, is a false reading for anuṣṭāumī.

7. This word must be very much defaced on the original stone. The first facsimile, [line of text], read yaṣyajayopāpi, marking the first three letters as not clearly apparent. General Cunningham gives yaṣyajayopāpi, but in the transcription he places the first four characters in brackets, thus signifying that he has not read them with certainty. Anyhow, both the divergence of the two readings and the fact that neither of them gives a satisfactory interpretation, prove that the text is here very doubtful. We are thus compelled to have recourse to conjecture. From the detached edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada we see, and this is also implied elsewhere by the very nature of the circumstances, that the king had, with the view to the moral and religious surveillance which so much occupied his attention, distributed over the country his various orders of functionaries by towns or by provinces. I would therefore prefer to read yaṣyajayopāpi, yathāvisayā pi, — 'several officers have been commissioned, district by district.' A priori this restoration would not appear violent, but it is clear that only an attentive revision of the original stone would enable us to judge of the degree of probability which it may possess. Regarding āyattē, see above, Edict IV. note I. Pavithalati indicates that the officers should orally 'develop' the advice, which the king, in his inscriptions, can only give in abstract.

8. Regarding this phrase see above, Edict IV. note 4. As for the form of the Imperative in ētha, it is known in Pāli, cf. also Mahāvastu I. 409.

9. Regarding the orthography of anuṣṭāumāna, see above, Edict III. note 3. Between dahāma and kaṭē there is a lacuna of about three aksharas, happily without any serious influence on the general sense. We might suggest that the stone, in its integrity, originally bore the words dahāhavāsāvalā kaṭē. I must, however, state that General Cunningham, in his transcription, writes a kha in brackets after dahāma. I conclude that this reading is far
from clear. If it is really the true one, I confess that I can think of no expedient for completing the word.

10. For the commencement of this sentence, compare Girnar, II., l. 5, and following. I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering the sign ত in the words ambávaḍikā and adhakatāki to be a simple variant in form of + . We actually meet the former word again in the Queen's Edict, under the usual form ambaṭāki. This word, indeed, puzzles me more as regards its derivation,—at least, as regards the derivation of its second term. The first, amba = ámra, gives no room for doubt. Burnouf, following the example of Prinsep, translates the whole compound by 'plantations de manguiers,' without stopping for a detailed explanation. It is, I presume, by a simple inadvertence that he applies the epithet adhakatāki to it. The pañḍits of Prinsep translate the compound by 'mango-trees,' transcribing it on one occasion as ámraśraksha which is inadmissible, and another time as ámraśalikā, from which I can draw no meaning. An analysis into ámra + śala, would give 'lines' or 'rows of mango-trees,' but this is excluded by the spelling saḍikā common to the two passages. The word might be taken as a popular spelling for vatiḍā, vatiḥ, (as we have līkā = līpī) being equivalent to vais, the whole meaning 'mangos and fig trees.' But then we fall into a new difficulty; for in the Queen's Edict this translation does not fit properly into the sentence; there the word being co-ordinated with ālāṇē, ārāṇē, could scarcely be anything but a singular with a collective meaning. On the other hand, an inscription at Junnar (Burgess and Indrajī, Cave Temple Inscriptions, p. 47, No. 13) has abhikābhathi, which must be compared with, in the neighbouring inscriptions, jābhathī (p. 46, No. 14) and karajābhathī (p. 43, No. 17). The last two expressions are rendered by Burgess and Bühler as 'plantation of jambus,' and 'plantation of karanjas,' respectively (Archaeological Survey West. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 97); and for the first Burgess and Indrajī suggest 'mango-field.' I suppose that, in either case, it is the transcription bhrīṭi which is thought of. Although, at least so far as I am aware, the word is not commonly used in such a meaning, still this translation is possible from its etymology. But, however tempting the apparent connection between abhikābhathi and ambávaḍikā may be, it seems to me to be difficult to admit their complete identity. Such an orthography as vais for bhrīṭi, beside the usual one of bhatī, could hardly occur on our monuments; and hence this analogy, if it has appeared to me to be sufficiently curious to demand attention, does not bring our perplexity to a close. On the whole, it appears to me to be almost certain that we must explain ambávaḍikā as a feminine substantive meaning some such thing as 'a mango plantation' or 'mango grove;' and that most probably we must seek in vaisāḥ a feminine form of vais, vaisṭi, in its sense of 'enclosure' and hence 'park' or 'orchard.'

11. Although General Cunningham marks no lacuna between si and dha in his transcription, and although the line immediately above shows a fault in the rock which existed previously to the engraving, it appears to me to be indubitable that several characters are missing here. The reading as given niśadhyāya gives no meaning; but it is the more difficult to complete the imperfect word or words with likelihood, as, owing to the fault in the stone, we are unable to make the exact number of missing letters. One single point appears to me to be extremely probable, that the characters dhaṅgū ought to be read dhayā, or dhigī, and should form the concluding syllables of the word [pə]ḍhiṭe or [pə]ḍhayā. This form ṭhīṭe, equivalent to the Sanskrit praḥi, continually reappears in the cave inscriptions; it is sufficient to refer the reader in general terms to the work cited in the preceding note. These 'springs' I am exactly what a priori we should expect here. As for the former portion of the word I have nothing positively convincing to propose. Before going further, we must know with more precision the exact condition of the stone. I do not know whether the characters read as niśḥi are subject to doubt or not. If it is allowable to correct them, the expression niśaṇḍaḥki, equivalent to niśaṇḍaḥ, which an inscription (Cave-Temple Inscriptions, p. 16, No. 21) appears to use, is suggested to us. In that case w might restore it here as nāṭa[n]ḍaḥḥi, and tanks would be here referred to. A future revision of the monument will decide as to the lot which this provisional hypothesis deserves.
12. As far as *pasumuniśānah* the phrase develops with entire clearness. Thereafter the lacuna which follows *sa* throws us into uncertainty. About one thing there can be no doubt,—that hitherto the following words have been wrongly divided into phrases. Following Prinsep and Lassen, Burnouf connects *esa paśīhāgā nāma* with the succeeding proposition; but the *hi* which accompanies *vividhāyaḥ* proves that a new sentence begins with this word. This sentence stands by itself, the particles *pi* and *cha* being correlatives, and means, 'in fact, former kings, as much as I myself, have favoured the happiness of their subjects in various ways.' The rest, *imana chu, &c.*, is marked by the particle *chu* as forming a kind of antithesis with the former portion of the sentence, such as would ensue from the following translation, 'but the great wish, which has inspired me, has been the desire of developing the practice of the Religion.' It hence follows, on the one hand, that one sentence is completed by *pasumuniśānah*, and, on the other, that another, equally complete, commences with *vividhāyaḥ*. The words *sa...esa paśīhāgā nāma* must therefore, for their part, form a complete proposition. One of the turns of style most commonly employed by the king consists, as we have seen from several examples, in taking up a term, which has just been used in an ordinary and familiar sense, in order to transfer it by some addition or allusion into the domain of morals and religion, e. g. 'traditional practices are a very good thing, but the great object is the practice of the Religion' (G. 9); the giving of 'alms is very praiseworthy, but his true alms are the alms of religious exhortation' (*ibid.*); 'there is only one conquest which is worthy of the name, the conquest of souls to the Religion, only one real pleasure, the pleasure found in practising and favouring the Religion' (13th Edict), &c. Here we have a similar rhetorical figure. The king has just been speaking of 'enjoyment' (*paśīhāgā*) in a material and physical sense, as in the 2nd Edict; and immediately he goes on,—'but this is the true enjoyment' (*paśīhāgā nāma*), to do that which I do, in regard to the Religion and its progress among the people. At the same time, as this enjoyment does not fall to the lot of everyone, I presume that here the king opposes his peculiar form of enjoyment to the vulgar enjoyment of beings in general (*pasumuniśānah*), and I would be willing to admit that the lacuna ought to be filled up as *sa [tu mama] esa or some such phrase. Whatever be the value of this suggestion, the way in which the sentences should be divided, and the meaning of the whole, appear tome to be sufficiently certain. We should, of course, read *sukhdyanāya*. On a former occasion (Vol. I., 135, 136) I have referred to the instrumental *mamayāḥ*, which we meet again lower down in line 7 as *mamiyāḥ*. We must certainly take *ētadathāḥ* as equivalent to *ētadathanāḥ* and *anupalatipatiḥ* as equivalent to *anupalatipatiḥ*. If the reading of the facsimiles were less plain, we might be tempted to return to the analogy of most of the passages where this phrase occurs, and read *ētadathāyāḥ kau*, but I do not consider the change indispensable.

13. As we have the words *dmaiṃmamahāmādot pi mē* as forming a complete sentence, and correct the *ta* following into *tā*. But it is curious that the king does not return here to his usual phraseology which would be 'mē kaṭā, and all the more so because the pronoun *tā* is repeated in its equivalent *śe* which follows *vyāpatāḥ*. We have previously met this phrase *vyāpatāḥ*, and I have already (Vol. I. 131), given reasons which scarcely allow us to take *śe* as anything but a parallel form of *tā*. These reasons are strengthened by a fact which we can remark here, where we see *imē vyāpatāḥ* and *vyāpatāḥ* *śe* used as interchangeable, and supplementing each other. Under such circumstances, the concurrence of *tā* and *śe* in the same sentence would be hardly probable.

14. For the second member of the sentence, see G. V. I. 4, which allows us to fill it up with certainty as *svama[pśau]dāvē*.

15. We could easily construe the locative *sāhāhabāri* with *kaṭā, and in the sense 'with regard to, looking to, the interests of the sāhāga.' But this construction becomes less probable in the phrase which follows, for *nigauṭhāvē, &c.*, and is altogether inadmissible in line 6 for *dālakānāḥ*. Besides, everywhere here, *vyāpatāḥ* necessarily requires an object. I therefore conclude that, in this series of propositions the words *mē kaṭā* represent a kind of parenthesis, and the *kṛita* is hence to be taken, as we have seen *kīchcha* at Gīrnr (IX. 9), in the sense
of 'thinking,' 'desiring,'—'they will occupy themselves, such is my thought, such is my aim, in the interests of the saṅgha, &c.' With regard to this duty of surveillance over the clergy entrusted by the king to his officers, compare Gīrārī VI., I. 7-8.

16. The letter which follows té appears to have been still legible at the time when the first facsimile was taken. At any rate we cannot hesitate to read, with it, té té, a distributive repetition corresponding to tēu tēu, each mahāmātra finding himself thus charged with some special sect (pativātānā). Moreover, a distinction is made between the mahāmātras charged each with one of the particular sectors who have just been mentioned, and the dhaumamahāmātras to whom a general surveillance, both over these corporations and over all others, is entrusted.

17. I do not think that there can be any doubt as to the division of the words bahukā mukhā. The figurative sense of mukha, 'means,' seems sufficient to warrant the only interpretation which is possible, that of 'agent,' 'intermediary.' We may, in a manner, compare the use of dērā (duvāda) in the detached edicts of Dhauli, i. 3; ii. 2. 'These, with many others, are my agents. Their duties will be to distribute the alms which come from me and also those which come from the queens.' As to what comes from the latter we have an express allusion to their intervention in the fragment of the Allahābād Edict.

18. It is certain that we must complete to dā[ka]lōna. Tathāyatanāni gives no admissible sense, and the word is certainly incorrect. I think that it is easy to suggest the remedy, and to read yathāyatanāni; for dā is a very easy correction. The verb is unfortunately incomplete, but whatever it was in its integrity, whether pativēkhaṇtī, or patijajaggaṇtī, or what not, there is no doubt about its general meaning. The officers put in charge by the king of the interior of his palace (cf. the fifth of the Fourteen Edicts) 'are each to supervise the rooms to which he is detailed.' Ayatana designates a portion of the brdadana, the inner apartments taken as a whole.

19. I confess that I have some difficulty in ascertaining the exact shade of meaning which separates dālakā from dēvikumāra. The first designates, in general terms, the children' of the king. As for dēvikumāra, as we have just above been dealing with the subject of the alms of the queens (dēvināna cha), it is extremely probable that we should take the compound, not as a dēvilīna, but as a dēvīpuruksha. On the other hand, if we translate literally, our children and the other princes, sons of the queens, it will become necessary to admit that the dārakas form a special category among the dēvikumāras; but this is just the opposite of what we should expect; the sons of the recognised queens should form a particular and privileged class amid the offspring of the king. I only see one way out of the difficulty,—to admit here for anya the same appositional use which we find in Greek (ai òloa evmako, the others, that is to say, the allies); dālakā would mean specially those sons of the king who were not assured an official title by the rank of their mothers, while dēvikumāra would be those who had the rank of princes. I have remarked above that the genitive dālakāna, substituted here for the locative which appears in the earlier phrases can only be construed with dānavanāya. In dhaumam-padāna, I take apadaṇa, in its Pāli sense of action,' 'noble deed,' and as equivalent to the Sanskrit apadāna. Even in Sanskrit apadāna is sometimes met in this sense (St. Petersb. Dict. s. v.). The meaning would therefore be in the interests of religious practices.'

20. For yā tiṣṭa, equivalent to yad īdam, see above, Edict I., note 6. As for the enumeration which follows, it strongly recalls that in the 2nd Edict, I. 12. We must read sōchēvē, for sōchēyē, instead of sōcchēvē. We have already (Kh. xii. 2) met mādava, i.e. mārdaṇā, in an analogous meaning. We should of course read sādhaṇa not sādhaṇūm; especially as the first facsimile indicated the letter read as B by dots only, thus showing that the reading was already then indistinct and hypothetical.

21. The whole of this sentence has been perfectly explained by Burnouf; he has made a mistake about one word only. He translates kapanavaladeśu, 'the poor and children,' as if he had before him bālakēsā, but this transcription is inadmissible. We must here substitute the Sanskrit kripāpanavardākēsā, the exact form supposed by our text, i.e. 'the poor and the miserable.'
22. The particle chus can very well commence the sentence: we have seen (I. note 3) that it implies slight opposition, 'but,' 'now,' a statement which is immediately verified once more in the following sentence. The only difficulty which exists, is in the words dhakamaniyama and nijhati. The first is sufficiently defined by the sequel. It means the 'rules, the prohibitions inspired by the Religion,' such as the forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals. Nijhati is less clear. However, after what has been said above (IV. note 10) about the verb nijhapayati, I think that we need not hesitate to derive from it the substantive nijhatti, as we do vijñapti from vijñāpayati. It would, in that case, mean 'the action of calling the attention, reflexion.' If this is correct, the two conditions of progress which the king distinguishes would be, on the one hand, positive prohibitions, duly enumerated, and on the other, the personal feelings awakened by the prohibitions, and, in general, by religious instruction. It seems to me that what follows confirms this interpretation. Twice does Piyadasa warn us that it is the nijhati which alone gives all its importance and all its development to the nijama, which by itself is but a small thing. Regarding the meaning thus given to lahu, lajhu, we may compare not only lahuṣā in the sense of 'contempt' in the 12th edict of Gimar, but especially the adjective lahuṣā in the 13th edict of Khalsi, I. 12, note w. The meaning appears to me to be very clear: it is natural that the king should attach less importance to the material observance of a few necessarily limited rules, than to the spirit which he would propagate among his people and which would inspire them, for example, with a still wider and more absolute respect for life (avijñā together bhūtānām anālay bhāyey pānānāh).

23. It is doubtful how many characters are here missing. At first sight one would be inclined to read bahus [vidhāni]; but the facsimile of the Corpus appears to have traces of a horizontal mark which hardly belong to anything but a +, so that an almost certain restitution would be bahus [kāni], which has, however, the same meaning.

24. The construction here is extremely awkward; it exactly corresponds to a difficulty which has already been considered in the 11th (Rock) Edict; I refer to what I have said there (Vol. I. 245-47). If we had not this precedent, we should be tempted to take the accusative pastpajanānā as governed by the verbal idea contained in the substantive ālakha. But in the other passage, neither the form karu at G., nor the pronoun sō at Kh. and at K., allow us to have recourse to this. We must therefore take it here either as an accusative absolute (cf. Trenchner, Pāli Miscellany, I. 67 note) equivalent to the nominative absolute, as I have concluded above, or take the spelling pastpajanānā, as equivalent to pastpajanā (cf. Edict IV. note 7; sanātānā = sanātā, sanātā) and as consequently representing a nominative. I incline rather to the second solution.

25. At the time of the first facsimile, the correct reading 'vasābhīṣitāna was still distinct.

26. It is unnecessary to remark that ata represents yatra and not atra, and that it has its correlative in the tata following. Siltānasāni vā silāphalakāni vā is in apposition to, and explains, dhanamalābi, and comes to this 'these edicts, whether they are carved on pillars, or inscribed on rocks.' We see, I may remark, here, in āyaṁ dhanamalābi, ēsa chilathitikā, what confusion reigns in the use and application of the genders.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasa, dear unto the Devas:—Kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—How can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? But men did not make progress in the Religion according to their desires. Now, thus saith the king Piyadasa, dear unto the Devas:—Thus have been my thoughts, because kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—how can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? and because men did not make progress in the Religion according to their desires, by what means can I bring men to walk in the Good Way? By what means can I secure that men shall make progress in the Religion according to my desires? By what means can I cause them to advance in the Religion? Now, thus saith the king Piyadasa, dear unto the Devas:—Thus have I resolved; I will spread abroad religious exhortations, and I will publish religious
teachings. So, when they hear [these words], will men walk in the Good Way, will advance [in welfare], (Circular edict commences) and will make rapid progress in the Religion. It is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, and that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people, each having his own jurisdiction, that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develop [my wishes]. I have also appointed rajñikās over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — It is with this object alone that I have erected columns, [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations (?).

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — Along the roads have I planted nyagrādhās, that they may give shade to men and animals; I have planted mango-orchards; at every half krśa have I sunk wells; I have had tanks (?) dug; I have had many inns built for the enjoyment of men and animals. But to me the true enjoyment is this, that, while former kings and I myself have contributed to the welfare of men by various benefits, they should also be led to walk in the path of the Religion. It is to this end, therefore, that I direct my actions.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — I have also appointed overseers of the Religion whose duty it is to busy themselves with all matters of charity, and their duties will also extend to all the sectaries, whether those of monks or of householders. I have also borne in mind the interests of those in holy orders, with whom the duties of these officers will lie; the interests of the brāhmaṇas and religious ascetics, with whom their duties will lie; the interests of the nirgranthas, with whom their duties will lie; and the interests of all the sectaries, with whom their duties will also lie. The mahāmārās will deal with only one or other of these, each to each body, but the overseers of the Religion will occupy themselves in a general manner both with these sectaries, and with all others.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — These and many other officials are my agents, and it will be their duty to distribute my alms and those of the queens. In my entire palace they [will employ themselves] in various ways, each according to the apartments confided to him. I purpose that, both here and in the provinces, they should employ themselves in the distribution of the alms of my children, and especially of those of the royal princes, so as to encourage the Religion, and devotion to the practice of the Religion. For devotion to the Religion means practice of the Religion, mercy, charity, truth, purity of life, gentleness, and goodness.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — Now, whatever acts of goodness have been performed by me, so in these the people follow after me, these they take as their examples. Therefore have they grown up, and will they grow up, in obedience to their parents, in obedience to their teachers, in reverence to those advanced in age, in consideration towards brāhmaṇas, śramaṇas, the poor, the miserable, and even to slaves and servants.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas: — But this progress of the Religion among men is promoted in two ways: by positive rules, and by the sentiments under which they are practised. Of these the positive rules have only a moderate importance, and it is the sentiments under which they are practised which give them a high value. The positive rules are such as when I forbid the slaughter of such, and such kinds of animals, and the other religious precepts which I have issued in great numbers. But it is only by the change of personal sentiments that the progress of the Religion really takes place, in the [general] respect for life, and in the exercise of care not to kill any living being. It is with this object that I have set up this inscription, for my sons and for my grandsons, to endure as long as the sun and moon, that they may follow my instructions; for by so doing they will obtain happiness both here below and in the world to come. I have had this edict engraved in the twenty-eighth year of my coronation.

Thus saith the [King], dear unto the Dévas: — Where this edict exists, whether on columns of stone or on walls of rock, there care must be taken that it may long endure.
THE QUEEN'S EDICT AT ALLAHABAD.

Prinsep, p. 966 and ff.

TEXT.
1 Dēvānāmipiyasa vachanēna savata mahāmātā
2 vataviyā [ ] ē hēta dutiyāyē déviyē dá[?]nē
3 aṃbāvādikā va ālāmva va dāna ē hēva ētasī aṁnē
4 kichhi ganiyati tāyē déviyē sē nānī sava
5 dutiyāyē déviyē ti tīvalamātā kāluvānyē

NOTES.
Although General Cunningham does not express himself on this point with all the clearness which one would desire, it appears to me to be certain, as Prinsep practically admitted, that these five lines preserve for us the commencement only of an inscription which the detritus of the stone interrupts from the sixth line. Has this detritus made itself felt in the fifth line? We shall at least see that, according to my opinion, and so far as one can judge from a single portion of a sentence, the reading of the last few words require much more correction than the rest of the fragment. On the other hand, I see no necessity for assuming that the lines which have come down to us are themselves incomplete, as Prinsep supposed with regard to the fourth. In any case, there can be no hope here of a really certain translation, but there are at least some details which can be rectified with confidence, and the Queen Kichhīgant, for example, re-enters into that non-existence, from which she should never have emerged.

The first phrase is clear enough: it closely follows the commencement of the detached Edicts of Dhauli and Jagadā. Of what follows, we have only the beginning. The verb is missing, so that we cannot construe the sentence. However, as far as tīvalamātā, &c., the functions of the different sub--phrases appear to be pretty clear. We have two relative propositions: ē hēta, &c., and ē hāvēd, &c., but is the sē of sē nānī, &c., their antecedent, so that the tīti refers back to the whole of this first portion of the sentence? I think not. The meaning hardly lends itself to this construction; for then the thought attributed to the ideal interlocutor, rendered indeterminate by the mutilation of the stone, would come to something like this: 'All the alms given by the second queen belong to the second queen' or 'come from the second queen,' an observation the purport of which it is not easy to discover. I have therefore no hesitation in considering that the two relative propositions, contain the subject of the principal proposition, the verb of which has been lost, and that the tīti refers only to the proposition sē nānī, &c. This admitted, the division of the words presents no exceptional difficulties. Hētā is for ēthā, atra. In the last word of the second line, read ēnādē by Prinsep, the first character is curiously wanting in clearness. It looks something like a ā, and the reading ēnādē suits the meaning well. We have discussed aṃbāvādikā (Ed. VIII. l. 2) above; and this word gives a useful basis for the correction of dīnamē to dīnamē, 'garden, grove.' There can be no doubt about the words which follow: ē aṃnē kichhi, which must certainly be transcribed yadanyat kichhit, and ganiyati, which is the passive of the verb ganayati, in the meaning of 'to prize,' 'to esteem.' Ētā is doubtless to be taken adverbially, and gives a meaning equivalent to the ētārē of Pāli, and the ētārē, ētārē of Buddhist Sanskrit. Instead of seeking for an imaginary general in sēndē, we can remind ourselves that we have already had twice to correct nānī into kānī, so as to restore a particle hitherto always misunderstood, and we shall thus write sē kānī, that is to say, in Sanskrit, tat khalu. The last words,—those which follow tīti,—are unfortunately obscure. Although Prinsep's attempted interpretation requires no formal refutation, it is by no means easy to substitute anything which would be accepted as probable. I can only offer a conjecture. The first word appears to be tītā, which we have already met (G. XIII. l; Kh. XIII. 35) as marking the activity of the religious seal. This comparison leads me to suggest the correction of lamē to dhamē, ōj to ē. In the following
characters there is a variant between the two facsimiles; that of Prinsep has clearly kiyé, while that of the Corpus has niyé. It seems most probable that we have here the feminine termination of some adjective agreeing, for instance, with déviye, and I therefore read kālunikēyē, from kārunikā, 'full of compassion.' The correction of udios to ius is sufficiently easy. When we have once adopted this division of words, the correction of the character ta necessarily follows. The first word must be, like the second, an epithet of the queen, and I complete it by reading -dhamaṇya, or, more accurately, -dhamaṇyē. I cannot bring together these observations into a kind of translation, without conjecturally supplying a word on which tāyē déviye—kālunikēyē can depend. I need hardly say that this restitution is entirely hypothetical, and is only an outline taken at hazard, to bring together the disjointed fragments.

TRANSLATION.

Here followeth the order directed by command of the [king] dear unto the Dévas to the Mahámatras of all localities:— For every gift made by the second queen, a gift of a mango-orchard, of a garden, as well as of every article of value found therein, [it is right to do honour] to the queen, whose religious zeal and charitable spirit will be recognised, while one says, — 'all this comes from the second queen **.

KAUSAMBI EDICT.

This fragment is so designated by General Cunningham, because it is addressed to the Mahámatras of Kausámbi. This is the only positive fact which we are entitled to draw from it. I can make nothing of the remainder of the transcription, which is too incomplete, and too imperfect to serve as a basis for useful conjectures. I only reproduce it here, as given in the Corpus, for the sake of completeness.

TEXT.

1 Dēvāṇaṃpiye ānapayati Kāśāṃbiya mahāmata
2 ————ramari (?) — saṁghasā-nilahiyē
3 i ∙ ∙ ∙ ∙ thatibhiti bhaṇīti nīta ∙ ∙ chī
4 ba ∙ ∙ ∙ pinaṁ dhasayita atā saṭha ahuvasayī.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 183. — KALBHAVI JAIN INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, was discovered in 1882 by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitrav, who then held the post of Māmlatdār of the Sampgaum Talukā. I edit it from the ink-impression made by my own copyist.

Kalbhabē is a village about nine miles to the south by east from Sampgaum, the chief town of the Sampgaum Talukā or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Kalbavee,' in Lat. 15° 41’ N., Long. 74° 50’ E. It seems to be mentioned in lines 8, 15, and 21, under the older name of Kumudadhaka. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, outside a temple of Rāmalīṭgha in the village.

The emblems at the top of the stone are: — In the centre, inside a small shrine, an officiating priest, standing by a tākgha on an abhisēka-stand; on the proper right side, inside another shrine, a Jain figure, squatting cross-legged, with two attendants standing beside him, and, above the shrine, the sun; and on the proper left side, a cow and a calf, with the moon above them. — The writing covers a space of about 2’ 2½” broad by 3’ 8½” high. It is in a state of very good preservation, and is legible, without any doubt, almost throughout. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of about the eleventh century A.D. and of the locality to which the record belongs. They include, in
line 14, the decimal figures 1, 2, and 6. The virāma is represented in both ways, as noted at page 35 above in respect of the Gudigere Jain inscription. The average size of the letters is about 1/4. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese, with five Sanskrit verses in lines 1 f. and 29 to 33; and the inscription is mostly in prose. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the anusvara instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in gandhira and dāmakhana, line 1; bhañāha, line 4; and kōhūpā, line 3; but not in the case of the lingual nasal in mañjālēva, lines 3, 4, and 24; and (2) the repetition of bh, instead of its doubling by b, in or-bhābhādāvan, twice, in line 20.

The inscription recites that, a king named Amoghavāra having washed the feet of a Jain teacher named Dévakirti who belonged to the Mālāpa lineage and the Kāreya gaṇa or sect, his feudatory, the Gaṅga Mahañmāṇdālavāra Saṅgōṭa-Permānadi or Saṅgōṭa-Gaṅga-Permānadi, otherwise named Sivamāra, built a temple of Jinaṇḍra at the village of Kummadavāda, and granted the village to it; making also other grants to the dāna-sāle or almshouse. The date of this grant is given as Saṅkha-Saṅvat 261, the Viśṇava saṅvatara. But this, of course, is a spurious date. And the real record is contained in lines 24 to 26; where we learn that the grant, which in the meantime evidently either had been confiscated or had lapsed from neglect, was restored by another Gaṅga Mahañmāṇdālavāra named Kaṅcharasa. Of course it may be argued that the whole inscription is a spurious one. But I am inclined to think that the fact recorded in the latter part of it is genuine; and that the introduction of a spurious date for the grant itself, is to be attributed to a loss of the original charter, so that it was not known which of the Rākṣārākṣa kings named Amoghavāra was reigning at the time, coupled with the desire to claim as great an antiquity as possible. The composition of the record may be referred to about the eleventh century A. D. Probably its exact period can be determined hereafter through the mention of the Mahāmāṇdāleva Kaṅcharasa. And in the same way, the period of the original grant may perhaps be established through the mention of the teachers Guṇakirtī, Nāgachandara, Jinachandara, Subhakirtī, and Dévakirtī, of the Mālāpa lineage and the Kāreya sect. Another record mentioning this sect and family, is the Saṅdattī inscription, which, referring to a grant made in Saṅkha-Saṅvat 797 by the Rākṣārākṣa king Kṛishṇa II., gives us the names of Māljābhāṭṭāraka, a teacher in “the Kāreya sect of the holy Mālāpātiritha;” his disciple, Guṇakirtī; his disciple, Indrakirtī; and his pupil, the Rāṣṭa Mahādāmanta Prithivirāma (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 199.)

Of the local places mentioned in this record, Kummadavāda would seem to be an older name of the modern Kalbhāvi itself; though the record of the boundaries does not contain any details that actually prove this. At least, I can find no other name in the neighbourhood resembling it. Kādālavāli, the chief town of a circle of thirty villages which included Kummadavāda, is the modern Kādāröli, — the ‘Kadurwalle’ of the map, — about seven miles to the south by west from Sampgaun; the name appears elsewhere as Kādālavāli (e.g., ante, Vol. I. p. 142). In this name, l has changed into r; we have had an instance of the opposite change, from r to l, in the names of Pērū and Bēlūr, at page 271 above.

The real record of the restoration of the grant is not dated. The date that is given, in decimal figures, for the original making of the grant, is not only spurious, but also incorrect in its details, which are Saṅkha-Saṅvat 261, the Viśṇava saṅvatara, Pausha kṛishṇa 14, Śāmavāra or Monday, and the Uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti or winter solstice. But the Viśṇava saṅvatara coincided, by the southern luni-solar system, with Saṅkha-Saṅvat 231 current; and by the mean-sign system, which is the one that would apply for this period, it commenced on the 8th March, A.D. 314, in Saṅkha-Saṅvat 237 current, and ended on the 4th March, A.D. 315, in Saṅkha-Saṅvat 233 current. In Saṅkha-Saṅvat 231 current, the pūrṇimānta Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, on Sunday, 28th November, A.D. 308, at about 52 ghatā, 10 pala, after mean sunrise, for Bombay; the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṅkrānti, occurred at about 19 ghatā 41 p. on Friday, 17th December; and the amānta Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 28th December, at about 37 ghatā 48 p. And, in the
duration of the saṅvatara by the mean-sign system, in Saka-Saṅvat 237 current, the pūrṇimānta Pausahaan keśa 14 ended on Tuesday, 23rd November, A.D. 314, at about 12 gh. 56 p.; the Makara-Saṅkramanta occurred at about 52 gh. 50 p. on Friday, 17th December; and the amānta Pausahaan keśa 14 ended on Wednesday, 22nd December, at about 40 gh. 36 p. Thus, a correct result cannot be obtained for the given saṅvatara. Nor can a correct result be obtained for the given Saḵa year, irrespective of the saṅvatara. For, in Saka-Saṅvat 261 current, though the pūrṇimānta Pausahaan keśa 14 ended on Monday, 27th November, A.D. 338, at about 10 gh. 6 p.; yet this was twenty-one days before the saṅkramanta, which occurred at about 5 gh. 27 p. on Monday, 18th December; while the amānta Pausahaan keśa 14 ended on Tuesday, 26th December, at about 46 gh. 41 p. And in Saka-Saṅvat 262 current (261 expired) the pūrṇimānta Pausahaan keśa 14 ended on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 339, at about 13 gh. 35 p.; the Makara-Saṅkramanta occurred at about 20 gh. 58 p. on Tuesday, 18th December; and, though the amānta Pausahaan keśa 14 ended on Monday, 14th January, A.D. 340, at about 48 gh. 47 p.; yet this was twenty-seven days after the saṅkramanta.

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ² (II) Śrīmat- parama-gaṁbhīra-svādvād-āmogha-lāṁchhānaṁ jīyāt-[*]rajlōkya-nāthasya āsanaṁ Jī.


6 kāra-haraṇaṁ sāravata-jaṁita-bhāṣṭhāravaya-kavita-lalita-vāglaññanā-līlā-lālāmaṁ gajavidiya-ālaṁ Śrīmat-āśivamṛ-[=abhī-]

7 dhana-Śaṅgoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permanandaṅga maradalumetey-āge Gaṅga-vādita∗-tombhastura-śārāmānaṁ sukha-saṁkathā-vaṁ ąji evadānām pratipāsūṣṭi-

8 ldu Kāḍalavalli-maṅvattara-ālagaṇa Kummudavādābol Jīńcandra-maṁdiramāṁ maṁśī-saṅkha-vaṁ ąjaṇḍiṇaṁ pratipāsūṣṭi-


10 ryyādā jaṁma-ṣṭhānām=āśb-ant-ātri vibudha-jaṁ-śānāmāmaṁ bhavya-vaṁ-pat-padamaṁ Śaṅgoṭṭa-Permanandaṅga Jīń-jaṁhāmaṁ maṁśī-saṅkha-vaṁ ąji evadānām II


12 dīy-Atmajad-ādait-āghara-śrībhaṅkti-devāvasa=esedara-ṭtacch-ḥiṁśa r yā r u ṣ m a ṣ a v a c h bhumā-vaṁ parvavāja-śalār-śrīvaṁ vād-gadva-kaṁṭhīra[ṇa] II

13 Ā paramāsvarāra-ppara-vaṁ-vaṁ-bhmovaisialuṁ vidit-āśasā-śastrarūṁ Mallāp-āṅvayam=

14 dāṅgagalaman-āppa Devakṛṣṇa-paṁjita-devāva kṣaṁ karchchī II Ōṁ Saka-varsha 26Ineya Viṁbha-saṅvatara Saṅgha(-)bahula- 15 chaturuddhi-Sōmavāra-uttara-vaṁ-śaṁkrāntiy-śaṇumā SUVĪR SMK

16 dāna-sāleje polanunaṁ Kummu-baṅgaya dēgaladiṁ bādāga pōgī muḍa muḥamā kērvumāṁ āśaḥyāmīṁ muḍalau dā-

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² From the ink-impression.
* Represented by a symbol throughout. Here, and at the end of the record, there is used an elaborately decorative symbol, of which the basis or essential part is the plain symbol itself as it occurs in lines 14, 23, 24, and 22.
* Metre, Ślika (Ausnutkhibh).
² Read śrīrāma-śhīvamār.
* l. o. vrīta, 'metre.'
17 na-sâlege panni[r*]-kkayi-nivēsanañumâni | ūriñ mūda Sapasi(?)-inge-ga[r*]dēyen |  
18 mada slmey-emt-[e[m*]do]che | āligoiñjâdana | Siâlîneriml | Sameyadâtana-kereiyîn |  
19 bâlapa-bîjivâlaryiym | Gaângârâlûduva-saâñkiyâ-kereiyîn | Hîchchhalagerrya kôdiyîn |  
20 r-bhbb[âbhî]gâdini | Sândîgerrya nira taṣav-û-bhbb[âbhî]gâdini | Siîngagerryîn | Kadikoṭta-Bajîgal-garddeyîn |  
21 Kumnâmâdâdake | Maṭṣam-ūriñ teînka dāna-sâleya polakke Enapa-kereya | mûdañ kôdiya bâdågaña |  
22 guttiyâ teînka mukhade mûdal-mêre | teînka[lu*] Bajîgal-garddeyân | āligoiñjânâñ mûre | bâdågal-Invîna-kereya |  
23 madhyañ mûre | pàduvala Bîkkiya-bëtîdã teînka bâg-olag-âgi mûre II(1)  
24 Òm Svasti Samadhiagatapânañchamahâsâba-mahâmañdâlâvaram Kuvalâla-puravar- 
25 ra-prasâdìtañ Koṅgûni-pattâbandha-virjîtânañ sâ(sâ) sanadêvi-vijaya-bhërî-nîrghôshamañ 
26 chadhvajâ-vibhîshayanum-appa ârîmat-Kânch-arasar-Saigaṭṭa-Gaṅgâñim bânda dharmañmaham samadîhañsidand-Idan-tapp- 
27 de prâtipâlîsîd-âtañ Vârâsâiyolâ sâsîrvañvar brâhmañargge sâsira kavileya[în*] 
28 koṭta phâ- 
29 lañ | idan-sâlîd-âtañ Vânârâsîyolâ sâsîrvañvarum sâsîrvvar-tâpôdhanarumañ sâsîrvvar-bhram- 
30 parunañ-sâlîda pàtâkâm-âkku [11*] Òm [11*] Sâmâyolâsûvvar dharmañ-sêtuñ nîpânâññû | kàjê-kàjê pawâñnyô bhavadbhisâ- 
31 rvvân-ñâm-bhâvinañ pârrthivîndram bhûyô-bhûyô yàçhât Râmabhâdrañ II(1)  
32 Svââ-sûvâm-sûvâm sâñkâm-âtañ yâ yô  
33 harêta vâsunîharûn shàshṭîr-bhaññ sahaññar[â]pi vishtîhâñ yçyat Râmabhâdrañ II(1)  
34 Na visâhm visâhm-îty-ahûñiñ dêva- 
35 sâvâm visâhm-ûchañat visâhm-çâkâmañ hanti dâva-sâvâm putra-pautrikam II  
36 Bahuñvârsandha dattâ  
37 rájabhîs-Saîgar-âdîbhîhî yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s*]-tasya tasya tadá phalum II  
38 Òm [11*]  

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse in praise of the doctrine of Jina, the lord of the three worlds, the inscription proceeds to record that, in the reign of the Paramâvâra and Paramabhaftâsaka Amoghâvarshahâdva (line 2), his feudatory (pâdapaṁ-ûpaịwîn), the illustrious Saigaṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permânadi (l. 7), who also had the name of Siîvâmarâ (l. 6).—who was a Mahâmañdâlâvâra, invested with the pâñchamahâsâba (l. 3); who was the lord of Kuvalâla, the best of cities (l. 4); who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) Padmâvati; who was decorated with the binding on of the Koṅgûni fillet of sovereignty (pâtañ-bândha); who was entitled to (be heralded in public by) the sounds of the victorious drum of a Sâsanañdrô;
who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers,\textsuperscript{18} which was the banner of the divine Arhat, desirous of emancipation (l. 5); who was the principal place for the sportive play of the charming goddess of speech, in the form of poetry, in three languages,\textsuperscript{19} composed by eloquent people (l. 6); and who was the dwelling-place of the science of (training and managing) elephants, — was governing the Gaṅga-vāḍi Ninety-six-thousand (l. 7) \\
with the delight of pleasing conversations (sukha-sukhaṁ-vīnāḥ).

At the village of Kummadavāḍa, in the Kadāla-vallī Thirty (l. 5), he, Saigotṭa-
Permanandi (l. 10), caused to be built a temple of Jinendra, which was the delight of learned
people, through being the very abode of the fortunes of the Gaṅga rulers (l. 8); the very
pleasure-ground of the goddess of the fame of the succession of the Gaṅga kings (l. 9); and
the very birth-place of the greatness of the Gaṅga lords of the earth.

There was (a saint named) Guṇakirtidēva (l. 11). His disciple was Nāgachandra
kandra. His son was Jina. His son was Subhakirtidēva (l. 12). And his disciple was
Dēvakṛttiguru. The Paramēśvara (i.e. Amōghavaradēva) (l. 13) washed the feet of
Dēvakṛttipāṇidēva (l. 14), who was the ornament of the sky that is the Kārya gaṇa, which
is also known as the Maillāpa lineage (l. 15); and then, — at the time of the Uttarayana-
Śāmkṛtā, (on) Monday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month)
Pausha of the Vīhava saṁvatsara, which was the 261st Śaka year, — to that temple of
Jina (l. 11), Saigotṭa-Gaṅga granted the village named Kummadavāḍa (l. 15). Also, to the
almshouse (dāna-sālē) at that place (l. 16), he granted a field; and a street, facing to the east
as one goes to the north from the temple (dēgula) known as the temple of Kummadabbe; and a
courtyard (nivēṇa), measuring twelve cubits, on the east of the Jain temple (bāsāli); and the
rice-land called Sapsingegarde, and the waste land, on the east of the village.

Lines 18 to 23 specify the boundaries of Kummadavāḍa, and of the field that was
given to the almshouse. But no village-names now to be found in the map, occur here. Nor are all
the terms intelligible. The words which are recognisable as appellatives, are those which give
the names of Sīṭilanejil (‘the refuge of, or from, the thunder-bolt’); the tanks called
Sameyadātana-ke, Gaṅgarādulvāsākīya-ke, Hichchalgerē, Sundigēre, Siūgasagēre, Erapā-
ke, and Inivina-ke, (‘the sweet tank’); the hills called Sindigirī and Bikkīyabēṭṭa;
and the rice-lands called Kadikōta-garde and Baḷivāli-garde.

Lines 24 to 26 record that the illustrious Kaṇcharasa (l. 26), — who was a Mahāmaṅgā-
lāvāra invested with the paṅchamahāśadda (l. 24); who was the supreme lord of Kuvalaśa
the best of cities; who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) Padmāvati;
who was decorated with the binding on of the Konguni fillet of sovereignty; who was
entitled to the sounds of the victorious drum of a Sūsanadēvi; and who had for an ornament the
banner of a bunch of feathers, which was the banner of the divine Arhat, desirous of emancipation,
— raised up, i.e. restored, this religious grant that had come down from (the time of)
Saigotṭa-Gaṅga (l. 26).

And lines 27 to 33 contain the customary benedictory and impregatory sentences; followed
by four of the usual Sanskrit verses of the same purport.

THE NAMES OF THE COINS OF TIPU SULTAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; BANGALORE.

In the fifth year of his reign, A. H. 1201 or A.D. 1786-7, Tipu Sultan of Māsītūr
replaced on his coins the era of the Hijra by a new one of solar years, called the Maulūdī
di 18 Here, in line 5, and again in line 25-26, the original has pičchha, i.e. pičchha, which is given by Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning 'a peacock's tail.' But Mr. K. B. Palak, in showing how this word was arrived at, by a particular method among the Kanadaka Jains of writing the word pičchha in such a way that the ch was represented by a sign which resembles and eventually came to be mistaken for the anusvara, has explained that it means 'a bundle of feathers carried about by a Jain ascetic' (note, Vol. XI, p. 273, note 1.)
\textsuperscript{19} i.e. Sanskrit, Old-Kanarese, and probably Malārābhrī-Prākrit.
\textsuperscript{20} maradalamalagey, line 7, requires explanation.
era, which commenced from the birth of the Prophet in A.D. 571, and which, at that particular point, was 14 years in advance of the lunar era of the Hijra. One year later he invented a series of new names for his gold and silver coins. These names are well-known; but so far as I can ascertain, they have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Most of the explanations which are given were suggested to me by a Muhammadan gentleman, Mr. Habibuddin, of the Haidarabad Civil Service, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make on a short holiday-trip to Mysore and Srirangapatnam.

The names of Tipu's series of copper coins, which, with one exception, appear first on part of the issue of his eleventh year, the Mauludi year 1221 or A.D. 1792-93, present no difficulty. They are nothing but the Persian or Arabic designations of certain stars.

Tipu's gold muhr (vulgo, mohar) is called Ahmadi, his half gold muhr Siddiqi, and his pagoda Faruqi. His silver coins are: -- The double rupee or Hadari, the rupee or Amuri Imami, the half rupee or Abbidi, the quarter rupee or Baqiri, the two-anna piece or Jaffari, the one-anna piece or Kasimi, and the half-anna piece or Khisiri.

Among the silver coins, the rupee or Imami is undoubtedly called after the twelve Imamas. This fact gives us a clue to the derivation of the names of the remaining silver coins. Each of them, except the smallest, refers to the name of a single Imam. The largest coin, the double rupee or Hadari, is derived from Hadari, a surname of the first Imam 'Ali. The fractions of the rupee are successively named after the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Imams, viz., the 'Abbidi after Zainulabedin, the Abbidi after Abid Bimar; the Baqiri after Muhammad Baqir; the Jaffari after Ja'far Sadik; and the Kasimi after Masa Kasim. The name of the half-anna piece or Khisiri is derived from Khwaja Khizr, a prophet who is said to have drunk of the fountain of life and is considered as the saint of the waters.

The names of Tipu's gold coins likewise refer to Muhammadan saints. The gold muhr or Ahmadi is derived from Ahmad, one of the designations of the Prophet himself; the Siddiqi from Abul Bakhirdin, the first Khalifa; and the Faruqi from 'Umar Faruq, the second Khalifa.

The largest of Tipu's copper coins is the double paisa. It bears two names, Ugrandi and Mushtari. The first of these names is met with on coins of the Mauludi years 1218 and 1219. It is derived from Ugran Ibn Aflan, the third Khalifa, and is thus connected with the above-mentioned series of names of gold coins. But when, in the Mauludi year 1221, Tipu had started a series of names for his smaller copper coins, which consisted of the names of different stars, the designation Ugrandi did not agree with the rest. Accordingly, the double paisa of the Mauludi year 1222 and of the following years bear a new denomination, viz., Mushtari, the Arabic name of the planet Jupiter. The name of the paisa is Zuhr or Zuhra, and that of the half paisa is Bahram or Bahram. The quarter paisa is the Akhtar, which means "a star" in Persian. Marsden notices "a minute coin intended for a half Akhtar, or eighth part of a paisa, on one side of which is the elephant, with the letter "a, and on the other, the denomination of the money, being a word that may be read قاتب, but is by no means distinct."

1 Marsden's Numismata Orientalia Illustrata, Part II. p. 700 f.
2 A copy of this rare coin is in the Bangalore Museum. It is mentioned in Dr. Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, Vol. I, p. 128, note.
3 Moor's Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 475.
4 The Persian spelling زهر is found on the coins struck at Patan (Sringapatnam), the Hindustani spelling زهر on those struck at Nagar.
5 Numismata Orientalia Illustrata, Part II. p. 725.
collection contains two different varieties of this coin. Both have on the obverse an elephant facing the right, and on the reverse the legend فرِبانِ، “struck at Paṭna,” and over it the designation which is clearly not تَمِسْتُ، but قُلْبُ، the Arabic name of the Pole-star, which fits the whole system followed by Tīpu in naming his other copper coins. The first of the two coins has the letter ١ over the elephant on the obverse, and the date 1224 over the legend on the reverse; the second coin bears the letter ٣ and the date 1225 in the corresponding places. As on Tīpu’s larger copper coins the letters ٥, ١, ٣, ٥ and ٤ are combined with the dates 1224, 1225, 1226 and 1227 respectively,7 Marsden’s coin, which had the letter ٤, must have been struck in the Mauḷūdī year 1226 or A.D. 1797-98.

When introducing his new era, Tīpu made another innovation by reversing the order of the Arabic numerals on the dates of his coins. On the coins of the Mauḷūdī year 1215, we find both the old order ١٥١٢ and the new one ١٢١٥. In 1216 the only exceptions from the new rule are the paśā, half paśā and quarter paśā struck at Beṣgaḷūr. From the year 1217 to the year of Tīpu’s death, the Mauḷūdī year 1227 or A.D. 1798-99, the dates on all the coins run from right to left.8 There are a few specimens, on which the engraver of the die did not only reverse the order of the numbers, but turned the numbers themselves. Thus a quarter paśā struck at Faḵīs-bīṣār (Gutti)9 and one struck at Khālīqābād (Chandagāl) bear the date ١٣١٠, which is meant for ١٠١٣; and two quarter paśās struck at Faḵīs-bīṣār have the dates ١٢١٣ and ١٣١٢. These are both meant for ١٣١٢; in each case the two middle figures are reversed, and in the second the unit has undergone the same process.

THE FATE OF ST. MARK ACCORDING TO AN ARAB HISTORIAN OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

The following is a translation from Chap. xxviii. of Al Maṣʿūdī’s historical encyclopædia, entitled “Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems”; a remarkable work, in which he describes the state of the nations and countries of the East and West as they were in his age, that is to say, in A. H. 330 (A. D. 941). The chapter in which the passage here selected is devoted to the history of Ṣūm.

The disciples of Jesus of Nazareth dispersed themselves over all the surface of the earth. Mārī betook himself to the neighbouring part of Irāk, and died in the town of Dair Kūnna3 and As-Sāfīa, on the bank of the Tigris, between Baghād and Wāsīt, which is the country of All bin Dāʿūd bin Al Jarraḥ, of Muḥammad bin Dāʿūd bin Al Jarraḥ, and other learned men. The tomb of Mārī is there, in a church, where it remains up to the present year 332 (A. D. 943); the Christians hold it in great veneration. Thomas, who was one of the twelve disciples, went to India, where he called the people to the law of the Messiah, and where he died. Another disciple penetrated to the most remote parts of Khurāsān, and died there.

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8 In his valuable Catalogue of Mysoore Coins in the Madras Museum, Mr. Thurston figures ٤ wrongly struck at Beṣgaḷūr in 1218 and one struck at Sallāmabād (Satyamangalam) in the same year. I possess three other ٤ paśās, of which one was struck at Paṭja in 1218 and the second at Beṣgaḷūr in 1219. The third bears the date 1225, and on the reverse the two words حُطِّبُ شَوْرَة; the name of the mint-town seems to be omitted by the engraver.

7 The only exception is a quarter paśā struck at Faḵīs-bīṣār, which bears the letter ٣ but the date 1234.

9 A solitary instance of a relapse is a half paśā struck at Paṭja with the date ١٢٣٩ (1239). The engraver of a paśā struck at Faḵīs-bīṣār in the same year has not completely succeeded in reversing the figures from ١٩٣٩ to ١٣١٠; but has written them as ١۹١٠.

10 Instead of ٤٠٠, this coin bears the denomination ١٠٠٠, which the engraver seems to have copied from a half paśā.

11 دَبْرُ قَائِمَة وَإِلَاءَ البَدَا، which is a name of the country of the Akkadians.

12 No such person as Mārī is mentioned in the Bible; but I think we may take this passage as sufficient authority for determining that Mārī was the name of one of the ‘other seventy’ (or seventy-two) mentioned in Luke X. 1. According to Johnson (Arabic-Eng. Dictionary) “Mār Yākūb” was the name of a heretical teacher of Christianity.
The site of his tomb is known and venerated by the Christians; but others say that he died in the country of Dākūţa, Khānjār and Karkhūdān, on the confines of Irāk. The place of his sepulture is known.

**Mark** died at Alexandria, in Egypt, where is his tomb. He is one of the four disciples who have composed the Gospel. Strange particulars are related of that which passed between him and the Egyptians at the moment when he was put to death. We have already stated on what occasion that took place, in our Middle History, to which work the present is a sequel. There we have related in detail how Mark, when on the point of starting for the land of the West, charged them, saying:—'Whosoever shall present himself to you in my likeness, kill him; for you will see, coming after me, men who will resemble me; but hasten to put them to death, and do not accept their teaching.' Then he left them. After having been absent a long time, being unable to reach the place where he wished to go, he returned to the Egyptians. When he saw that they were about to kill him, he said to them:—' Woe unto you! I am Mark.'—' No,' replied they; ' verily our father, Mark, told us to kill whoever should come to us in his likeness,'—' But it is I myself who am Mark.'—' We cannot let you go, and it is absolutely necessary that we put you to death.' So they killed him.

Formerly they had demanded of him some proofs in support of his statements, and had begged of him to work some miracles. Some among them had said to him:—' If that which you affirm to us is true, ascend to heaven before our eyes.' Then they stripped him of his pontifical robe (``,)\(^{8}\), and clothed him in a dress of camel's hair, so that he might ascend to heaven. But many of his disciples attached themselves to him, saying:—'If thon departest, what will remain to us after thee, for thou art our father?' Then happened to him that which we have related above.

**The disciples of the Messiah** are seventy-two in number, besides whom twelve more have to be counted. Those who have transmitted the Gospel are:—Luke, Mark, John, and Matthew. Luke and Matthew are ranked among the seventy-two; the latter is also classed among the twelve, but I know not the reason of it.\(^{7}\) The two who make part of the twelve are:—John, son of Zebedee; and Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. The third, who arrived at Antioch, where he had been preceded by Peter and Thomas, is Paul. He is the person alluded to in the Kur'da under the title of the 'third,' when God says:—' Wherefore we strengthened them with a third.'\(^{9}\)

'Of all the Christian Monks, those of Egypt are the only ones who eat meat; because Mark permitted them to do so.'

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**MISCELLANEA.**

**CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.**

No. 30.

In the stone inscription of the Mahāṣa-manta Bappuvarasa, on a pillar inside a temple at Mahākūta, Mākuṭa, or Makuṭa, near Bādami, in the Kalādgi District, Bombay Presidency, published by me, with a lithograph, in this journal, Vol. X. p. 104 f., No. 96, the date (line 6 f.) is—Śaka-nṛja-kāl-ātita-saṅvatsara-śatangal entu-nūra ayavatā ṣaṇeyya Jaya-saṅvatsaraṇa Kārtika-śuddha-pañchamiyum Budhavārad-āndun, — the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of (the

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\(^{4}\) The work here referred to is probably Maš'ūdl's "History of Time," ( washington), mentioned in the opening of the first chapter.

\(^{5}\) The word ḍaḵaţūn of the text has no apparent meaning; it is probably a misprint either for the Persian ḍaḵaţūn, 'gold-embroidered,' or for the Arabic ḍaḵaţūn, 'a robe of office.'

\(^{6}\) There has always been a tradition that St. Luke was one of the seventy; and this is mentioned as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries by Origen and Epiphanius: so Mas'ūdl may be right in his case, but from what he says regarding Matthew ("Lo") it seems likely that he confounded him with Matthias. Eusebius, as well as Epiphanius, says that the latter was one of the seventy; and we know that he became one of the twelve after the Ascension. The "Gospel of Matthias" is one of the thirty-four Gospels rejected by the Christian Church as being uncanonical.

\(^{8}\) Vide Kur'da, Sale, Chap. xxxvi. page 361-62, notes. It is necessary to read this in order to understand the allusion.
month) Kārttika of the Jaya samvatsara, which is the eight hundred and fifty-sixth (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, and on Wednesday." And the inscription records that on this day Bappuvarasa came to the place, and made a grant of (an image of) Nandikēśvara, i.e. Nandi, and of some rice-land.¹

Here the mention of the Jaya samvatsara would permit us to take the given year either as current or as expired. For, by the mean-sig system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, Jaya commenced on the 10th December, A.D. 932, and ended on the 6th December, A.D. 933. And in this period Kārttika śukla 5, of Śaka-Samvat 856 current, ended on the 26th October, A.D. 933, at about 18 ghata, 26 palas, after mean sunrise, for Bākāmi.² This day, however, was a Saturday. And the details of the date cannot be explained in this way.

On the other hand, by the southern luni-solar system the Jaya samvatsara coincided with Śaka-Samvat 857 current, i.e. with the given year 856 as an expired year. And in this year, with Prof. K. L. Chatterjee's Tables, Kārttika śukla 5 began at about 6 gh. 15 p. and ended at about 59 gh. 55 p. on Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 934. With these results, it would be very close to the following sunset, that most probably a calculation by any of the Siddhāntas would make it end after sunrise on the Thursday; as is the case with Prof. Jacob's Tables, according to which it began at about 2 h. 33 m. = 6 gh. 22 5 p., on the Wednesday, and ended at about 34 m. = 1 gh. 25 p., on the Thursday. And I think it may safely be taken for granted that the tithi did end on the Thursday, according to the almanac consulted by the person who drafted the record. Consequently, the date of Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, can be accepted only if the tithi was used as a current tithi.

Now, as regards the application of the given tithi, the Nīrṇayaśindhu, pari. i. p. 7 b, line 13 f., gives the general rule that the fifth tithi is to be used or celebrated, when it is joined by the sixth tithi, i.e. on the day on which it ends. Whereas the Dharmaśindhu, pari. i. p. 5 a, line 5 f., states that the fourth and fifth tithis form a couple; as a consequence of which the tithi may be used when it is joined by the fourth, i.e. on the day on which it begins. But, in the more detailed rules, the Dharmaśindhu, pari. i. p. 8 a, line 11 f., states explicitly that, except in the case of the Skandopavāsa and the Nīrgrahata, "in any ceremony whatsoever the fifth tithi, both in the bright and in the dark fortnight, is to be taken when it is left by the fourth tithi," and the Nīrṇayaśindhu, pari. i. p. 13 b, line 13 ff., though seeming on the whole to maintain the correctness of its own rule, quotes several precepts to the same effect. Also, Prof. Kielhorn has given me the following quotation from the Kīlaṇḍhava, — Skandopavāsa paścchami para-viddhā, anyatra pūrva-viṣṭhī sthitam, — "it is established that at the Skandopavāsa the fifth tithi (is to be used) when it is left by the following; on other occasions, when it is left by the preceding." In the present instance the details of the date distinctly refer, not towards the writing of the record, but to the occasion on which the ceremony of making the grant was performed. Consequently, it appears that the tithi would be properly connected with the Wednesday, on which day it began; and that the correct English date is Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, as found above.

In addition to this illustration of the use of a current tithi, this date is of interest in giving an instance of the use of the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, for a time not very long after the period that I have indicated for its introduction (see ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 142, 143.)

J. F. Fleet.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

VENKATACHALAPATI: A MADRAS LEGEND.

Every now and then, throughout Madras, a man dressed up as a bull is to be seen leading about a bull as fantastically got up as himself with cowries and rags of many colours from door to door, for the purpose of procuring religious alms. The operation is accompanied by such music as the man can command.

The bull is called in Tamil Perunthi crater and in Telugu Gaṅga edda, the former meaning Ṣri Viṣṇu's bull and the latter Gaṅga's bull. The origin of the first is given in a legend, but that of the last is not clear.

The conductors of these bulls are neerdher of high caste called Puluṇaiyan, i.e. Flower Neerdheras, and come from villages in the North and South Arcot (Arkā) districts. They are a simple and ignorant set, who firmly believe that their occupation arises out of a command from the great god Venkatachalapati — the Lord of the Venkata-

¹ I think that in line 10 f., instead of nandikaśrama, mu(mud)-nella-puyuram, "three rice-fields at (the village of) Nandikēśvara," as published, we should read nandikeśrama[ti] nella-puyuram.
² The times here are for Bākāmi, all through.
chala Hills near Tiruppdai in the North Arcot District.

Their legend is as follows: — Among the habitual gifts to the Venkatáchala temple at Tiruppdai were all the freaks of nature of the neighbourhood as exhibited in cattle such as two-tailed cows, five-legged bulls, four-horned calves, and so on. The Páidáiyans, whose original duty was to string flowers for the temple, were set to graze these abortuses. Now to graze cows is an honour, but to tend such creatures as these the Páidáiyans regarded as a sin. So they prayed to Venkatáchala forp to show them how they could purge it away. On this the god gave them a bull called after himself the Penumál bull, and said — 'My sons, if you take as much care of this bull as you would of your own children and lead it from house to house, begging its food, your sin will be washed away.' Ever since then they have been purging themselves of their original sin!

The process is this. The bull-leader takes it from house to house and puts it questions, and the animal shakes its head in reply! He then abuses it and it butts at him in anger! This is proof positive that it can reason!

The fact is the animal is bought when young for a small sum and brought up to its profession. Long practice has made its purchaser experts in selecting the animals that will suit them. After purchase the training commences, which consists in pinching its ears whenever it is given bran, and it soon learns to shake its head at the sight of bran. I need hardly say that a handful of bran is ready in its conductor's hands when the questions are put to it. It is also taught to butt at any person that speaks angrily to it.

As regards the offerings made to these people, one-sixth goes to feeding the bulls and the remaining five-sixths to the conductors. They look upon it as a "good work," but the village boys and girls think it the greatest fun in the world to watch its performances, and the advent of a Vishnu's bull is hailed by the youngest with the greatest delight.

The demeanour of the bulls has led to a well known South Indian proverb: "As mild as Vishnu's (or Gangá's) bull." In Tamil it is seen Perumáll uddu appa: in Telugu uddu Gangi uddu vale sadhu.

Madras.

S. M. Náthasa Sastri.

KÁLI NÁG; A KÁSMIR LÉGEND.

Just outside (on the river side of) the Shál Hamádán mosque in the heart of Srinagar city, is a little stream constantly running. The stream is sacred to Káli and is called Káli Nág. A Brahman is generally to be seen sitting near to offer the prayers and receive the presents of worshipers. The water emerges from the ground inside the mosque. On this account several Hindu rulers have tried to get the place and offered large sums of money for it, but without avail. Colonel (?) Miya Singh determined to race the mosque to the ground, but being afraid of a rebellion on the part of the Musalmáns, he changed his mind.

It is said that nobody can look upon the spring itself without losing his sight. Some curious folk essayed to do so, and came away blind. Afterwards, in order that others might not come into the like misfortune, a great stone was placed over the adg, which remains there to this day.

The spring is said to have appeared here when Rávana's house was destroyed by Ráma, and is therefore supposed to have come from Ceylon.

Srinagar.

J. Hinton Knowles.

BOOK NOTICES.

ALBÉRÜNÍ'S INDIA. An account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A.D. 1000. Edited in the Arabic Original by Dr. Kerouard Sachau. Published by the Secretary of State for India. London: Trübner and Co. 1897. 4to; pp. xii., 362.

Upwards of three years ago, ante, Vol. XV. p. 31f, we had the pleasure of publishing a preliminary notice by Dr. Bühler of this mighty work, and we have now to notice its actual production. We have at last before us the Arabic text of the great original. But the book as it stands is consequently available only to Arabic scholars. For this reason the publishers have extensively advertised it in vernacular papers in India, but whether this will repay them is doubtful; as Natives of India usually either can not or will not buy expensive works, such as this necessarily is. If we may be allowed to express an opinion on such a matter as this, we should say that the outlay would be more likely to be profitable if made in freely advertising it in English papers and journals, and in sending copies of it liberally for notice in the same.

As all the world knows, the peculiar value of Albérüní's work is that it is practically almost the only authority we possess for Indian history and mode of thought at a period which is otherwise as sealed book to us. To have, therefore, made available a text, which is as accurate as we can reasonably expect, is a matter of no small
importance, and the thanks that we owe to Dr. Sachau should be proportionately great.

Albèrûnî flourished in the time of Maḥmûd of Ghaznî, when the Brâhma civilisation, which had superseded the Buddhistic, was in its turn about to be overshadowed, first by that of the Musalmân and eventually by that of the Christian. And it is, indeed, fortunate for the world, that, at the very commencement of the epoch of destruction inaugurated by Maḥmûd, there should have been living and writing a scholar gifted with sufficient breadth of view to enable him to study sympathetically the system that was passing away; sufficiently endowed with the critical faculty to appreciate modes of thought so opposed to those with which he had been himself imbued from his birth; and possessed of sufficient energy and skill to record what he had learnt for the benefit of his contemporaries and successors. He wrote in A.D. 1030, and among his predecessors in the description of India were the Greek diplomatist Megasthenes about B.C. 325, and the Chinese monks in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries A.D. But Albèrûnî is incomparably, as far as we are concerned, the most important of all the writers of their time. Of Megasthenes we have but fragments, and the Buddhist monks from China are as babes compared with the highly cultivated and well-informed scholar whose work we now consider.

There are three MSS. of the great book in Europe:—(1) in the library of M. Schefer, Membre de l’Institut; (2) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; (3) in the library of the Mehmet Köprüli Medrese at Constantinople. The last two are copies of the first, which purports to be a copy of the author’s autograph, “with which it has been collated as carefully as possible” by some unknown hand long ago. With the exception of some lacunae and blunders, probably resulting from partial illegibility or from wormholes in the autograph, and of the misplacement of the leaves at the end, Dr. Sachau considers M. Schefer’s MS. to be “of very rare merit, one of the most accurate I have ever known.” This is the MS. Dr. Sachau has followed, and on which, with the advantage of emendation where necessary by the light of modern Arabic and Sanskrit learning, his text is based. The nature of Albèrûnî’s work has prevented its being copied and treasured up in the libraries of the East, and so far it has not been found there. This fact, however, while it renders us all the more grateful to the European scholars who have saved Albèrûnî from the fate which has overtaken Megasthenes, does not, Dr. Sachau thinks, lead us to suppose that, should more MSS. be found hereafter, the text, as he has given it, will have to be materially altered.

Dr. Sachau enters at some length into the probable date of the book, and arrives at the conclusion that it was written between 30th April and 30th September A.D. 1030, meaning by “writing” the final composition of a work, the various parts of which had long previously been completed. It appears to have been composed at Ghaznî during the troubled period which succeeded the death of Maḥmûd, and Albèrûnî probably got most of his information from Hindu residents of that place, who were then, no doubt, very numerous. His actual travels in India do not seem to have extended beyond the Pañjâb; the districts about Pëshâwar, Jhâlam, Siâlkot, Lâhor, and Multân, being familiar to him.

But it is not so much from his record of what he saw, as from his record of what he read, that Albèrûnî has become of world-wide fame. His learning in Sanskrit literature was for his time wonderful, because it was against his religious teaching to study systems foreign to Islam, and in the few cases where this prejudice has been overcome no other instance exists of a Muhammadan trying to procure his foreign learning at first hand. As a translator, he rendered from Sanskrit into Arabic, Kapila’s Sûtrabhâja, the book of Patanjali, the Paulâsia-Siddhânta, the Brahma-Siddhânta, the Bhûhat-Samhûta, and the Laghu-Jâtaka; while from Arabic into Sanskrit he rendered Euclid’s Elements, Ptolemy’s Almagest, and a book of his own on the construction of the Astrolabe.

This list of works raises the questions as to how much he acquired of Sanskrit, and as to how far he was a real translator, or merely the mouthpiece or supervisor of those who explained or translated for him. Dr. Sachau gives reasons at some length for considering that he really knew enough of Sanskrit to enable him to go alone in the language to a small extent without blundering, but that he read his Indian books with the aid of Pâñjâta and made his translations into Arabic from their dictation; while his translations from Arabic into Sanskrit meant that he explained to Pâñjâta, who converted his explanations into Sûtras of approved form. All this involves the assumption that Albèrûnî and his Pâñjâta spoke or understood well some common vernacular, and there seems to be abundant internal evidence in the Índia that Albèrûnî was well acquainted with the vernacular of the period, whatever it was, then current in the extreme northwest of India.

In explaining the extent of Albèrûnî’s Sanskrit scholarship, Dr. Sachau has to tread along
the dangerous and delicate path of testing it by his transliteration of Sanskrit words. And in doing so he shows where Sanskrit compounds have been wrongly divided and so mistranslated, e.g. सन्स्कृत in ललित ललित and ललित; and where parts of compounds have been misunderstood, e.g., नारायणिन पद्मां, in which Albérini thought that नारायणिन was the name of the 7th Rishi, as he calls him. In this connection Dr. Sachau prints in this volume an "index of words of Indian origin" in 42 pp. double column, and he promises a comparison of Albérini's Indian names with those in his Sanskrit sources. It need hardly be said that this comparison will be looked for with much interest.

Like all scholars from his time downwards Albérini was oppressed by the difficulty of transliterating Indian words into his own character, and like all scholars of all countries he adopted a system of special diacritical marks combined with a deferential acuteness in existing custom in the case of well-known words. So his ब्राह्म (ब्राह्म) and his ब्राह्म (ब्राह्म) have formed a puzzle on their own account, as no doubt will our English "cooly" (काय) and "boy" (बौद) in the dim future. Dr. Sachau has treated this part of his subject with conspicuous skill, and he well explains the difficulty of getting at Albérini's meaning in his transliterations. Thus, he evidently endeavoured to write in Arabic the sounds of the Indian words as he heard them, and since he took them down sometimes orally and sometimes from books, he at one time would transliterate from bad and variant pronunciations and from others from the written words. We then get two or more forms of the same word, e.g. منس and منس for ناس. Then again, while purporting to transliterate he would be really rendering some vernacular form; e.g. رواع for مسج. Sometimes he mixed up the vernacular with Sanskrit; e.g. when he says श्रङ्ग = श्रङ्ग. Like many another scholar, too, Albérini, after devising a system of diacritical marks, based in his case on those in Persian, did not stick to them; e.g. while adopting य for p he would write र for र and य for p, and so on. The diacritical markings in the MS. of M. Schefer are also rendered all the more uncertain from the fact that at the time it was written the modern system of marking Arabic was hardly yet in vogue. The old and the then new system of marking were both at times followed by the scribe in some cases, as in द्र and द्र, resulting in much ambiguity. Lastly, Albérini, in quoting or adapting from old works as from Al-Brānhābī on Buddhism, follows the old corrupt spelling, whereby we get तार for तार! However, it is gratifying to find that Dr. Sachau can nevertheless confidently assert that "the consonantal skeletons of the words are very trustworthy and offer a sufficient basis for their reconstruction."

The value of Albérini's work to the student of things Indian, can be seen by a mere reference to its contents. He opens with an account of Hindu religion and philosophy, including a disquisition on caste. He then proceeds to describe the literature of the Hindus, their science, metrology, and mathematics. The chapter on "Hindu sciences which prey upon the ignorance of the people" should attract attention. Then we have a description of Hindu geography and cosmogony; and much astronomy and computation of time, — the most valuable part of the work, — which will be much appreciated by students of this Journal. And finally Hindu manners, customs, customary law, and astrology have a fair share of attention. There are chapters here in which the folklorist and anthropologist should alike revel.

The MSS. in the Library at Colombo, Ceylon Administration Reports, 1887, Pt. IV.; Miscellaneous, Colombo Museum, by Mr. F. H. M. Corbett, Librarian.

It is a comfort to find from the date of this Report that other people besides Indian officials are apt to be behind time in recording the practical work performed by them. However, there is much to interest us in the short report on Sinhalese MSS. now before us, as the collection of these in the Colombo Museum Library, — an institution which does not otherwise seem to be of any note, — is no doubt in a fair way of becoming very valuable.

The old manuscripts, consisting of original texts of the Buddhist Canon, commentaries, histories, philological, poetical, scientific and medical works, are worth serious attention.

The Canonical Books, however, are themselves incomplete, but the commentaries are in a much better condition. Of histories there are fifty, and of philology and poetry there are seventy-six. In science and medicine there is only a beginning of what doubt will become a valuable collection later on.

It is satisfactory to note that the arrangement of the MSS. is systematic and practical.
THE COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

BY CAPTAIN B. C. TEMPLE, B.SC., M.B.A.S.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

The coins which form the subject of this monograph, were collected mostly by myself in the Pañjab about eight years ago, with the kindly personal assistance of the Chiefs of the Pañjab Native States, one of whom has since died. These coins I had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum. The remainder are taken from former presentations to the Museum, and I am indebted to the courtesy of the Keeper of the Coins for being enabled to represent them in the plates attached hereto. I am also specially indebted to Mr. Grueber, of the Numismatic Department, for the trouble he has taken in having both the coins I collected and those previously presented to the Museum properly reproduced for me. In the detailed description attached to this paper the coins given by myself to the British Museum and those of other donors are carefully distinguished. There is, as far as I am aware, no other collection of these coins in existence.

Properly speaking, the Coins of the Modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjab should include those of the Mahārājas of Lāhūr and of the Mahārājas of Jammū and Kaśmīr. But the Sikh coinage is a study in itself, and so is the ancient coinage of Kaśmīr. This paper is therefore confined to the productions of the mints of the Chiefs of the Pañjab, that have now, or have had in recent times, the right to issue coins of their own. These are the Mahārājas of Paṭialā, the Rājās of Nābhā and Jīnd, the Sārdārs of Kaṅthal, and the Nawābs of Kāṯīl-Mālā (more commonly called Mālār-Kāṯīl). Of these the Mahārājas of Pātialā, the Rājās of Nābā and Jīnd, and the Sārdārs of Kaṅthal, belonged to one great family of Chiefs known in the Pañjab as the Phāltkālān.

To the student of numismatics the coins of these chiefs have a special interest, as affording valuable examples of the principles governing the evolution of the coinage of partially civilised peoples. The theory of the evolution of coins, first made known by Mr. Evans in his well-known work, has been applied with great acuteness and ability by Mr. Keary in his Morphology of Coins (1886) to Oriental coins. It is in support or criticism of its application to the coins of semi-barbarous peoples that the following pages will be found to be chiefly valuable.

Mr. Keary makes two remarks in his little book which the reader will do well to bear in mind throughout his perusal of this article. At page 9 he says:—“There is a peculiar sort of morphology (of coins) shown when a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, incapable of inaugurating or much modifying a coinage of its own, takes as a model the money of some other State and makes either imitations or reproductions of it in a descending order of degradation. Examples of this class generally one of two forms: a. If the nation is not very barbarous, it sometimes invents for itself a new type founded on the parent type, and adheres to that for a long succession of years. Such people are not artistic enough or original enough to produce variations of importance on this fixed type. b.—A much more barbarous people, who are incapable of either inventing any type for themselves or of copying correctly that which is before them, produce a series of successive degradations which are very curious and interesting to trace.” At page 13 he further remarks:—“The local issues of different (Greek) cities may be regarded as a kind of token money, not acceptable except by weight outside a narrow area.” How far the semi-barbarous coinage of the modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjab bears out these observations the reader will be able to judge for himself.

In the year A.H. 1164, or A.D. 1751, being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Ahmad Shāh Durrānt (or Abdālī) made a raid into the Pañjab and overran the greater part of it; and it is a common historical statement in the Pañjab, that in that year he granted to the

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1 As distant connections only.  
2 Coins of the Ancient Britons, 1864.  
3 But see below, p. 295.
chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Kotla-Maler the right to coin within their respective States. The now extinct State of the Sardars of Kaithal also seems to have acquired the right to use the same coinage within its territories, but how or when I have been unable to ascertain. Besides these the Sikh State of Kapurthala and the extraordinary adventurer, George Thomas, Bajá of Hansi, are said to have each had an independent coinage, of which more anon.

Now the coins of Ahmad Shah bear a distinctive legend, as is well known. It runs thus:—

**Obverse**

حجم شاهزاده شهیعد بابی
سمک رون در جعل و راز اولین مالی تابی
سمک جاویسد مالی مانا نبی

**Reverse**

The words and figures following the words جنوب and فخر are naturally vary with the year and place. In plate I., figure a, I, give a fine specimen of the full legend, bearing the date 1173, A.H. 1761, and the year of the reign 14, and showing the mint as دارا آخیاء شاه جهان آباد, that is, Dehli.4

In the fourth year of his reign Ahmad Shah coined at Sarhand, better known as Sirhind, now a town in the Patiala State. The exact form of his coin I do not know, but, for reasons given further on, it can be guessed from the impressions of the die given below, which is that now in use at Kotla-Maler, and which I am able to introduce here through the kindness of the Khân Sâhib, ‘Ináyat ‘All Khân, brother of the Nawâb of Kotla-Maler.

Now the point for the present argument is this: — from that day, nearly 140 years ago, to this, the coins of all the States — Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and Kotla-Maler, with the exception of some of the issues of the Nabha mint, have never changed either the legend, the date, or the mint. The dies have been cut and re-cut over and over again, but no material change has ever taken place beyond adding, in some cases only, the mark or sign of the particular chief issuing the coin. To all outward appearance they are all — even those of a year ago — the coins of Ahmad Shah minted in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1751)!

Nabha alone has had the originality to vary the type to a limited extent, using for that purpose, of later years, the ordinary legend of the Sikh coins of the late Maharaja of Lâhor. The issues of the Sardars of Kaithal show a falling off in the artistic capacity of the moneys of this distinctly “Minor State” in comparison with the others above noticed, that will be found to be specially valuable and interesting in the present connection.

The History of the modern Native States of the Patiala, being of so recent a character, is to a certain extent well known4 and is therefore of much value as evidence for

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4 This is a large thin gold coin which belongs to the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the reproduction. It may not be a real coin at all, but one of those medals that used to be struck in India to be thrown amongst the populace on special occasions, or it may have been struck in commemoration of the capture of Dehli in that year, for 1173 A.H. was the year of the notorious massacre he caused to be committed there.

4 I say to a "certain extent" advisedly, for it is much more obscure than one would suppose possible.
or against the theories of Messrs. Evans and Keary, — for we now have the advantage of studying a semi-barbarous coinage of precisely the same nature as that which has flourished throughout the East any time these thousand years, side by side with otherwise verifiable historical facts regarding the coiner.

II. HISTORY.

The Phulkian family of chiefs are Siddhu Jats and claim, as is usual in the Pañjáb, among persons of importance, a Rájpút origin: — in this case from Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmer in the twelfth century A.D. The descent from Jaisal through Siddhu, the eponymous founder of this now great clan of the Pañjábí Jats, is legendary in the extreme. However, whatever may have been their origin, the ancestors of the Phulkian house must have been people of much consideration, for in A.D. 1526 the emperor Bābar created the son of Saṅghā, the head of the family, a Chaudhary for services rendered in that year by his father at the battle of Panipat, where he was killed. The headship or chaudharyat thus won was confirmed by the emperor Humayun on Saṅghā’s grandson in A.D. 1554, and a hundred years later we find Saṅghā’s descendant Phūl, the direct founder of the Phulkian house, succeeding his father in the chaudharyat about A.D. 1618, and dying as the great Chaudhari Phūl in 1632. Phūl left six sons — the two eldest of whom we may call the major and the rest the minor sons. From the two major sons, Tilokha and Ramā, spring the present great chiefs of the Siddhu Jats, and from the rest the Jundan Sardars and what are called the Laugdhariā, or “Minor Branch,” Sardars. All are personages of high standing in the Pañjáb. From Tilokha, who succeeded to the chaudharyat, come the Rājas of Nabhā and Jind, and from Ramā the Maharājas of Pañjālā, the Sardars of Bhadaur (absorbed by Pañjālā) and the Malaudd families. At the present day they rank as follows, Pañjālā, Jind, Nabhā, Bhadaur, Malaudd; — but by descent their seniority is Nabhā, Jind, Bhadaur, Pañjālā, Malaudd, while their originally absolute equality is proved by the fact that the village of Bhāl Rupā, founded by Tilokha and Ramā jointly, is still owned in equal shares by all the above chiefs. There are seventeen great Sikh families in all sprung from Chaudhari Phūl, and of these three have become “royal” and have still the right to issue their own coinage. It is with these three, Pañjālā, Jind and Nabhā, that we have now to deal.

At the present day by far the most powerful of these families is that of Pañjālā, and we will take it first into consideration. Ramā, the second son of Phūl as above described, carved out for himself by the sword, after the manner of the time, a small semi-independent territory, and after a turbulent career, was murdered in extreme old age in A.D. 1714. Some 35 years later (A.D. 1729) on the death of his second son, Sabhā, his third son, Ahā Singh, came into possession of Rāma’s residence and petty principality of Hodianā; the eldest son, Dūnā, having obtained another estate, now held by his descendant, the Sardar Atar Singh of Bhadaur. From this small beginning, to which he added certain other little territories won by the sword, Ahā Singh, in the course of a warlike career, before his death in A.D. 1765, had founded Pañjālā Town and State, had been a prisoner of Ahmad Shāh (in 1762), had then been petted by that monarch, receiving from the Afghān the title of Rāja (1762), had next destroyed and annexed the great Muhammadan provincial capital of Sarhand or Sirhind, and had finally been created chief of the whole of his district (chaulkha) by Ahmad Shāh. The right to coin given by Ahmad Shāh to the Phulkian States was therefore clearly given in his time and the coins depicted

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8 Sir Lepel Griffin, Rājas of the Pañjāb, p. 9, gives 21 generations between Saṅghār (ob. 1396) and Jaisal (ob. 1398), which is an apparent impossibility, and at p. 4 there is a legend to account for the birth of Siddhu in “as Rājpūt’s house.”

7 Chief local revenue authority: always chosen from among the local magnates.

8 It is to be observed that in the genealogy above alluded to we again get 6 generations in 100 years between Saṅghār and Phūl, when dates are admitted by the tribe to be vague, and only 8 generations in over 200 years between Chaudhari Phūl and the present Maharājā of Pañjālā, when dates have been accurately recorded.

9 Sarhand is the proper spelling of this word on the coins and in MSS., not “Sirhind” as Mr. Rodger states, J. A. S. B., Part I, Vol. LIV., p. 73.
in figs. 1 and 2 are universally attributed by the local bankers (mahājan, Srāf) to him, his mark being the kalghī, or aigrette plume.10

Ālha Singh was succeeded by his grandson, Amar Singh, after a struggle for the chiefship with his elder half-brother Himmat Singh, the offspring of an irregular marriage, known in the Paṭiala as the karehā, and which is in fact the levirate. This chief reigned till 1751 and was in his turn petted by Ahmad Shāh, during the latter's last irruption into India in 1767, being given the title of Rājā-i-Rājgan Bahādur in addition to that of Rājā already conferred on his grandfather. Like Ālha Singh he was a great soldier, and made Paṭiala the most powerful of the Cis-Satīuj states. He is represented in the coins by fig. 3; his mark being like that of Ālha Singh, the kalghī.11

He was succeeded by Sāhib Singh, his son, then but six years old, who reigned till 1813. This chief, who was more or less a madman, injured his State almost as much as his predecessors had improved it, and although he secured the title of Mahārājā from the Dehli Emperor, Akbar II., in 1810, he left Paṭiala in such a condition that no one respected its authority. His days saw the rise of Raṇjit Singh of Lāhōr, and his court was much concerned in the diplomatic struggles between that great ruler and the British Government, in the course of which it became entirely subservient to the latter. Sāhib Singh's coinage is represented in fig. 4; his mark being the same as his predecessor's.12

Sāhib Singh's successor was his son Karm Singh, who reigned on till 1845, his last act in joining the British against the Lāhōr Government on the outbreak of hostilities doing much towards wiping out the injury done to his State by his wild and imbecile predecessor. He did not, however, live to reap the reward of his loyalty, for he died on 23rd Dec. 1845, the day after the battle of Phārūshah (Ferozeshah). His coin is shown in figs. 5 and 6, the special mark being a saīf or two-handed sword.13

The next chief was Narindar Singh, the son of Karm Singh, who died in 1862, after doing as much for his State as the ablest of his predecessors had done, and whose comparatively loyal action in the Sikh War and whole-hearted loyalty in the Mutiny enlarged its borders to their present extent. His coin is shown in fig. 7 with a spear-head as his special mark.14

Narindar Singh was succeeded by his son, Mahindar Singh, who did nothing remarkable during his 14 years of rule up to his death in 1876. His coin is depicted in fig. 9 with a halberd head for the distinguishing sign.15

Rājindar Singh, the son of Mahindar Singh, is the present Mahārājā of Paṭiala, to whose kindness, through his Minister — for he was a small boy when I procured the collection — the bulk of the Paṭiala coins reproduced in the plate attached to this paper are due. His peculiar sign is the well-known kataṛ or dagger of India. His coin is represented in figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. No 14, a gold coin, was specially struck for me on the occasion of my visit to the Paṭiala mint in 1884. In this connection I should draw attention to a curious coin represented by Mr. Rodgers as fig. 17, Plate II., of his Coins of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, in Vol. LIV., Part I. (1885), of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is reproduced here for reference.

10 But see post, pp. 325, 326.
11 Griffin, op. cit. p. 240, seems to argue that Amar Singh was the first Paṭiala Rājā to use Ahmad Shāh's coins but I hardly think this is likely under the circumstances and it is against the testimony of the local bankers.
12 But see post, pp. 325, 326.
13 But see post, pp. 325, 326.
14 But see post, pp. 325, 326.
15 But see post, pp. 325, 326.
At p. 75, in describing it he calls it “a modern Paśīlā rupee presented to me by the Foreign Minister of the State.” It is, however, doubtful whether any such coin was ever current, as it is much larger and must be very much thinner than the regular Paśīlā rupee. Most likely the Minister had a medal struck for him exhibiting the whole die or nearly all of it. Its chief value is that it gives the whole legend for all practical purposes.18

We have therefore before us, as regards the Paśīlā State, a specimen of the coinage of each ruler that has had the right to coin in his own name, or rather on his own account, and so can trace the coins from generation to generation. These rulers reigned as follows:—

| Rājā Áḷhā Siṅgh A.D. 1729-1765 | 36 years. |
| Rājā Amar Siṅgh 1765-1781 | 16 years. |
| Mahārājā Sāhib Siṅgh 1781-1813 | 32 years. |
| Mahārājā Karm Siṅgh 1813-1845 | 32 years. |
| Mahārājā Narindar Siṅgh 1845-1862 | 17 years. |
| Mahārājā Mahindar Siṅgh 1852-1876 | 14 years. |
| Mahārājā Rājindar Siṅgh 1875 to date | — |

I think the fair inference to be drawn from these coins is that in the 140 years during which they have been issued no material change has taken place in the artistic merit of the die-cutters.

Another interesting result from the study of this set of coins is that, although all of them are modern and many of them quite recent, there is a conflict of competent opinion as to which ruler the various types are to be assigned. This shows how very uncertain and difficult is accurate enquiry into the historical facts connected with semi-barbarous oriental peoples.

Griffin, op. cit. (p. 256, footnote), quoting official documents, says that Amar Siṅgh established the Paśīlā mint and was the first to coin rupees:—“in fact in another place in the Paśīlā Reports Samvat 1820 (A.D. 1763) is mentioned as the year.” But Amar Siṅgh did not succeed till 1765. And though it is quite possible that in minting the first coin, an old coin (i.e. of the year 4) and not a current coin (i.e. of the year 14 or 16) of Áḷhā Siṅgh was taken as the sample, yet the Paśīlā and indeed all the Paśīlā Rupees bear the date 1820 or the year 4, i.e., A.D. 1761. Either date, 1751 or 1763, falls within Áḷhā Siṅgh’s reign. So I agree with the native bankers in saying that Áḷhā Siṅgh initiated the currency.

Again says Griffin:—“Mahārājā Amar Siṅgh’s rupee is distinguished by the representation of a kalghi (small aigrette plume); Mahārājā Sāhib Siṅgh by that of a saif (or two-edged sword); Mahārājā Karm Siṅgh had a shamaḥēr (bent sabre) on his coin; Mahārājā Narindar Siṅgh’s coin had a kaffā (or straight sword) as its distinguishing mark. The present Mahārājā’s rupee is distinguished by a dagger.” At Paśīlā I found that the officials knew very little, but that the bankers knew a great deal, and traditionally knew to whom to assign the various rupees at once. Their statements were that Áḷhā Siṅgh, Amar Siṅgh, Sāhib Siṅgh all used the kalghi, Karm Siṅgh the saif, Narindar Siṅgh a spear-head, Mahindar Siṅgh, (the “present Mahārājā” of Griffin), a halberd-head, and Rājindar Siṅgh, subsequent to the date of Griffin’s book, a dagger. It seems to me to be hardly possible that the bankers could err so soon on such a coinage as that of Mahindar Siṅgh and Narindar Siṅgh when confronted with it, and I have preferred their statements, as given to me direct, to those of the books.

The next set of coins on the plate belongs to the Rājās of Jind, whose history we will now examine. Tilōkha, the eldest son of Puḷ, had two sons, Gurdittā and Sukhoainment, from the former of whom sprang the Rājās of Nābhā and from the latter the Rājās of Jind.

18 Mr. Rodgers gives a hand-drawn illustration, which may not be quite correct. After the word saif and above the word 17 over the obverse is an inexplicable date 19. This might mean A.H. 1272 = A.D. 1856–56, or St. 1872 = A.D. 1851, or Śaka St. 1772 (very unlikely) = A.D. 1824. All are impossible dates for Rājindar Siṅgh, who came to the throne in 1875. Perhaps we should read 20 for 19, taking 19 to be a misreading for the latter portion of 20, which would make the date St. 1892 = A.H. 1922 = A.D. 1866.
Sukhchain died in 1751 without doing anything remarkable, leaving three sons — Alam Singh who died in 1764, Gajpat Singh, the founder of the Jind State, and Bulaki Singh, the founder of the Daulpura family. Alam Singh was a good soldier and took part in the capture of Sarhadd already mentioned, getting a large accession of territory in consequence. But he died childless a year or so afterwards, Gajpat Singh succeeding to his estates. Gajpat Singh was a remarkable man and a prominent figure in those troublous times. Like all the Sikh chiefs of the day he underwent many ups and downs, alternately fighting and serving the feebler Court of Dehli, being sometimes its prisoner, sometimes its petted official, and sometimes its open foe. In 1772 he received the title of Raj from the Emperor Shâh ‘Alam and according to Jind History began to coin as an independent prince in that year. If this be correct — and it would seem to be so — his coinage and that of his State is exceedingly interesting, as showing that he actually borrowed the die in use in the Patiala State in its entirety, although it showed Ahmad Shâh to be suzerain, whereas his own suzerain was Shâh ‘Alam. Ordinarily, of course, if he borrowed a coinage at all it would have been that of Shâh ‘Alam. Gajpat Singh died in 1786 and was succeeded by his son, Bhâg Singh. His coin is shown in fig. 15.

Bhâg Singh was also a prominent ruler and had a long reign, dying in 1819. He was distinguished as being the first Sikh Chief to seek an alliance with the British Government. This was in 1803. He was also the uncle, but hardly the friend, of the great Râjît Singh of Lâhûr, whose mother, the ill-starred Bihâr Raj Kâhwar, was his sister. He did much for his State, though his later years were clouded by illness and family troubles. He is represented by figs. 17 and 18, his coins being peculiar in having the reverse quite blank.

Bhâg Singh was succeeded by his son Path Singh, who had a short and uneventful reign, dying in 1822. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son Saûgat Singh, an extravagant debauchee, who thoroughly misgoverned his State and died childless in 1834. His coin is that shown in fig. 16.

On the death of Saûgat Singh, under Sikh law the state lapsed to its suzerain, the British Government; but after some consideration the collateral heir, Sarup Singh, was allowed to succeed to the major portion of it. A fine and gallant soldier, a just and honest man, a truly loyal vassal of the British Crown, — doing signal service in the Mutiny, — he greatly increased the importance and prestige of his State during his long and prosperous reign. He died in 1864. His coin is represented in fig. 21.

His successor, Râghbir Singh, who died as lately as 1885, was worthy of his illustrious father. It is to him that I owe the two specimens of his coinage given in figs. 19 and 20.

17 As a commentary on the above and on the fact of all the Patiala coins even to the present day purporting to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ahmad Shâh, I may here quote the following remarks regarding the Jâyâpur State coinage, made by me in Patiala Notes and Queries, Vol. II., note No. 698.

"A quantity of gold mohurs of the Jâyâpur Râjâs that lately (1833) passed through my hands, exhibited that numismatic falsification of history which appears to be the rule in the modern coins of the petty States of India.

All the Jâyâpur specimens bore the name of Muhammad Bahâdur Shâh, the last Mughal Emperor of Dehli, dethroned by the English in 1857 A.D., and they exhibited every year of his reign from 1 to 19, and some had in addition the Sâdarpur year clearly legible, it being added in intention to every coin. The dies, as usual, had been larger than the coin, but from the whole collection the legend was legible in full, being the same in each case, except that the coin of the year 1 had "Hafiz" in full, instead of merely the date in figures. It ran thus —

obverse.

reverse.

These dates correspond exactly to facts, for Bahâdur Shâh succeeded in 1837, so that his year 10 is 1847, which is also A.H. 1265. The coin of the year 19 is interesting as being one of the very last coins struck under the Mughal Dynasty. [It afterwards passed into the collection of the late Mr. Gibbes].

These coins then clearly show Bahâdur Shâh as suzerain of the Jâyâpur Râjâs, but such was never the fact. The British Government took over Jâyâpur as suzerain in 1818, vigorously asserting its rights in 1833, when the Rajâ, Mahârâj Sen, in whose time all these coins were struck, came to the throne, and especially interfered in the management of the State until 1857."

Primey's Travels in India, 1864, Part I., pp. 2 to 4, may be usefully read in connection with the above remarks.

PRINCE OF PATIALA TO THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1889.
The coins therefore of the Jind State show those of rulers who reigned as follows:—

Rājā Gajpat Singh, A.D. 1764-1786 .......... 22 years.
Rājā Bhāg Singh .......... 1786-1819 .......... 33 years.
[Rājā Fatḥ Singh] .......... 1819-1822 .......... 3 years.18
Rājā Saṅgat Singh .......... 1822-1834 .......... 12 years.
Rājā Sarāp Singh .......... 1834-1864 .......... 30 years.
Rājā Raghbir Singh .......... 1864-1885 .......... 21 years.
Rājā Ranbir Singh .......... 1885 to date.

I think the same inference may be drawn from this set as from that given of the Mahārájás of Patīlā— that the type has not materially changed throughout 120 years.

We must pass on to the history of the owners of the next set of coins shown in figs. 22 to 26, viz., the Sardārs, or more popularly, the Bhāls of Kaithal. The State is now extinct, and I have not found it possible to refer the individual coins to particular rulers, though distinctions were apparently made between their issues.

The Kaithal family traces its descent direct from the eldest son of Siddhu, whereas the Phūlkiā descent springs from the second son. Its connection with the Phūlkiā Rājās is therefore a very distant one, but it has always been recognized, and a short time before the State lapsed to the British Crown under the Sikh law of inheritance, the Bhāls of Kaithal were most important chiefs;—the last, Bhāl Udai Singh, being received at a Governor General’s Darbār in 1828, as of equal rank with, and senior to, the Rājās of Jind and Nābāh.19 The loss of their State to the family under the operation of the law was directly due to the action of its own representatives; for on the death of Saṅgat Singh of Jind in 1834, as above described, without heirs, a plain opportunity was given by the British Government to the principal Sikh Chiefs to choose between the payment of a fixed tribute, or the existing freedom from payment coupled with the chance of lapses to Government on the failure of direct heirs. The chiefs finally “preferred the easy terms which they enjoyed in the present to a more secure future which involved some present sacrifice.” The result was the almost immediate lapse of a part of Jind and the total lapse of Kaithal within nine years.20 The folly of the decision of the chiefs becomes the more apparent when it is considered that failure of direct heirs has always been a common occurrence in great Sikh families, owing to the intemperance and private vices so frequent, at any rate at that time, among them.

The founder of the Kaithal Chiefship was Bhāl Gurbakhsh Singh, friend and contemporary of Rājā Aḥā Singh of Patīlā (1729-1765). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Bhāl Dēsī Singh, who actually conquered Kaithal town from some Afghan Chiefs in 1767, and afterwards much enlarged his borders. He died in 1781, and was practically succeeded by his second son, Bhāl Lāl Singh, after the latter had murdered the heir, his elder brother, Bhāl Bahāl Singh. An able, utterly untrustworthy, violent and unscrupulous man, he greatly enlarged his estate in those troubled times, and became the most powerful Cis-Satīuj Chief after Patīlā. He died an old man in 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Bhāl Partāb Singh, and then in 1824 by his younger son, Bhāl Udai Singh, a prominent figure in his day, who died childless in 1843. Upon this all but an insignificant part of the State became British territory.21

The Bhāls of Kaithal therefore ruled as follows22:

Bhāl Dēsī Singh, A.D. 1767-1781 ............... 14 years.
Bhāl Bahāl Singh, 1781-1781 ............... —
Bhāl Lāl Singh, 1781-1819 ............... 38 years.
Bhāl Partāb Singh, 1819-1824 ............... 5 years.
Bhāl Udai Singh, 1824-1843 ............... 19 years.

18 No coin of this Rājā has been found. 19 Griffin, op. cit. p. 370 n. 20 Griffin, op. cit. p. 330.
21 Bhāl is the title of a Sikh saint or holy man, and is used as a prefix by his descendants. The Kaithal Chiefs got their title of Bhāl from Bhāl Rāmdālī, the father of Gurbakhsh Singh, a personage of great sanctity in his time.
22 As an instance of the great difficulty of dates when writing of such histories as this, I may say that Ibbetson’s Gazetteer of the Karnal District, pp. 38-40, differs somewhat from Griffin’s Tribes of the Patīlā, pp. 48-49, and that both authors worked on the best original sources of information procurable on the spot.
The coins of these chiefs are very rough but interesting, as showing a falling off in artistic merit from those of the surrounding Rājas. They are all of one type, but the "minor marks" differ considerably.23

We must now turn to the history of the Afghans of Kōṭlā-Mālār, because their coins follow the general type of those of the chiefs already discussed, although, properly speaking, the history of the Phulkiān State of Nabhā should come next.

The history of Kōṭlā-Mālār has been written in a useful little book — A Description of the Principal Kōṭlā Afghans, by Khānsāhib 'Iyāt 'Alī Khān of Mālār-Kōṭlā, (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1882.) The Khānsāhib is the brother of the present Nawāb Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān, and the book was kindly sent to me by him. It is somewhat confused, but we may take it to be the best public information on the subject in existence.

The founder of the Kōṭlā family at Mālār was Shēkh Sadr Jahān, a Sarwānī Afghān, who was a Sūfī saint of much celebrity in his time, and who came into prominence from his connection with Sultān Bahālī Lōdī. This ruler, in fulfillment, it is said, of a vow, gave him a daughter in marriage in 1454 A.D. with, of course, a suitable dowry in the shape of land. After this the Shēkh contracted a second wealthy marriage into the family of a local magnate. He left three sons — Ḥasan, 'Īsā and Muḥāṣar. Ḥasan by the Lōdī princess, and 'Īsā and Muḥāṣar by the local lady. The present Kōṭlā-Mālār family is descended from 'Īsā, the descendants of Ḥasan being nowadays merely the mujawwīs, or attendants at the shrine of Sadr Jahān.

Originally the property acquired by Sadr Jahān was equally divided amongst his sons, and this gave rise to a pernicious custom which was, that every scion of the house got his own share of the State, with full rights, fiscal, judicial and administrative over it, the eldest living member being the Ra's or Chief. The Chief was thus really only primus inter pares, and the State never had much power in consequence. The rule of primogeniture as regards the chiefship was introduced in course of time through the action of the British Government, but the rights of sovereignty were not vested in the Chief alone until quite recently. Much of the revenue of the State is still split up amongst the collaterals of the Chief.

The fifth in descent from Sadr Jahān, Bazīd Khān, was the first to considerably enlarge the family estates, and founded Kōṭlā, near Mālār, in 1657. His grandson, Shēr Muḥāammad Khān, was a prominent general of his time, and in his days began that incessant fight with the Sikhs; under Gurūs Tēgh Bahādur and Gobind Siṅgh, which lasted up to quite modern times and almost wiped out the State of Kōṭlā-Mālār. He did not, however, suffer much himself, and died in 1712, after converting the State into one of some importance. The next Ra's was his son, Ghulām Siyās Khān, a timid man, and on his death his sons were excluded from the chiefship for what was considered to be pusillanimity. His successor was his brother, Jamāl Khān, a great chief in his day and the ancestor of all the present Kōṭlā Afghāns of any importance.

On the death of Jamāl Khān, the principality was split up into five sections among his five sons, of whom the eldest, Bhikhan Khān, became Ra's under the law above explained. He seems to have been a temporizer and to have been a friend of the Sikhs and Āḥmad Shāh Durrānī alternately. From the latter he received the right to coin in his own name, and was killed by the former in 1763. I have no specimen of his coin unfortunately.

Bhikhan Khān left two sons, Wazīr Khān, and Fatḥ Khān, but his brother, Bahādur Khān, succeeded under the local law of seniority. I have no specimens of his coin.

Bahādur Khān also left two sons, Hīmmat Khān and Dālī Khān, but again the chiefship went to the next eldest brother, 'Umri Khān. His coin is shown in figs. 27 and 28, being the best from an artistic point of view of the whole series.

23 See post, pp. 337, 338.
Asadu'llah Khán, the fourth brother, next became Rá'il and lived amicably with his neighbours until his death in 1782. His coin is represented in fig. 29.

'Atáu'llah Khán, the last of the five sons of Jamáil Khán, succeeded him. He lived in troublous times and practicably lost his State to that arch-devourer, Rañjít Siñgh of Lábhór, but it was restored him in part under British protection by Sir David Ochterlony. He died in 1809, leaving three sons, Rañmat 'All Khán, Fażal 'All Khán and Imám 'All Khán, but the family law of seniority made the title of Rá'il revert to Wazír Khán, the eldest son of Bihkan Khán. This was the last time it was applied, for the British Government now stepped in, and no doubt taking advantage of the fact that Wazír Khán happened to be the eldest son of the eldest son directed that the law of primogeniture should apply in future. I have no coin of 'Atáu'llah Khán. Wazír Khán led an uneventful life, dying in 1821. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, Amír Khán, and was the last to bear the title of Rá'il, for the British Government conferred on him the title of Nawáb. He died in 1845 (?). Three specimens of his coins are figured in the plate, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

His son was Máḥbub 'All Khán, better known as Sábé Khán. Like his Sikh neighbours, he was on our side in the Mutiny and died in 1859. His coin is shown in fig. 34.

His son was Sikandar 'All Khán, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite and seems to have spent all his time in quarrelling with his relatives. He was credited with two sons, Ghaus Muḥammad Khán and Roshán 'All Khán, who both died early and so saved the dispute as to legitimacy, which was contemplated, had they outlived their reputed father. He died in 1871, and on his death there was a dispute as to the succession, which was decided in favour of the present ruler, Ibráhím 'All Khán, the eldest surviving descendant of 'Atáu'llah Khán. Advantage was taken of this decision to make the holder of the title of Nawáb, already made hereditary by strict primogeniture, the head of the State in every way, instead of allowing his collaterals to exercise independent powers within their own shares of the family possessions.

Fig. 35 represents the coin of Sikandar 'All Khán, and figs. 35 and 36 that of Ibráhím 'All Khán.

The following table may help to explain the complicated succession of Rá'ises and Nawábs of Kótá-Málér:—

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<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ra’ís Bazíd Khán</td>
<td>Ra’ís Firúz Khán</td>
<td>Ra’ís Shahr Muḥammad Khán</td>
<td>Ra’ís Ghulám Hussain Khán</td>
<td>Ra’ís Jamál Khán</td>
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The figures in brackets show the order of succession to the chieftships.
As regards the coins of these chiefs they extend over the following reigns:—

[Ra'is Bhikan Khân A.D. 1761-1763 reigned 2 years.] 25
[Ra'is Bahâdur Khân 1763-1768 " 5 years.] 25
Ra'is 'Umr Khân 1768-1778 " 10 years.
Ra'is Asadu'llah Khân 1778-1782 " 4 years.
[Ra'is 'Atân'u'llah Khân 1782-1809 " 27 years.] 25
[Ra'is Wazîr Khân 1809-1821 " 12 years.]
Nawâb Amîr Khân 1821-1845 " 24 years.
Nawâb Sâbî Khân 1845-1859 " 14 years.
Nawâb Sâkandar 'All Khân 1859-1871 " 12 years.
Nawâb Ibrâhîm 'All Khân 1871 to present time.

We have no coins of the chiefs before 'Umr Khân; but from his time to the present, about 100 years, we find no great difference in type, except that his coin, i.e. the oldest coin, is the best cut of all.

We must now turn to the last set of coins on the plate, those of the Râjas of Nâbha. As above explained these chiefs sprang from Gurûditâ, the eldest son of Tîlkhâ, the eldest son of Phûl. He founded Sangûr, long the headquarters of the Nâbha State, but now included in Jînd. He died in 1754, his estates passing to his grandson, Hamîr Singh, who was a brave and energetic chief, and practically the founder of the Nâbha State.

Hamîr Singh established a mint, how is not exactly known, and became independent. He died in 1763, and was succeeded by his son, Jaswant Singh, then a boy. I have unfortunately no specimens of his coin.

Jaswant Singh ruled all through the troubled days of Raâtît Singh of Lâhor, during which he managed to uphold the honour of his State. He obtained the title of Râjâ by patent from the Court of Dehli. Grasping and unscrupulous as regards rival potentates, he was a good administrator and ruled his State well. He died in 1840, and throughout his career was a firm friend of the English Government. Figures 37, 38, 39, and 40 represent his coinage.

He was succeeded by his son, Dêvîndar Singh, a vain, foolish, and arrogant prince, whose unfriendly conduct during the Sikh war of 1845-6 ended in his deposition by the British Government in the latter year, and the confiscation of one-fourth of his territory. He was succeeded in that year by his son, Bharpûr Singh, then seven years old, but lived on at Mathurâ and Lâhor as a state prisoner till 1865. I have no specimen of his coin.

Bharpûr Singh attained his majority in the year of the Mutiny, when he greatly assisted the English with men and money in every way, and reaped his reward in an accession of territory and the right of adoption. He was an intelligent and earnest prince, and was moreover a good vernacular and English scholar, a rare accomplishment for a Sikh prince in his days. He died in 1863 without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhagwân Singh. His coinage is represented by figs. 41, 42, 43, and 44 Plate II.

Bhagwân Singh commenced his reign under circumstances of great domestic trouble, which led to a commission of enquiry being ordered by the Government of India; but he came out of the ordeal without loss of dignity or character, and ended his days in peace in 1871. I have no specimen of his coins. He was succeeded by his son, Hîrâ Singh, whose coins are represented in figs. 45 and 46. It is to his personal kindness and interest in such matters that I was enabled to obtain the specimen of the Nâbha coinage now published.

The coins of the Nâbha State therefore extend over the reigns of all the chiefs of that State, thus:—

[Sârdâr Hamîr Singh 1754-1783 reigned 29 years.] 26
Râj Jaswant Singh 1783-1840 " 57 years.
[Râjâ Dêvîndar Singh 1840-1845 " 6 years.] 26
Râjâ Bharpûr Singh 1846-1863 " 19 years.
[Râjâ Bhagwân Singh 1863-1871 " 8 years.] 26
Râjâ Hîrâ Singh 1871 to date

25 I have no coins of the chiefs whose names are in brackets. 26 I have no specimens of the coins of these rulers.
The Nabha coins are remarkable for an attempt to vary the stereotyped form of the coinage of these Panjâb chiefs, but it will be observed that originality has not gone beyond imitating the legend of the overshadowing State of Lâhûr. In one instance (No. 40) the year of the reign has dropped out to make way for the date of the era in use. The Nabha legend runs thus:

**Obverse**

![Arabic text]

**Reverse**

Obliers, who had never seen the coins, and writing from information, says, p. 288, footnote, that the words should be سرکار ناپر, but the coins themselves have obviously on them what is above given. The above is the ordinary Sikh or Nanakshahi legend, and the change in legend seems to take place with the reign of Bharpur Singh; but as there are no specimens of Dévindar Singh it is not possible to say whether the change should be ascribed to the Sikh fanaticism of Dévindar Singh or to the scholastic tendencies of Bharpur Singh. There is no appreciable change otherwise in type to be observed in these coins between the earlier and the later specimens.

Some reference should here be made to the coinage, real or mythical, of the Kapurthala State. This state was founded by Jassâ Singh Ahlâwâlî (1713-1733 A.D.) one of the most prominent Sikh chieftains of his day. He is said to have struck a coin, a story widely spread all over the Panjâb, with the following extraordinary legend:

![Arabic text]

Griffin, in his Râjas of the Panjâb, p. 460, note 2, remarks that the coin could not have been struck before 1762, (whereas Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, makes out they were struck in 1757-8,) that he had never seen one himself, and that the Râja of Kapurthala did not possess one. He then goes on to say:— "The Tawâūkhi-i-Panjâb of Ganâs Dâs states that the Sikhs did not strike the coin, but that the Qâzî and Mulas in 1764, after the famous Nanakshahi [Lâhûr] rupee had been struck, desiring to anger Ahmad Shah against the Sikhs, coined twenty rupees with this inscription themselves and sent them to the Shâh at Kabûl, who was as indignant as they anticipated at the insolence of the Distiller, (âlîkû,) who claimed to have seized his country, mulk-i-Ahmad! The title or term Jassâ Kalâl is an allusion to the humble origin of the Ahlâwâlî family. Cunningham, p. 97, 2nd ed. quotes Browne, Tracts, ii. 19; Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 28 [wrongly, should be p. 95]; Elphinstone, Cabul, ii. 289; and Murray, Runjot Singh, p. 15; and he no doubt took his information direct from Malcolm. Mr. Rodgers, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, part I., 1831, pp. 77-8, gives the couplet and makes the remark that he has never been able to find the coin. I may add that I have frequently made similar attempts myself without success. It seems that the Kapurthala Râjâs never had a coinage otherwise.

Among the more notorious Indian adventurers towards the end of the last century was the whilom sea man, George Thomas, Râja of Hânîst. The authority on the subject of his exploits is the Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, by William Francklin; they have been dealt with in more or less detail by several writers. Thomas originally came to India in

27 مزَمَن is a mock Arabicism for مَزَمْمَن, a pot, cauldron, and refers to the laqâq or public kitchen then kept up by every Sikh Chief.

28 Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, who by extraordinary talent and enterprise, rose from an obscure situation to the rank of a general; in the service of the Native powers in the North-West of India—Through the work are interspersed geographical and statistical accounts of several of the states composing the interior of the Peninsula, especially the countries of Jypoor, Jodhpour, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajputane, the Seiks of Panjâb, the territory of Bokhaner and the country adjoining the great desert to the westward of Hurrainabh. Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas's original documents. By William Francklin, Captain of Infantry, Member of the Asiatic Society; Author of a tour to Peru; and the History of Shah Aulam, Movers, populos a praecis dicam: Calcutta; Printed for the author at the Hurkaru Press, A.D. 1808; entered at Stationer's Hall.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [November, 1889.

a man-of-war in 1781-2, and entered the service of various chiefs in Southern India, and by 1787 had found his way into the far North-West to the Court of the Bôgam Samrû at Sardhana, whose service he entered. This he quitted in 1792, for that of Āpâ Khaṅḍâ Bûv, with which Marâthâ chief he quarrelled in 1795. He was now a personage of importance in possession of a jâgâr granted by his late chief and was able to help Bêgam Samrû when in distress. Upon Āpâ Khaṅḍâ Bûv’s suicide in 1797, Thomas seems to have been on uniformly bad terms with his successors, and spent most of his time in defending his jâgâr from their attacks. In 1798, taking advantage of the troubles of the times, he appears to have given up the lands he held from the Marâthâs, and to have seized the district round Hisâr and Hânst, known as Hariânâ. The latter town he made his capital and established himself as Râjâ thereof. His territory, according to Francklin, comprised 263 villages and paid a revenue of about Rs. 3,00,000. Again, putting into Francklin, p. 93, to quote the remarkable words he has put into Thomas’s mouth, “here, says Mr. Thomas (with that energy and spirited animation which distinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life), ‘here I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country, etc.’” After establishing himself at Hânst, the rest of Thomas’s life, like that of the neighbouring chiefs, was one of perpetual war: in his case, against the Marâthâs and the Sikhs, as represented chiefly by the chiefs of Patîlâl, Nâbhâ and Jînd. In his case also, it ended in a general combination against him, his flight into British Territory and his death at Berhampore (Bahâmpûr) in 1802.

The Târikh Makhzan Paʃdâb of Mufti Ghulâm Sarwar Qurâshî of Lâhêr, published by Nawal Kishôr at Lucknow in 1877, repeats the assertion about the coinage of George Thomas, in its account of him, pp. 22-23. The actual words at the bottom of p. 23 are: “after completing his administrative arrangements Mr. Thomas issued coins in his own name.” Thomas, it is true, ruled only for a very short time, and all trace of his coins may have been lost; but, if issued in any quantity, this seems hardly possible. He built a fort, due east of, and not far from, Dehî, which he named after himself George-garh, but which is now known as Jahângarh, just as he is known as Jahân Sâhib, apparently in conscious recollection of his origin, for says the Târikh Makhzan Paʃdâb:

In his territory also were the towns of Hisâr, Bhawânî, Fatâbâd, Jînd and Tahânâ. In some of these places therefore there may be coins belonging to him lurking in money-changers boxes. It is worth while searching. I have never myself been able to make a personal search for Thomas’s coin, nor have I ever heard of any one who has possessed or seen one, though I have frequently enquired in likely directions.

III. MINOR MARKS.30

It will have been observed already that the only method of distinguishing the coin of one chief from another’s is by the special mark each ruler puts upon those issued in his time. Thus, Aîlî Singh of Paṭîlâl had a kâlighâ, Karm Singh a two-handed sword, Narûndar Singh a spear head, and so on. Again, the Malêr-Kûlâ Nawâbs used the initials of their names as their distinguishing marks. But there is another possible method of separating out the coins of the rulers in cases like the coinage under consideration. Each would start a new die as he succeeded, which die would have to differ in some respects from that of his predecessors, and hence it might be possible to detect each ruler’s coins by the minor marks and ornaments on it. These would then become important as the chief, and in many cases the only, method of

30 The importance of noting these on Indian coins was pointed out by Prinsep more than 50 years ago, but seems to have been lost sight of by numismatists. See his remarks, Useful Tables, Part I, pp. 55, 56 and 53 to 56; and Plate III.
identifying the coins. In the following detailed description I have therefore very carefully considered the minor marks on the 46 coins of the plates. The result shows that the minor marks are a good, though not complete, indication of the ownership of a particular coin, because some rulers used more than one die and the moneys were not always careful to preserve the ornaments intact in duplicating the die. E.g., the two coins of Alhâ Şiâgh of Paštialâ (figs. 1 and 2) are from different dies, and exhibit different marks. The same remark holds good of the two specimens (figs. 19 and 20) of coins of Bâghbul Şiâgh of Jind, of 'Umr Khân of Mâlêr-Kotâla (figs. 27 and 28) and of Ibrahim 'Alî Khân of Mâlêr-Kotâla (figs. 35 and 36). Again, as to the coins of Nabhâ, which are dated and thus distinguished, of the four specimens of Jasmânt Şiâgh of Nabhâ (figs. 37, 38, 39, 40), all are of different dies and have different minor marks; while the four specimens of Bhârupûr Şiâgh of Nabhâ (figs. 41, 42, 43, 44) are from three dies, each die differing in its marks. On the other hand, Râjindar Şiâgh of Paštialâ has apparently only used one die (figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), Bhâg Şiâgh of Jind two dies without alteration of marks (figs. 17 and 18), as have also Karm Şiâgh of Paštialâ (figs. 5 and 6), Amîr Khân of Mâlêr-Kotâla (figs. 30, 31, and 32), and Hirâ Şiâgh of Nabhâ (figs. 45 and 46). And in all the cases of single specimens, the dies and marks are both peculiar to each ruler; e.g., Narindar Şiâgh and Mahândar Şiâgh of Paštialâ; Gajpât Şiâgh, Sâhghat Şiâgh, and Sâdû Şiâgh of Jind; Sîkundar 'Alî Khân and Sûbê Khân of Mâlêr-Kotâla.

A complication in using the minor marks for the purposes of identification is caused by the fact that successive rulers, such as Amîr Şiâgh and Sâlîb Şiâgh of Paštialâ, have used apparently the same die (figs. 3 and 4), and that the coin of Asâ'ûlî Khân differs from that of his successor Amîr Khân of Mâlêr-Kotâla only in the form of the distinguishing initial letter j.

The coins of Kaithal are too crude to help us much here: but figs. 23 and 24 seem to be from the same die; while figs. 23, 25, and 26 have all distinctive marks, are struck from different dies, and belonged (?) to separate chiefs of that line. Indeed, one is almost tempted to asport the coins respectively to Bhâl Dîsâ Şiâgh, Bhâl Lâl Şiâgh, Bhâl Partâb Şiâgh, and Bhâl Uûâ Şiâgh.

IV. METHOD OF MINTING.

Griffin, Râjds of the Pañjhâb, in a long footnote extending over pages 286-289, gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Pañjhâb for the Cis-Satiâl States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and, indeed, with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years. Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

General Taylor asked the authorities at Paštialâ, Jind, and Nabhâ, six questions, viz. —

1. The political condition of the coinage.
2. The nature, title, and character of the coinage.
3. The annual output of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.
4. The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artisans employed.
5. The arrangements for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.
6. The extent of the currency.

20 Figs. 43 and 44 have been struck from the same die.
21 Figs. 31 and 32 are from the same die.
Paṭiālā, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Paṭiālā very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindôn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that the Paṭiālā rupees are called Rajashāhī, the Jind rupees Jindīā, and the Nābhā rupees simply Nābhā.

Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Paṭiālā rupee weighs 11½ maśhas of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jind rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 anās (½ rupee). The Nābhā rupee is also of the same weight, and is valued at 15 anās (¼ rupee).

The Paṭiālā mohar is a valuable coin, being 10½ maśhas of pure gold. Jind does not coin gold, but the Nābhā Government sometimes strikes a mohar of 9½ maśhas of pure gold.

In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneymen only work when "necessity drives." In Jind and Nābhā, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

Jind apparently keeps up no establishment for its mint, but Paṭiālā and Nābhā do so. The Paṭiālā establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneymen, four refiners and one engraver. The Nābhā establishment is on a still smaller scale, viz., one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

Jind has never received bullion for coining, but Paṭiālā receives both silver and gold, and Nābhā silver. For silver Paṭiālā charges the public 1½ per cent. and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or 1½ per cent. Nābhā charges less, only ¾ per cent. for coining silver.

Jind rupees are current only within the State, but the Paṭiālā coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nābhā coins find their way outside the State.

The Mālèr-Kōṭlā mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of the Kōṭlā rupee. Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 anās (½ rupee).32

It is also very interesting to watch the steady depreciation in weight of the coins of the successive chiefs of Mālèr-Kōṭlā in connection with the general theory of the evolution of coins.

Thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Weight of Coin</th>
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<tr>
<td>'Umr Khān, 1768-78</td>
<td>9 maśhas 4 rattis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amir Khān, 1821-45</td>
<td>9 &quot; 2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maḥbūb 'Alî (Sāhê) Khān, 1845-1859</td>
<td>8 &quot; 4 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sikandar 'Alî Khān, 1859-1871</td>
<td>8 &quot; 2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim 'Alî Khān, 1871 to date</td>
<td>8 &quot; 1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No wonder the Khāûsāhīb 'Inâyat 'Alî Khān in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kōṭlā mint!

The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago to be escorted over the Paṭiālā Mint, and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

The Mint is an ordinary Paṭjâbî Court-yard, about 20 feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the "rooms" of a sârâī, are the workshops.

32 Principal Kōṭlā Afghān, p. 19, footnote.
The method of coining in this very primitive "Mint" is as follows:—

The silver after being assayed is cast into small bars (रेत) by being run into grooved iron moulds. The melting is done in the courtyard in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for each occasion. The thickness of the bars is about the diameter of the rupees (vide the plate attached), and when cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel by guess work into small weights, (गोल्टड़), and weighed in small balances as accurately as hand-weighing will permit. These गोल्टड़ are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (मटलिस) and again weighed by hand and corrected by small additions of silver hammered in cold, or by scraping. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weigher (वासंकाश) who finally weighs it by hand and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being put between two iron dies placed in a strong wooden frame. The lower die (reverse) is called पान and the upper (obverse) बैला. These dies are very much larger than the coins, so that only a portion of the legend can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin. The only thing they look to is to try and make the particular mark of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed it does not matter much.

Sir Richard Temple mentions in his diary kept in Kashmir, that in 183824 he visited the mint at Srinagar, and this is what he saw: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahārājā's mint on the banks of the Nahri Mār. The building and the whole workshop are very rude. The process of coining was as follows:—The silver and the alloy of base metal was first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die! Thus was a rupee worth about 10 अंडास (¼ rupee) of the East India Company's money produced!"

V. DETAILED DESCRIPTION.

Pātiāla.25

No. 1.—Coin of Ālha Siṅgh : ex coll. R. C. T.26
Obverse:—Legend
Marks:—$ over and $ over.

Reverse:—Legend
[फर [जाओ [वो [मिन्ड] [सानो]]
Marks:—$ after स in ह and $ between the and the स.

No. 2.—Coin of Ālha Siṅgh : ex coll. B. M.27
Obverse:—Legend, badly cut
[पाक [बादश [ह [कम] आज [ो]]
Marks:—$ over फ्र between फ्र and फ्र after फ्र in पाक [बादश, What read like स are really not figures, but the apparent ɾ is the tail of अिन, as can be abundantly seen throughout the coins and the ɾ is part of the ornament.

Reverse:—Legend
[फर [जाओ [वो [मिन्ड] [सानो]]
Marks:—$ after the स of ह, being the kāligh or full sign of Ālha Siṅgh, and $ over the $; part of the border also appears in this coin.

23 See Pātiāla Notes and Queries, Vol. II. note 188.
24 Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal, Vol. II. pp. 75-76.
25 Only the words actually visible on the coins are given. The letters of these words which are not actually visible owing to rubbing or cutting off are shown in brackets. All the coins are silver unless otherwise specially stated.
26 That is ex coll. R. C. Temple.
27 That is ex coll. British Museum. These coins are added to the plates to complete the evidence available.
No. 3.—Coin of Amar Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

Marks:—Obscure.

Reverse:—Legend

Marks:—Apparently the same as those of Álhá Singh, but coin recognized without hesitation as that of Amar Singh by local dealers.

No. 4.—Coin of Sáhib Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

Marks:—p over 

Reverse:—Legend; same letters visible as on the preceding coin.

Marks:—The same as on the preceding coin; but coin recognized by dealers as Sáhib Singh's.

It would seem therefore that the first three Pátiálá Rájáás did not vary their coins.

No. 5.—Coin of Karm Singh: ex coll. B. M.

Obverse:—Legend

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

Marks:—between the and and the of and a fine two-handed sword (saif) after the , being the full sign of Karm Singh.

No. 6.—Coin of Karm Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend: same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend. Same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks:—The same also, but the sword is not nearly so well cut.

No. 7.—Coin of Narindar Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

Marks:—p over 

Reverse:—Legend

Marks:—after the p and before it and between the and the of . It is to be observed that these particular marks do not thenceforward change. There is also after the of a spear-head—the full sign of Narindar Singh.

No. 8.—Coin of Rájindar Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

This coin has got into the wrong order in the plate and will be considered below with Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

No. 9.—Coin of Mahindar Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend, unfortunately much rubbed but still visible:

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

Marks:—In addition to those in No. 7 after the of and oo over it; or halberd-head—the full sign of Mahindar Singh.
Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.—All coins of Rājindar Sīṅgh: ex coll. R. C. T.

No. 14 is gold. The marks on the reverses of these coins are those on No. 7 as above noted, and the full sign of Rājindar Sīṅgh comes out very clearly. It is the short dagger well known in India as the kafār. There is also under the cross a large har of the script. These specimens are chiefly useful in helping us to read the full legend. The mint mark Sarhand (commonly known as Sirhind) comes out on No. 10. Just as No. 9 shows where the word is now divided, the first line of the couplet comes out very clearly, so No. 10 shows the remainder of this line indicated.

Jind.

No. 15.—Coin of Gajpat Sīṅgh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse: Legend roughly cut


Marks: — None.

Reverse: — Legend

| سند | ضت | ب | [میں] | ت |

Marks: Not clear, but may be in name ; over and ; also over the of the word.

No. 16.—Coin of Saṅgat Sīṅgh: ex coll. B. M.

Obverse: — Legend roughly cut

| مک | دس | چکم | [ک]ز ورس | [ک]م |

Marks: — None.

Reverse: — Legend clearer

| مک | دس | چکم | [میں] | نون |

Marks: — over the of the word ; before ; inside of the word.

Nos. 17 and 18.—Coins of Bhāg Sīṅgh: No. 17, ex coll. R. C. T., No. 18 ex coll. B. M.

Obverse: — same Legend visible on both

| پاہم | د | نا | [ک]ز [ک]م |

Marks: — The tail of the very plain between the and of the word.

Reverse: — Blank.

Nos. 19 and 20.—Coins of Raghbir Sīṅgh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Legends well cut and clear, though coins are rubbed, and useful for completing couplets. On No. 19 comes out quite clearly, as also does the of the word, not usually visible on these coins. On both sides of the is clear, as also is the word which is not usually found in full.

No. 21.—Coin of Sarūp Sīṅgh: ex coll. B. M.

Obverse: — Legend

| حکم چند آز [پاہم] دس | چکم | [ک]ز ورس [ک]م |

Marks: — above

Reverse: — Legend

| مک | دس | چکم | [میں] | نون |

Marks: — over the of the word.

Kaiṭhāl.

No. 22. Coin of the Sardār of Kaiṭhāl: ex coll. B. M.

Obverse: — Legend

| پاہم | د | نا | [ک]م |

Marks: — None.

Reverse: — Legend

| ت | میں | نون |

Marks: — None.

No. 23. Coin of the Sardār of Kaiṭhāl: ex coll. B. M.

Obverse: — Legend, very rough.

| پاہم | د | نا | [ک]م |

Marks: — Obscure.

The coins of these Rājās are unfortunately not given in the order of reigns, which really occurred as follows,

—Gajpat, Bhāg, Path (no specimen), Saṅgat, Sarūp, Raghbir.
No. 24. — Coin of the Sardar of Kaethal; ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse: — Legend, rough but better than the two preceding.

Marks: — None.

No. 25. — Coin of the Sardar of Kaethal; ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse: — Legend, badly cut and worn

Marks: — None, but the mark I is apparently meant for the tail of the m of Kaethal.

No. 26. — Coin of the Sardar of Kaethal; ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse: — Legend

Marks: — None.

Kotla-Malor.

No. 27. — Coin of Umr Khan; ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse: — Legend, finely cut

Marks: — Numerous and peculiar to this coin: 8 over; 8 under it; ☀ under it; ☀ after m. 

Reverse: — Legend

Marks: — ☀ after the m of of; ☀ between the I and m of this word; and over ☀ and over it the same mark. In the m of Kotla instead of ☀ we have the letter ☀ as his sign. All the Kotla-Malor coins have such an initial as a distinguishing mark. The omission of the ☀ in this place is very rare in these series. About ☀ are ☀ and ☀ as marks.

No. 28. — Coin of Umr Khan; ex coll. B. M.

Identical with the preceding specimen, except that the rare words تابع on these coins are indicated on the obverse, and ☀ is obviously used as an ornament in the m of Malor on the reverse.

No. 29. — Coin of Asadullah Khan; ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse: — Legend

Marks: — ☀ over m.

Reverse: — Legend

Marks: — ☀ between m and m in the same word; ☀ over ☀ in the same word; indications of the same flower ornament as in No. 27 and of a trefoil ornament in the m of Malor. The distinguishing sign of this ruler is a straight I after the ☀ in the m of Malor.
COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.
Full size.
COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

Full size.
Nos. 30, 31 and 32.—Coins of Amir Khân: Nos. 30 and 31 ex. coll. R. C. T.; No. 32 ex. coll. B. M.

These coins are practically the same as No. 29, except that the alif standing for the initial of یسر is a curved one, whereas that standing for the initial of یسر is straight. No. 32 is a rough, worn specimen.

No. 33.—Coin of Sikandar 'Ali Khân: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse: — Legend
Marks: — ٠ after احمد.
Reverse: — Legend
Marks: — ٠ (being a clear kalghi or crest) after the م of جلوس; and within the س of that word the letter س as the initial of مسند over ٠.

No. 34.—Coin of Sâbê Khân, alias Maḥbûb 'Ali Khân: ex. coll. R. C. T.
Obverse: — Legend
Marks: — ٠ after احمد.
Reverse: — Legend
Marks: — Same as on the preceding, but in س of جلوس the letter م as the initial of مسند under it. There are signs also of ٠ under the ب of مسند.

Nos. 35 and 36. Coins of Ibrahim Khân: ex. coll. R. C. T.

Two separate types: No. 35 is a fine coin with, on the obverse, ٠ over the ی of پادشاه and ٠ over the ی of پادشاه. The marks on the reverse are remarkable: ٠ after the س of جلوس and ٠ within it, and ٠ over it. The ornaments are clear in both coins. The kalghi here, it will be observed, turned into a flower.

In No. 36 there is a clear return to the kalghi and the ornaments of Nos. 33 and 34, the mark — peculiar to the top of the kalghi being visible after the س of جلوس on the reverse. There are however ٠ within the س and ٠ over it, as in the last coin. On the obverse the elaborate ornament over the ی of پادشاه turns into a simple ٠.

Nâbha.

No. 37.—Coin of Jaswant Siṅgh: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse: — Legend
Marks: — None.
Reverse: — Legend
Marks: — ٠ rude kalghi, the mark of Jaswant Siṅgh; ٠ is for ٠٠٨٣, i.e., St. 1883 = A. D. 1826.

No. 38.—Coin of Jaswant Siṅgh: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse: — Legend
Marks: — ٠ before پادشاه.

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38 Those No. 23 and 34 have become reversed on the plate unfortunately. Sâbê (or Maḥbûb 'Ali) Khân preceded Sikandar 'Ali Khân.
46 The coins of this State in the plate are not according to date of striking, the order of which is 33 (probably), 39, 37, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46.
Reverse:—
Marks:—ϕ over ω, in जोलिस; व, and व between व, and व; signs after kalghi of स. No Hindu date on this coin, but I think it is undoubtedly Jaswant Singh's, because of his mark thereon, assuming that the local dealers in Pašīlā were right in assuring me that it is a Nābha coin.

No. 39.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: ex coll. B. M.
Obverse:—Legend (badly preserved) [भक्ति श्रद्धा के देवी से देरे लोगों के ज्ञान]
Marks:—अ भक्ति श्रद्धा के देवी से देरे लोगों के ज्ञान
Reverse:—Legend
Marks:—Part of the marginal ornament visible:—A kalghi partly visible; व after the व of जोलिस; व after the व of मानोस; व, partly visible within it. व is for व, i.e., St. 1877 = A. D. 1820.

No. 40.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse:—Legend
Marks:—None.
Reverse:—Legend
Marks:—अ भक्ति श्रद्धा के देवी से देरे लोगों के ज्ञान
This coin is of a type differing from the rest in having no अ as the date of the जोलिस.

No. 41.—Coin of Bhāpur Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse:—Legend, now peculiar to Nābha as dropping the familiar legend of Ahmad Shāh, and adopting the equally familiar Sikh legend.
Marks:—9व over जोलिस; giving date St. 1917 = 1860 A. D.
Reverse:—Legend
Marks:—The दो leaf of the Sikh coins is evidently the mark of Bhāpur Singh.

No. 42.—Coin of Bhāpur Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse:—Legend
Marks:—below the व of मानोस व and व above it; 9व over जोलिस; giving date St. 1907 = 1850 A. D.
Reverse:—Legend
Marks:—Same as in preceding coin, and व added over व; 9व over the व of मानोस; between the व and between the two व of नायिका.

No. 43.—Coin of Bhāpur Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.
Obverse:—Legend
Marks:—9व over जोलिस; giving a date between St. 1911 and 1919 or between A. D. 1863 and 1862.
Reverse:—Legend
Marks:—Same as on No. 41; but व after the व in the व of जोलिस.

No. 44.—Coin of Bhāpur Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

is an interesting word as being a false Arabicism rhyming to following. The word is really a cauldron. The verse means "the pot, the sword, the victory, the conquest," corresponding to the purse," for with the old Pašīlā Chiefs he could fill the stomachs of his followers was sure to obtain many.
THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM UDAPUR IN GWALIOR.

BY PROFESSOR P. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings placed at my disposal, together with others, by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by General Sir A. Cunningham. The originals are at Udaypur, a town now belonging to the State of Gwalior, and once forming part of the kingdom of Malwa; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 52, Lat. 23° 54' N., Long 78° 7' E. The inscriptions A. and C. are important, chiefly because they show that the Chaulukya rulers of Anhilwād do not vainly boast when in their inscriptions they claim to have repeatedly defeated the kings of Malwa. And the inscription B. is of some interest, both for its date and because it contains the name of one of the districts which is mentioned in the inscription C. I may add here that there is another inscription at Udaypur, which in line 3 professes to have been recorded during the reign of victory of Jayasimha, the predecessor of the king Kumārapālaḍāva who is mentioned in the inscription A., but that the condition of the rubbing renders its publication at present impossible. According to a statement in pencil which is on the rubbing, this last inscription is outside the entrance of the great temple of the town; it contains 12 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 8" broad by 1' 5" high.

A.—Stone Inscription of Kumārapālaḍāva.

(The Vikrama year 1220 ?)

This inscription is stated to be inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of 20 lines; and the writing covers a space of about 1' broad by 1'11" high. But the inscription is incomplete now; for, at the beginning of each line we miss from about eight to ten akṣaras, which may have covered a space of about eight inches broad, all the way down, on the proper right of the actually preserved writing. The size of the letters is between 1" and 1½". The characters are Nāgāri, and the language is Sanskrit; and, judging from what

3 Regarding the word Trīkāhasananda, spoken of ante, Vol. VI. p. 186, I would point out that it is a MS. which was written during the reign of Jayasimha. Trīkāhasananda is a name applied to Jayasimha himself. See my Report for 1888-89, p. 20, No. 41. Compare also Archaeol. Survey of Western India, No. 2, p. xiii., No. 36, line 2.
remains, the whole inscription was in prose throughout. The writing appears on the whole to be well preserved; but, the rubbing of the lower part being in some places very indistinct, and the inscription being incomplete, all I can say about the specific purpose for which it was put up is, that the inscription was intended to record certain donations in favour of the temple of the god Udālakāra at the town of Udayapura, by a personage whose name appears to be Vasantapāla, and who belonged to a family the name of which is given in line 9, but which I am unable to make out with certainty.

The historically important portion of the inscription is contained in lines 1-3, from which we learn that the above-mentioned donations were made during the reign of the (Chalukya) king Kumārapāla of Aṇa[hilapāta], the vanquisher of the king of Śakumbhār and of the lord of Avantī (i.e. the ruler of Mālava), while Yaskhāvāli was prime-minister, and when a certain Rājya[pāla ?], who is described as maha-sūkha[ka]4 and who had been appointed by Kumārapāla, was governing Udayapura. For this statement proves beyond doubt that, when the donations were made, the town of Udayapura, probably together with the surrounding districts, formed part of the kingdom of Ahilāvād.

The date of the inscription was fully the commencement of line 1, but all that remains of it now, is the aksaras sha-sudi 15 Gura, i.e. 'on the 1st of the bright half of a month the name of which must end with the syllable sha (or possibly kha), on a Thursday.' Nevertheless, the statement contained in line 11, that the donations were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, enables us to calculate the date and to supply the missing portion of it at the commencement of line 1, in my opinion, with absolute certainty.

From the inscription C. below we learn that Kumārapāla had ceased to rule in April, A.D. 1173; and from other sources5 we know that he had ascended the throne about A.D. 1143-44. In an attempt to settle the proper date of our inscription, we must then first find out what lunar eclipses from about the beginning of A.D. 1141 to April 1173 fell on a Thursday, and what dates of the Hindu calendar corresponded to the particular Thursdays so found. The result of our proceeding in this manner is as follows:—

There were lunar eclipses on Thursday,—

the 12th February, A.D. 1142, = Phārguna-sudi 15;
the 16th June, A.D. 1155, = Ashātha-sudi 15;
the 9th October, A.D. 1158, = śrīvina-sudi 15;
the 18th August, A.D. 1160, = Bhādrapada-sudi 15;
the 1st February, A.D. 1162, = Māgha-sudi 15;
the 13th December, A.D. 1163, = Vikrama 1220 expired, Pausha-sudi 15;
the 27th May, A.D. 1165, = Jyaishtha-sudi 15;
the 6th April, A.D. 1167, = Chaitra-sudi 15;
the 19th September, A.D. 1168, = śrīvina-sudi 15;
the 13th January, A.D. 1173, = Māgha-sudi 15.

From this statement it appears that during the whole reign of Kumārapāla there was no lunar eclipse on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with kha; and during the same period there was only one lunar eclipse, that of the 12th December, A.D. 1163, on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with sha. Accordingly, Thursday,7 the 12th December, A.D. 1163, = Pausha-sudi 15 of Vikrama 1220 expired, must be the date of our inscription, and the full date at the commencement of line 1 must have been Sālvat

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4 The name of this deity, Udalakāra-ūkha, occurs in several other inscriptions at Udayapura; and we also find it in line 3 of an inscription from Bāndhāvāra, in Arkeol. Surv. of Western India, No. 2, page xiii., No. 33. Sṛt-Udāla occurs in Arkeol. Surv. of Western India, Vol. II., p. 218. We may perhaps compare Udalakārya, which in the Pārāśara-grihyasūtra occurs as the name of a goddess of agriculture.
5 This title occurs in the grant of Vaiṣṇavīrāja of Dārā, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 166, l. 9.
6 See e.g. ante, Vol. VI. p. 213.
7 According to von Oppolzer’s Canon der Finsternisse the eclipse (a partial one) would have taken place, at Ujjain, 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. And by Professor Jacoby’s Tables the full-moon ninth ended 15 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.
1220 varshé Paasha-sudi 15 Gurau. And I may point out that this result is in perfect accord with a statement at the end of a MS. of the Kalpaçhārā, given by me in my Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, p. 10, according to which the same Yasōdhavala, who is mentioned as prime-minister in the present inscription, held the same position under Kumārapāladēva in "Samvat 1218 varshé dvi? Ashādha-sudi 5 Gurau," = Thursday, 29th June, A.D. 1161, i.e. within two years and a half of the date which I assign to the present inscription.

TEXT.

1. ... sha²-sudi 15 Gurau II. Adyê-ha śrimad-Ana. ¹⁰
2. [j]avall-virājita-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahā-. ¹¹
3. ti-vara-ladha[bh]a-pruṇḍhapratāpā-nījabhuj[a-vikra]. ¹²
4. Sā(tā)kambhāriḥbupāla-ārdr. ¹³ Avantinātha-ārmat-Ku. ¹⁴
5. tan-niyyata-mahāmatya-ārī-Jasōdhava. ¹⁵
6. [sta]-madrā-tyāpārān-paripaṇṭhayat-ātyêta. ¹⁶
7. [j]ādirā-ārī-Kumārapāladēva ni[ja]. ¹⁷
8. lō tan-niyyata-mahābāha[dha]nāika-ārī-Rā[jya]. ¹⁸
9. [dhava[bh]a]-ārī-Uḍayapura[ś] [Stharōn?] vak-ānvaya-mahā[Ja]. ¹⁹
10. mahārājaputra-ārī-Vasanta[pālā-êta anu.? ] ²⁰
11. khyā[ta] yathā II Adya somagrañ[i]ha-pravarī. ²¹
12. [sva]ma-hyta-[sthr̥]hodakaiḥ snatvā jagad-[ga]-. ²²
15. lā[di]-grih-ōpēta[ṁ] siśāha-[dvār?] ₂⁵ tūra[gās]s[s]a[s]thau ?
17. sā[śa]nānēa pradatta[m] tathā śrī[śrī]sahthō[a[kuk]-
18. koḍāvō 1 śkā pradatta [h] Asmat-prada-
20. maṅgala[ṃ] mahā-ār[śrī[ḥ] II ²⁶

B.—Stone Pillar Inscription of the (Vikrama) year 1222.

This inscription is stated to be on a pillar south of the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of five lines. The writing covers a space of about 1'3" broad by 61" high, and appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¾" and ½". The characters are Nāgarī; the language is Sanskrit; and the whole is in prose.

The inscription records that the Thakkura, the illustrious Chāhāda,²³ apparently for the

² From the rubbing.
²¹ I believe the commencement of this line to have been: Öh samvat 1220 varshé Paasha-sudi 15 Gurau. See my introductory remarks.
²² I.e. -Aṣhikṣopādāk samasta-rājāvati..
²³ I.e. -māhārājādhirāja-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahāvidyā-
²⁴ One would expect some such phrase as vikrama-rājā-avirīčita-.
²⁵ This, ērāda, appears to have been the original reading of the stone; but the rubbing looks as if the two aṣharṣas had been struck out and as if the preceding had been altered to ēd, thus suggesting the reading -bhūpaṁ- āvartinātha.
²⁶ I.e. -Kumārapāladēva-kalpāṭya-avirīčita-
²⁷ I.e. -Takhaṇādā tētvākṣaraṃdau samasta-mūḍṛ-ōpārān.
²⁸ I.e. -śaśram kēl pravritramanda mahārājādhirāja-
²⁹ Here I should expect some phrase like niṣa-pratāp-ōpārīta-, followed by the name of a district or province, followed again by the word -manḍal-
³⁰ I.e. lākṣaṭya; compare e.g. Professor Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 23.
³¹ Here and below the rubbing in certain places is so indistinct that I cannot be absolutely certain about the actual readings.
³² Read -puṇya-jaśa-vīriṇīdḥah.
³³ Below this, there is one more line of writing which appears to be in a different hand and not to be connected with the preceding.
³⁴ Chāhāda appears to be the name of one of Kumārapāladēva's generals; see ante, Vol. IV. p. 207.
spiritual benefit of his deceased parents,23 gave half the village of Sāṅgavaṣṭā in the Bṛiṅgārī-chatuḥśashṭi, i.e. the group of sixty-four villages called Bṛiṅgārī, (probably to the temple at which the inscription was put up) at Udayapura. And the inscription is chiefly interesting for the statement in lines 1-2, according to which the donation was made on the occasion of the aksahaya-tritiya, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākhha of the year 1222, on a Monday.

Referring this date to the Vikrama era, we obtain for Vaiśākhha śukla 3 the following possible equivalents: —

for the northern year 1222 current, in which Vaiśākhha was intercalary,—

for the first Vaiśākhha,— Friday, 27th March, A.D. 1164;
for the second Vaiśākhha,— Sunday, 26th April, A.D. 1164;

for the northern year 1222 expired, or the southern current year,— Thursday, 15th April, A.D. 1165;

for the southern year 1222 expired,— Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, when the 3rd titki of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

The true date therefore is clearly Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, and the result shows that the year 1222 of the date is the southern expired Vikrama year.

The localities Sāṅgavaṣṭā and Bṛiṅgārī, the second of which we shall meet again in the inscription C. below, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.24

1 Ohṃ25 samvat 1222 varshē Vaiśākhha-sudi 3 Some śdy=cha Uda-
2 yapurō akshaya-tritiya-parvanī Avōṃśī26[ṃya]-[punya]-[sān(sān)].
3 [cha-dharmamā ya tha27-ār-Chaṅgāṇa udaka-pūrvaṃ śaṅkhyra-kāli-
4 kaṃ Bṛiṅgāri-chatu[hṣ]āhaḥbhu(ah) Sāṅgavaṣṭā-grām-ārddhaṃ pradattam =
5 Yo na pālayati sa mahā-paṃchāpāpā-bhāgī bhavatū =

C. — Stone Inscription of Ajayapālādēvā.

The (Vikrama) year 1229.

This inscription was found by Dr. F. E. Hall 'in Udayāditya's magnificent temple to Siva,' and was first edited28 by him in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXXI. p. 125. According to Dr. Hall, it is on a thick slab of stone, which is detached from its original setting. The lower edge of the stone is broken away or otherwise injured; and, in consequence, line 22 of the inscription, which would seem to have been the concluding line, has almost completely disappeared, and a few aksaras are missing towards the end of line 21. Otherwise the writing is well preserved, and, excepting two aksaras in line 8, and one each in lines 12 and 21, there is nowhere any doubt about the actual reading of the inscription.

The existing writing covers a space of 1’ 6’’ broad by 1’ 11½’’ high. The size of the letters is between ½” and 1”. The characters are Nāgarī; the language is Sanskrit; and, excepting three beneficent and imprecatory verses in lines 14-19, the inscription is in prose. The orthography calls for no particular remark; and, as regards grammar in general, it need only be stated here that the word grāma has been throughout used as a neuter.

The inscription, after the words ‘Ohṃ, ohṃ, adoration to Siva,’ and a date which will be treated of below, refers itself29 (in lines 1-5) to the reign of the (Chaunukya) king Ajayapa-

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23 In the original this passage is doubtful; see below, note 26.
24 From the rubbing.
25 Expressed by a symbol.
26 The whole passage, from here up to dharamamāya, is indistinct in the rubbing, and some of the aksaras may have to be read differently.
27 i. e., Phākura.
28 An important correction of the text published by Dr. Hall was first suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, ante, Vol. XI. p. 364, note 12.
29 It may be noticed that in line 1 the words adyā-cha “to-day here, (at Asūhālīpātaka)” have been thoughtlessly copied from other Chaunukya grants; for the present grant was made (line 6) at Udayapura.
ladēva of Anahilapātaka, and to the time when Sōmēvara was that king's chief minister. At that time (lines 5-11) the illustrious Lūṇapāsa, an officer appointed by the king to govern Udayapura, which was in the Bhāilasavāmi-mahādvāsaka province (manḍāla), i.e. the great group of twelve called Bhāilasāvāmin — a province acquired by the king's own prowess, — on the occasion of the yugādi which coincides with the aksāhaya-trītyā, gave the village of Umarathā, which was in the pathaka called Bhṛṅgārīkā-chatuṣṭhaḥśasti, i.e. the group of sixty-four villages called Bhṛṅgārīkā, to the god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) at the town of Udayapura, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased Edīa, the illustrious Sōlapadda, a son of the Rājaputra, the illustrious Vilhassa, of the Muhilānḍha (?) family.32 The boundaries of Umarathā were (lines 12-13), — to the east, the village of Naha; to the south, the village of Vaiḍāmūthā; to the west, the village of Dēulī; and to the north, the village of Lakhaṇāṇī. Lines 14-19 contain three benedictive and impromptu verses, together with an admonition to preserve the above grant. Lines 20-21 state that this donation was received (upārājan; on behalf, as I take it, of the god) by the most pious and highly reverend, the holy Nilakanṭhasvāmin; and the concluding line appears to have contained some imprecation, directed against people who might interfere with the grant.

Since we know from the preceding Inscriptions that the town of Udayapura belonged to the kingdom of Apilvāj already under Jayasimha and Kumarpaladēva, the historical value of the present inscription lies mainly in this, that it furnishes a date, which admits of verification, for the reign of their successor Ajayapaladēva.

To my knowledge, two such dates have been hitherto made public. One of them, corresponding according to Mr.-Fleet to the 27th (and 29th) October, A.D. 1175, is furnished by the copper-plate grant published above, p. 82. The other occurs in the Narapatiyajayacharyā, a treatise on omens by Narapati, and is contained in the following verses33:

Vikrama-gatē kālē pakṣa-agni-bhānu-1232-vatsara
maṣe Chātrē sitē pakṣa-pratipad-Bhaumavasārē
Srimatī-Anahilānagarē khyātē śrī-Ajaya-pāla-nṛpā-raṣyē
śrīman-Narpaṭi-kaviṇā rāchitēwād dhāśkumaṇ śāstraṃ

i.e., 'this work on omens was completed by the illustrious poet Narapati at the famous town of Anahilapātaka, in the glorious reign of the illustrious king Ajayapāla, in the year 1232 of the time of Vikrama, on the first of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on a Tuesday.' The proper equivalent of this date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1232, or the southern current year, and for the nīja Chaitra) is Tuesday, 25th March, A.D. 1175, preceding the last-mentioned date by about seven months.

The present inscription, now, in line 1 is dated, in figures only, 'in the year 1229, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha, on a Monday,' and according to line 7 the donation, which the inscription is intended to record, was made for the spiritual benefit of a deceased person (probably the grandfather of the donor) on the occasion of the yugādi which coincides with the aksāhaya-trītyā. Alakeshaya-trītyā is the well-known name of the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha, and this same tithi is regarded as the commencement of the Kṛta-yuga; and religious ceremonies in honour of the dead are prescribed for the aksāhaya-trītyā as well as for the yugādi.34 Referring our date to the Vikrama era, and calculating for Vaiśākha śukla 3, we find — for the northern year 1229 current, — Saturday, 10th April, A.D. 1171;
for the northern year 1229 expired, or the southern current year, — Wednesday, 29th March, A.D. 1172;

for the southern year 1229 expired, — Tuesday, 17th April, A.D. 1173.

In none of the three years did the third tithi end on a Monday; but since in the southern expired year 1229 it covered at least part of a Monday, we must for this particular year find the exact beginning and end of the given tithi, and must inquire whether there is anything in the nature of the festive days or the religious ceremonies with which the date is connected, that would allow or oblige us to combine the third tithi with the Monday on which it commenced.

By Professor Jacobis's Tables the third tithi with which we are concerned, commenced 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) of Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, and it ended 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 17th April; by Professor Keru Lakshman's Tables it commenced 4 h. 23 p. after mean sunrise (for Bombay) of the Monday, and ended 7 h. 15 p. after mean sunrise of the Tuesday; and, allowing for any possible differences of time, we may say that the tithi certainly had begun at Udaypur before the 8th ghatika of the Monday and had ended before the 11th ghatika of the Tuesday. Now in regard to a Yugaśti-śṛddha in the light half of a month, the rule laid down in the Purushkārachākināmāṇi and quoted with approval by the author of the Dharmasindhu is that, when a tithi covers part of two days in such a manner that it ends before the 13th ghatika after mean sunrise of the second day, while it occupies the 13th, 14th, and 15th ghatikas after mean sunrise or part of those ghatikas of the first day, the śṛddha-ceremonies must invariably be performed on the first day.36 This rule is strictly applicable in the present instance; and, in accordance with it, the ceremonies referred to in the inscription, and everything connected with them, had necessarily to be performed on the Monday,37 and could not possibly have been deferred to the Tuesday; and the Monday is rightly coupled with the third as a running tithi. Accordingly, Monday, the 16th April, A.D. 1173, is the true equivalent of the date of our inscription; and the result shows that the year 1229 of the date is the southern expired Vikrama year, exactly as was the case with the year in the date of the preceding inscription B.

The third trustworthy date which we have thus found for the reign of Ajayapālandevas, is, then, Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, civilly the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the southern expired year 1229, or the southern current year 1230; and, if there be any truth in the traditional statement, according to which he began to rule on Panasha-sudi 12 and reigned for three years, Ajayapāla's accession should have fallen on the 28th December, A.D. 1172, = Panasha-sudi 12 of Vikrama 1299 expired, or 1230 current.

As regards the illustrious Lūnapasāka, who made the grant, it is clear that his name is a corrupted form of Lūnapāsadāya, the regular Prākrit equivalent of the Sanskrit Lānapāsadāya. Another form of the same name is Lūnapāsadāya, which occurs in line 13 of the copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1317, published ante, Vol. VI. p. 210. There Āḷapāsājakādeva is described as Rājaka, and as the grand-father of the person who made the donations recorded in that inscription; and I do not consider it impossible that he may be identical with the Lūnapa-

36 The main rule is that, in the light half of the month, the Yugasūś-tridhā (or aksāhayatritiya-śṛddhā) should be performed during the 13th, 14th and 15th ghatikas of the day. And accordingly, in the inscription B, above, where the tithi ends 21 h. 30 m. after sunrise of the second day, it is correctly coupled with the second day. And the same is the case in a date, quoted ante, Vol. XII. p. 200 (1. Śaka-saṃvat 1773 . . . Vaiśākha-śāna-ākṣhayatritiyāyin yugādi-parrvāpi Bhamadini . . .), where the tithi ends 18 h. 58 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Tuesday). In the dark half, the Yugasūś-tridhā should be performed during the 16th, 17th and 18th ghatikas of the day. An example for this is furnished by the date, quoted ante, Vol. XII. p. 212 (1. Śaka-varsha 1047 . . . Bhadrāpada ba 13 Śukravāra mahātithi-yugādi-śāna, — Friday, 26th August, A.D. 1125), where the tithi ends 16 h. 9 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Friday).

37 As ceremonies performed on the aksāhayatritiya are said to be particularly meritorious when the aksāhayatritiya is joined with the nakshatra Rūhū and with a Wednesday, I may add here that on the above Monday the nakshatra Jus Rūhū is up to about 15 h. after sunrise.

38 Professor Bohler informs me that, according to the Vācchārīrṇī, Kumārapāla, the predecessor of Ajayapāla, died Vikrama-saṃvat 1220, Panasha-sudi 12; according to all other Prābandhas, Vikrama-saṃvat 1319, Panasha-sudi 12. Mr. Kathavate, Kṛtikāmaudī, Introduction p. xiii, quotes 1232, dvākāhī Phālagnā-śāna, which must be wrong for the accession of Ajayapāla, and may rather be the traditional date of his death. Dharmasākha's Purushkārachākināmāṇi, in Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p. 457, has — tataḥ 1230. Ajayapāla-rājya-varsha 3.
sāka of the present inscription, although an interval of 88 years between grandfather and grandson may appear rather long.

Of the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Bhāillasvāmin has been already identified with the modern Bhēla, a town on the eastern bank of the Bētwa river, about 34 miles south of Udaypur. The various villages and the district of Bhṛṅgārika, which is also mentioned in the inscription B., still await identification.

TEXT. 40

1 Om
2 mad-Anahila[pā][takē] samastārā jāvali vinājita-mahārā[jā] dhīrāja-paramēvāra-
3 paramāmēsvara-āri-Ajaya[pā][takē]ādeva-kalyānavijayarājye tatpadapadm-opajivī(ī)-ma-
4 hāmātya-āri-Sōmēsvārō śrīṣrīśrīśravandau samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān pariṁṭhaya-śrī-
5 ty-evaṁ kāłit pravarttamānē nijapratāpōparjīta-āri-Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādasa-\[maṁ]-
6 ṛa-śrī-Udayapurē tēnaiva prabhunā niyuktadānā-\[śrī-Lūgapa]-
7 sākēṇa dhanāvāsaṃ paridhā[yā] parama dhārmikēṇa [bhū]tvā akshayatrittīyā-
8 yugādi-
9 parvavini [Muhilā[nda?]] 46 anuvāye rājaputra-āri-Vilhānādeva-patra-paramalōk-
10 jā-śrī-Sōḷanādeva-śrīyasā stratyā-deva-āri-Vaidyanāthāya Bhṛṅgārika-čatuḥsha-
11 sāt[htī]-
12 pathakē padichopāhāra-pujā nimittaṃ savṛkshanaś-ākulaṃ trīṣa-[ja]lasy-ōpētaṇ
13 chatra-āghāta-samavātīta Umārata-grāmam[47] sāsanēṇa pradattānā Āgāhatt[48]
14 yā[tha] 1
15 Asya grāmasya pūrvvatō Nāha-grāmam dakṣipatō Vahidāu[ṛṣṭā]-grāmam
16 pachmatō
17 Dēull-grāmam uttaratō Lakkhaṇāuda-grāmam-[vaṁ] hi chatuḥkaṇkaṭa. 49
18 vi[su]ddfah grā[maṁ] [ī]" [11]
19 Va(ṃ)hūbhīn[40] vrasuddā bhukta rājabhīṣ Sagara-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā
20 bhūmin-[ta]-
21 sya tasya tādā phulanā chha Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ và yō harēta
22 vasundharām [śaśī[htī]-vā-
23 rsha-sahastī amālhyō jayate krimiḥ chha [Mādhātā] su-mah[patiḥ]
24 kṛṣṭa-yu-

40 Expressed by a symbol.
41 From the rubbing.
42 This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and has perhaps been struck out already in the original.
43 This figure, for 3, is quite clear in the rubbing; but before it, there is a vertical line, evidently a sign of punctuation, which has been prolonged above the top line of the letters; and after the 3, and partly covering it, there is the sign of stress.
44 Originally pa; altered to pā.
45 I take the meaning to be—Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādasa-āri-\[maṁ]-Lukpālē[na] prabhupynamāṇē śrī-Udayapura, i.e., at Udayapura, which is in the enjoyment of (or governed by) L., (and is situated) in the Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādasa-\[maṁ]-. Compare, e. g., ante, Vol. VI. p. 219, No 11, l. 8, and Professor Bhandarkar, Rev. for 1883-84, p. 223, l. 21, and, for the similar use of bhūkas, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 106, l. 9.
46 I am not certain that the consonants in these brackets are really sāḥk; but the way in which the sign for the vowel 4 is joined to the consonants appears to show that the aksara does contain the consonant ṣāṅk.
47 The word grāma is used as a neuter here and below.
48 One would expect to read asya prāvasya-sph[ī] pathā k pūrvatō, śc.
49 Read chatuḥ-kaṇkaṭa.
FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

NO. 31.—THE FOUR GOOD MAXIMS.

First Variant.

In a certain village there lived a poor merchant of the Chettū caste. He had an only son, to whom, on his death-bed, he handed a palm-leaf as his only property. The following four maxims were inscribed on it:—

1. "Travel not without a living assistant.
2. "Sleep not in an inn.
3. "Neglect not what four or five people say.
4. "Be not always open towards your wife."

Receiving the leaf containing the four maxims, the old Chettū's son, who had the greatest regard for his father, promised him, in his last moments, that he would observe each and every one of those maxims to its last letter. Then the old man died, and the funeral rites were duly performed over him.

After the death of the old Chettū, the difficulties of his son increased, for he had nothing to live upon. So he resolved to travel to some distant place, and there to earn his livelihood. While he was thinking over this, Sômuseṭṭi,—for that was the youth's name,—bethought him of his father's first maxim,—not to travel without a living assistant. But where was he to go for an assistant in his poverty-stricken condition? As he was thinking and worrying over this, a crab happened to crawl slowly past him, and placing a literal interpretation on his father's words, he took hold of the crab, and put it in an earthen pan full of water, and covering the mouth with a coconut-shell started on his journey, with his mind at ease; for had he not now a living assistant for his journey?

In this way Sômuseṭṭi travelled for about a day, till only one watch remained before the lord of day should sink out of sight. He was extremely tired, and seeing a fine shady banyan tree, he laid himself down overcome by exhaustion, under the cool shade to sleep and give rest to his weariest limbs. The pan, with the crab in it, he kept by his side.

Half-an-hour or so after Sômuseṭṭi had gone to sleep, a crow, which had its nest on the top of the banyan tree, began to caw. Now this was a very dangerous crow, for as soon as it cawed, a serpent—the incarnation of Death itself—used to come out of an ant-hole near the tree and drink up the life of any sleeper lying in its shadow. Not one sleeper till that day had ever survived his sleep, and so the tree was much dreaded. However, on this occasion, the crab came out of its pan and pinched Sômuseṭṭi's hand, and he suddenly awoke in consequence. Getting up, he saw the huge black serpent coming towards him, and away he ran with all the speed that he could command.

Meeting some neathred boys not far off, he related to them his narrow escape, and they, with one voice, exclaimed that he was a most fortunate man. Said they:—"Friend, many

53 Here about five aksharas are entirely illegible or altogether gone.
54 The writing in this line is almost completely gone, and only the tops of a few letters are visible in the rubbing.
a man has slept under that tree, but not one, except yourself, ever rose up alive. It is the most
dreaded tree in the neighbourhood, and is known by the name of the crow-cawing tree. No
one from our villages near ever approaches that tree, but only weary travellers, whom we
cannot warn or persuade, for we all try to do so when we can; and whenever they resort to it,
they always die. So saying the boys went about their duties, and Sōmuśeṭṭi, too, thanking
his stars and wondering at the wisdom of his father's first maxim, through which alone he had
been saved, pursued his course and before twilight reached a village.

He went down the street crying, "Who will feed this beggar with a handful of rice?"
Half-a-dozen of the villagers gave him each a handful or two of cooked rice, which served our
hero for his simple supper. He then went begging for a lodging wherein to sleep. But though
a few would feed him, not a single soul in the whole village would permit him to sleep in his house.
Not that the poor villagers were wanting in hospitality, for such kindness has always been
proverbial among the rural population of India, specially among Hindus. But unfortunately for
Sōmuśeṭṭi, this particular village was subject to attacks by robbers; and every now and then some
crafty robber had visited it as a beggar or a traveller, and requested the villagers for a place
to sleep in. Many a time had their hospitality been required by plunder; for the pretended
traveller would open the door of his host to his comrades, and thus help them to do their
terrible work. The misery that the villagers had on several occasions experienced, had obliged
them, without making any distinction between good and bad, never to allow anyone to sleep in
their houses. They all suggested that Sōmuśeṭṭi should go to the village-inn to sleep. But our
hero, remembering his father's second maxim, — not to sleep in an inn, — preferred the open
plain adjoining the village. Thither he went, and spreading a couple of rags on the ground,
prepared himself for sleep, thinking over his father's words which had saved his life the
preceding night, and admiring his sagacity.

The day's adventures were so impressed upon his mind that, though he was very weary, he
did not for a long time fall asleep. At last nature overcame him and he closed his eyelids, but
only for a short repose. For as soon as he had stretched his limbs in sleep, he dreamt that a
serpent was pursuing him and was almost at the point of biting him. This dream, which was
nothing but a recollection of his previous adventure, was not yet finished, when he imagined that
several persons were beating him. This was no dream, but a stern reality; for on opening his
eyes, he discovered that he was surrounded by a gang of robbers, each one of whom was giving
him a blow, saying: — "Give me what you have in your hand." Unable to bear the severe beating
to which he was being subjected he collected the rags spread on the ground, and in a pitiable
tone said: — "These are all I have in this world; take them and spare my life." Some of the
robbers, a little better-hearted than the others, said that he was a pauper, and that it would be
as well for them to leave him alone. Others however gave him additional blows for not
having anything of any use with him, and walked off with his rags.¹

All soon left him and proceeded towards the village. Sōmuśeṭṭi sat up stupefied, not knowing
what to do. He had avoided the village-inn as he had been bidden, and had chosen the
most harmless spot he could find, and yet thieves had plundered him of his rags! The danger of
the day and horror of the night, not yet over, passed and repassed before his mind, and the more
he thought the more stupefied he became. At last, after thinking and thinking for some two or
three hours, he rose up from that place, resolving to go to the village-inn, notwithstanding
his father's warning words, and spend the remainder of the night there. However, he had
not proceeded far when he saw the robbers again. He kept out of their way, and after they had
passed, proceeded to the village and to the inn, against entering which his father had so wisely
warned him. And the spectacle that met his eyes there! He found the whole village assembled
outside the inn, for the robbers had chosen that spot for their havoc that night, and had
murdered every soul sleeping in it! Not a soul that had slept there had escaped the cruel hands
of the bloodthirsty ruffians, who had come there specially that night because they had heard

¹ A practice very common among the predatory classes in India, who almost always treat their poorer victims
in this way.
from one of their spies that a rich traveller was then sojourning there. Sōmuṣēṭṭi, who a
moment before had been calling himself a fool for not having gone into the public inn for his
night’s repose, now shed tears of joy to the memory of his father.

By this time it was dawn, and the villagers requested Sōmuṣēṭṭi to oblige them by burying
the murdered persons. It is loathsome work to bury the unclaimed dead, and our hero would have
avoided the task, but the old Cheṭṭi’s third maxim, — “neglect not what four or five people
say,” — rushed into his mind, and, true to his promise, he willingly consented to perform the
disagreeable task. In return, the villagers promised to pay him at the rate of five jānas for
every dead body interred, and gave him the privilege of taking for his own use any property that
he might find on the dead. Our hero thus gained a double advantage; he was obeying his father’s
third maxim, and he was profiting himself materially by it. His reward was indeed a double one,
for though the robbers had plundered all the people in the inn before putting them to death, still
a great deal remained on the bodies. One of them, indeed, who had been a Cheṭṭi, had in
his waist-cloth nine rubies tied up in a rag, and these our hero secretly removed and secured
without arousing any suspicions. The great wealth he thus acquired in the remuneration
for his duty, made him at once very rich, in addition to the possession of the nine rubies.
He thought that he had now enough to live upon, and returned to his own village. Near
it there was an old temple of Kāḷi, in ruins, and to this our hero resorted in the dead of
night, and underneath the idol itself buried his nine rubies and a great part of his other
treasure. What remained with him was enough for him to lead a respectable life. He took to
wife a girl of respectable family, and lived with her for a while in happiness and comfort.

Unlike the usual run of Cheṭṭis, who are proverbial for their stinginess, our hero was known
in his village for his liberality. And whenever all his available cash was exhausted, he would
ask his wife for a little rice for a meal or two, as he was going to a village near, to try and make
some more money. Now our hero had never informed his wife where he had buried his treasure,
for his father’s fourth and last maxim was, “be not always open with your wife.”
And Sōmuṣēṭṭi had benefited so much by the strict observation of the first three maxims, that he
had every reason to give more than usual weight to the last one. So he always kept his
treasure underneath the image of Kāḷi a dead secret; but he now and then went to it, in the
dead of night, when his cash was exhausted, pretending to be absent from the village, and
always returned with enough for his expenses. This he did for a long time, and little by little
he bought land, extended his house, and made jewels for his wife. She was a very simple
and good-natured woman, but even she began to suspect that her husband must be the
master of some miraculous power, to be growing rich in this way. She often asked him
how he managed, every time he left the village, to return with so much money. He
kept the truth from her for a long time, but she went on worrying him repeatedly. Even
iron by constant hammering gives way, and the heart of a man, especially under feminine
charms, has much less chance. So, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father’s
words to their last letter, our hero at last told the whole truth to his wife, warning her at
the same time to keep it a dead secret, and never to open her lips to anyone about it. He
told her that he had brought with him a great quantity of money and nine rubies, that all the
money had been spent, that he had sold one of the rubies for nine karōṛs of mohara, on which
money he was still living, and that when that was gone, he had still eight more rubies, each of
which was worth the same enormous sum. How great was his wife’s joy when she heard this
news from her husband! Her whole face beamèd over with it, and she swore to keep the
secret. Thus did our hero, for once in his life, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe
his father’s maxims, deviate from the last of them, and we shall now see the consequences.

The very next day the mistress of the neighbouring house, paying her usual visit to
our hero’s wife, observed unusual brightness in her face, and on repeatedly enquiring the cause
of it learnt all the secret of Sōmuṣēṭṭi’s wealth. In fact Sōmuṣēṭṭi’s wife told all about the
rubies, the place where they lay buried, and everything else, to her friend, repeatedly asking
her to keep the secret, as of course she swore over and over again to do. The conversation was
very engrossing. The more attentively the neighbour listened, the more excited Sōmuśeṭṭi's wife became, and went over and over the same facts. Having thus learnt the whole affair, the neighbour took her leave, and naturally the first thing she did was to communicate it to her husband, who in his ambition and covetousness at the increasing prosperity of Sōmuśeṭṭi, robbed him of the remaining eight rubies that very night.

A day or two passed without our hero knowing of the heavy loss that had befallen him, but, on the third day after the communication of his secret to his wife, Sōmuśeṭṭi began to be a little uneasy in mind at having disclosed it in spite of his father's strict injunctions, and resolved to go that very night to the temple of Kāll to examine his treasure. Accordingly he went, without informing his wife about it, and from that moment his happiness left him. When he missed his rubies, he stood like a stone for a while and then went mad.

Picking wild flowers, making them into wreaths, and adorning his body with them, he began to wander from village to village and from city to city, crying "Give me back my eight rubies," and saying nothing else, no matter what people might say to him. His wife, who knew well enough why the change had come over her husband, cursed herself for her carelessness, and not knowing what else to do, followed her husband, secretly watching him and feeding him. For very shame, she never gave out the reason of her husband's madness, nor mentioned her relationship to him; but as her inward conscience chided her for being the cause of all his grief, she, like a good wife, determined to share his miseries. In this way more than two years passed. And Sōmuśeṭṭi, among other peculiarities, would never taste a morsel of rice, even when hungry. If rice was placed before him by some one through the kindness of his wife, he would fling it away, muttering, "Give me my eight rubies."

Thus wandering over several countries, our mad hero at last reached a great city, the king of which was famous throughout the country for his liberality to beggars. Never would he taste a handful of rice without feeding them first, and for their special entertainment he had built a large dining-shed, and used to superintend their meals in person. The day on which Sōmuśeṭṭi joined the beggars of the city at their dinner, the king, as usual, came to watch the feeding. Every beggar was soon engaged at his meal, except our hero, who was almost famished with hunger. A man in his state would naturally go straight for his dish. But Sōmuśeṭṭi cared for nothing that was placed before him, but kept muttering "Give me back my eight rubies," sometimes to the wall, sometimes to the leaf-plate in front of him, and sometimes to the servants. The king's attention was drawn to this unfortunate beggar, who never even tasted the rice, famished though he was, but kept on talking about rubies instead. He thought that there must be some connection between rubies and his madness, and as he had bought a ruby the previous day from a merchant, he sent for it, in the hope that the beggar might take a little food on seeing it. The ruby was brought and placed before our mad hero, who seized it and said:—"One has come; bring back the other seven." This he kept on saying incessantly. The king now concluded that there was some special reason for his madness, and ordered his servants to watch him carefully, and do their utmost to feed him. He also secretly issued orders to have the merchant who had sold him the ruby the previous day brought to him. Now this man, it must be explained, was no other than the neighbour of Sōmuśeṭṭi who had stolen the rubies. To avoid all suspicion he had travelled to this distant country to sell his ill-gotten gains, but fearing that a sudden sale of all the rubies might awaken suspicion, he had begun, on the previous day, by selling one only to the king, promising to bring another the next evening. In the evening, according to his promise, he brought the second ruby. The king gladly bought it, and, promising to double the price for a third, demanded it on the third evening. Thus the rubies began to come to him one after another, and every evening, after a purchase, the king returned with it secretly to Sōmuśeṭṭi, whose madness began to decrease by degrees on the recovery of his lost rubies one by one. The king went on playing the trick of promising double and treble the price, till the last and eighth ruby was bought, and then he at once issued orders to have the merchant arrested and imprisoned till the history of the rubies was known. On the production of the eighth ruby Sōmuśeṭṭi was entirely
cured of his madness, and falling at the feet of the king related the whole story of the four maxims, how he had disobeyed the last of them, and what calamities had come upon him in consequence. The king was highly pleased, and after punishing the pretended merchant with death, he restored the rubies to their rightful owner, Śūnuṣṭṭi. And our hero, not to be outdone for his liberality, presented half of them to the king who had taken so much pains in bringing him back to his senses, and returned with the other four to his own country.

As soon as he was restored to his original state, he learnt about his wife, how she had guarded and followed him all along throughout his miseries; and forgetting that she was the cause of all of them, he pardoned her faults and lived happily with her. And the good woman too, seeing that all these miseries had resulted from the wealth not being placed in the house, exercised a most scrupulous care over her husband's property, especially remembering the sufferings that both had undergone.

NOTES AND QUERIES,

PERPETUAL FIRE IN MADRAS.

Uliyanūr Perinthachan (lit. master-mason) is the legendary celestial architect of the Malabar Coast, and is held to be an incarnation of the Deity. The stone lamp at the holy city of Jarunanayya, which remained perpetually burning for several years (there is a similar lamp in Travancore burning in the open air mentioned in Iriss Unveiled, and the tank at Hanumān Kairi in the Betulnad Çauqas of British Malabar, containing 18 ghatā, but now in ruins, are attributed to him.

Madras.

SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

BOOK NOTICE.


Mr. Man's books are always a delight to the student of anthropology, and this last monograph from his pen is no exception to the rule. Minuteness, carefulness, completeness and accuracy have already characterized his work, and all these admirable qualities are as abundantly present in this pamphlet on the Nicobar Islanders as in any of its predecessors. We are indeed fortunate in having results before us at first hand of the researches of so painstaking and competent an anthropologist.

At present we have only an instalment of what Mr. Man has to say about the Nicobarese, and the remainder will be looked forward to with some eagerness, especially as the Government is abandoning its stations there, and much more information is not likely to be procured for a long while.

On the vexed question as to the origin of the Nicobarese, Mr. Man decidedly inclines to the Malayo-Burman theory, and gives twelve arguments in its favour.

In stature the Nicobarese are of medium height; very few reaching 6 feet, not many to 5 ft. 7 in., and the majority ranging from 5 ft. 5 in. to 5 ft. 3 in. The women are about 3 inches shorter. The average chest measurement is 34 inches and the average weight about 10 stone; while the women weigh over 8 1/2 stone. Other-
A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

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

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 521.)

No. 4.—THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.

This ballad, a very favourite one in the Belgaum District, owes its popularity to the pointed way in which it comes home to many a poor cultivator, who, situated as Sangya was, would very heartily endorse the sentiment (at the end of verse 8) that "very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks under them."

The action is based on a murder, which took place on the 13th October, A.D. 1863 (see notes 16, 32, below), at Hoñgal, or, as the town is more usually called, Bail-Hoñgal or "Hoñgal of the open country." The victim was a money-lender named Basaliṅgaṇa, whose business and personal habits are described in the opening verse. Among his debtors was a cultivator named Saṅga, Saṅgya, or Saṅgaṇa, who, in the usual manner, had pledged his field as security for the advances made to him. At length the creditor, who, as the song says, "took care to shew no harshness beyond what the law allows," sues Saṅya in the Subordinate Judge's Court at Saundatti, and obtains a decree against him. Saṅya appeals to the District Judge at Dhärwād; but without success. And then in due course a clerk of the court is sent to execute the decree, by selling the field by auction; and, Saṅya being unable to buy it in, and failing to obtain any further respite from his creditor, the field is made over into the money-lender's possession. Then Saṅya, taking counsel with his brother Parasya, determines to have his revenge by killing Basaliṅgaṇa. Rising at dawn next day, Saṅya prostrates himself at his mother's feet; and then he and Parasya, after a prayer for success to their patron-god Basavaṇa, set out. They think first of killing Phakiraṇa, one of Basaliṅgaṇa's brothers, but cannot find him; for, "Paramēśvara (the supreme god) protected him," and he had fortunately left his house. Again they do worship to Basavaṇa, and then decide upon killing Basaliṅgaṇa's other brother, Rāchappa; but him, again, they fail to meet with, since, happily for him, "the protector is more powerful than the slayer, and very fortunate was his luck." Then they go straight to Basaliṅgaṇa's house, and find him there, engaged in business: "his thoughts being only on his rupees." And without any more ado, heedless of the spectators, Saṅya pulls out his sickle from where it is hidden up his sleeve, and cuts him down; "the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died." No particular attempt at escape is made; in fact, Saṅya's remorse allows him not to try; and straightway he and Parasya are seized and taken to the village police-station. Two very characteristic touches are introduced here; the binding of Saṅya and Parasya face to face to a post, where they are beaten till they confess; and their attempt to implicate an innocent man, Hūvina-Rāma, to gratify some private spite against him. The Chief Constable then comes to investigate the matter; and the prisoners are taken on to the Māṃlaṭdār at Sampgaṇam. From there they are forwarded to Belgaum, to stand their trial. And at length, Hūvina-Rāma is duly acquitted; Parasya is let off with transportation for life; and Saṅya is sentenced to death. Saṅya is first taken to the jail at Dhärwād, which then was the principal jail for the two Districts. But, in accordance with a frequent custom in the case of exceptional murders such as the present one, it was decided to carry out the sentence at the village of Hoñgal itself. And the rest of the ballad is occupied with the journey, with Saṅya's farewell to his parents, with his lamentation over his untimely fate, and with the description of the execution. Here there are many touching passages; and the whole account is extremely graphic.

A short addition at the end shows that this ballad was composed by a professional balladmonger named Appu, a Marāṭḥā; and that the great merit of it obtained at once for his party the victory in a contest of singing with some rivals of the same profession.
TRANSLATION.

Chorus.

A very bad thing is poverty! The poor man felt much wrath! When he had to pay his debt to the money-lender, great distress came upon Saṅgya!

First Verse.

In the city of Hoṅgal there is a money-lender; Dhūravajanti is his name.\(^1\) In silver and gold, small change and silver currency, and cotton, are his dealings and trade. The silversmiths receive his money, for making various kinds of chaúkas\(^2\) of pure Chinese silver; and every week, on Saturday, the running accounts of the chaúkas are made up. Of manifold kinds are his functions; and eight or ten are his servants. Innumerable women clear his cotton from the seed, in both the winter and the rainy season.

(With a change of metre),\(^3\) — How shall I describe his business? He carried on all the duties of a money-changer. His two brothers, elder and younger,\(^4\) (assisted him with) great intelligence; in what they did, there was no lack of gain; no one in the village felt any dislike (for them); with great honesty they carried on the business of a money-lender.

(Lowering the voice), — I will describe to you his apparel; listen now! He used to stroll along the streets, wearing a very fine chaúka\(^5\) fastened round his neck; and on his head a turban with a border worked with gold threads; look at him! His upper-cloth was from Nāgpur;\(^6\) on his body there was a separate jacket of camlet;\(^7\) how beautiful were his chandra-kāra and gōpa,\(^8\) with the gold glittering so lustrously upon his breast; on his finger he wore a pure and holy ring.\(^9\)

(Raising the voice), — In speech he was very firm; not the least particle of falsehood (was in him)!

Second Verse.

Listen first to the origin of the matter. See!; the field in (Saṅgya’s) occupancy was good black soil. He (mortgaged it for a loan, and) executed a deed in due form, with a period of five years; last year they went to law; (the lender) showed no harshness beyond what the law allows; according to (the value of) the produce, he laid his plaint; and the quarrel came up (for trial) in the Saundatti Court. (Saṅgya) presented the stamped paper (containing his plea), admitting that Basalīgāna’s words were true, and did obeisance. The Munsiff\(^10\) (pronounced against him, and) said, — “Go to Dhārwād, and make your petition of appeal.”

(With a change of metre). — From there he came to Hoṅgal, and made Sir, preparation for the journey. Taking with him a hundred rupees, he set out thence for Dhārwād. He presented to the Government\(^11\) the petition of appeal, and straightway retained a Vakil.\(^12\)

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\(^{1}\) This must be his surname. The word has also been explained to me as meaning that his name was known “far and wide.” But I cannot find any authority for this.

\(^{2}\) A chaúka is a box in which a liṅga, the phallic emblem, is carried; it is usually worn suspended from the neck.

\(^{3}\) Chief stands for chṛ̣ḍā, = chḍā; see ante, Vol. XV, p. 366, note 6.

\(^{4}\) The Rāhappā and Phākirānga who are mentioned further on.

\(^{5}\) Sikhmāna seems to be used here to qualify chaúka, and to denote ‘a chaúka, the best of its kind; a very excellent chaúka.’

\(^{6}\) This is the Nāgpur of the Central Provinces, which has long had a great reputation for the manufacture of dhōṭi, or the cloths worn by men. Two such cloths are worn; one fastened round the waist, and hanging down; and the other round the upper part of the body. Here the verbal adjective hōṭ-i, i.e. hōṭ-trava, specifies the upper cloth.

\(^{7}\) The lower cloth is called viṭṭa-konāḍa dhōṭras.

\(^{8}\) The third finger of the right hand is called pārvitaram bhera, ‘the pure finger,’ as being considered purer than the others; and pārvitaram uṣāṇa is the technical name of a ring, made of gold, for this finger.

\(^{9}\) The Native judge of the local court. The official title now is ‘Subordinate Judge.’

\(^{10}\) i.e. to the Court of the District Judge.

\(^{11}\) A Native lawyer, a ‘Plunder.’
Kanarese Ballads.

THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.

(Air of the Chorus)

Badatana ambudu balaket ta

badavaga banto bahu sita ta

sawakara sala kodabekadara

Sangyaga adito sankash ta

J.F. Fleet, B.O.C.S.
(Lowering the voice), — "Present now a petition for me," he said; "take these hundred rupees, of the Government currency; tell me quickly what you say to me." The Vakil took thought in his mind, see now!, and gave a promise to devote his energies to the case, and said, — "Why do you feel anxiety (about the result), since you have given your Vakil a hundred rupees, into his very hand?" The first day of the month was Sunday; and the date (of hearing the appeal was fixed for) the next day, Monday; and straightway there was issued an order of attachment.

(Raising the voice). — The Kârkûn brought and executed the order of attachment. Thus Basâliûga carried into effect his pertinacious design!

Third Verse.

The Kârkûn says, — "Call Saânga and tell him, 'a decree has been passed against you for (the value of) the produce, reckoned on three hundred rupees: how much do you bid (to retain it in your own possession)?'" A great web (of trouble) was cast round Saânga. He explained what was convenient to himself, saying — "I will pay the money according to the decree; set free my share in the field; the whole fault is truly mine; apart from you I have no refuge; I will never disobey the orders of Basâliûga." Thus saying, he joined his hands in supplication and embraced his feet.

(With a change of metre), — "Since the order of attachment has come, what can I say? to-day your field is lost." Thus Basâliûga hardened his heart; and the field passed into the possession of (his brother) Phakirâga. Going home, Saânga pondered, — "To-day my field, belonging to me by right of occupancy, has been lost."

(Lowering the voice), — Saânga and Parsya, the two together, made another plan, see!, a secret device, conversing with laughter, — "The speech between me and you, let it be known to no one; without letting anyone know, let us do that which we can; we will rise in the early morning and go (to do it)." They sharpened their sickles, as they sat, saying, — "We will kill him, even though to-day we lose our heads; let that happen which must; except life, (nothing is left to us)."

(Raising the voice), — Basâliûga left the village of Wakkund; on the morrow the festival of the Mahânâvanâ was to be celebrated!

Fourth Verse.

On the Tuesday, at dawn, he (Saânga) rose of his own accord, and went and fell at the feet of his mother. Then Saânga and Parsya said, — "O (god) Basâvanâ, carry through our quarrel to its accomplishment!" Sharpening his sickle, and concealing it under his arm-pit, he set out, and at the third hour of the day he came to Phakirâna's house. At his house they ask, — "Where has he gone?; we had much business with him." Says Tukkaña, — "Why hast thou come?; what business hast thou with me?"

(With a change of metre), — Hearing this, he went back again, and searched in the field and on the stream. Had he been found, his life was lost; but Paramâvâna (Siva) protected Phakirâna! Having searched everywhere, he came to a shop, and bought some camphor and a coconut.

(Lowering the voice), — Quickly he went to the god Basâvanâ, and broke the coconut, and ignited the camphor and waved it (round the head of the god), and did reverence, and then

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12 lit. "rupees (which have on them) the face (of the Sovereign), (and which are) of a regular round shape." The intention is to distinguish them from the so-called Sûrî rupees, of very different make, which at the time of this ballad had not yet entirely ceased to be current.

14 One of the clerks of the Court.

15 lit. "the pot of the Mahânâvanâ was to be placed." The Mahânâvanâ, which is better known in other parts of India as the Durgâ-sêâd, is a festival in honour of the goddess Durgâ, commencing on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Áśvina. On that day water-pots, filled with water, are placed near the gods, who are supposed to reside in them till the navami or ninth tithi.

16 The 13th October, A.D. 1863; see further on.
took the road to Hoṅgal. Saṅgaṇa went on in front, and then (came) Māgūṭi-Parṣya, who said, — “First let us seize Rāḥappa and kill him.” Talking thus together in various ways, they went to Rāḥappa’s house, and asked the old house-wife, — “Where has Aṇḍappa? gone?”

(Raising the voice). — The protector is more powerful than the slayer; very fortunate was his (Rāḥappa’s) luck!

Fifth Verse.

Say they, — “Our coming has been in vain;” they became wrathful in their minds. They went to Basaliṅgaṇa’s house; their secret intention was not known. At the ninth hour (i.e. 3’0 p.m.), that which was predestined came to pass. Saṅgya and Parṣya saluted, and went and stood close by him. Basaliṅgaṇa’s thoughts were on his rupees; near him there stood three or four men; he knew not that they would slay him; but Śiva brought the (fatal) wreath and fastened it (round his neck).18

(With a change of metre), — Pulling up the sleeve of his jacket from over his wrist, Saṅgya took out the sickle from under his armpit, and, taking aim as he stood there, cut him fiercely down. In the same way he drew out the sickle, and, having wounded him, slunk round behind him, and, calling Parṣya, ran away.

(Lowering the voice), — In great agony Basaliṅgaṇa rose, bowing his head; the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died. The people sitting there went out in great confusion; they all said, — “Seize him! seize him! there he runs; he cut right through the neck.” Those who met him, face to face, and close, not one of them seized him. Then, hearing the tidings, the Haḷabs19 came.

(Raising the voice), — Throughout the village there was a great outcry; he could not pass beyond the gate20 of Hoṅgal.

Sixth Verse.

Then ceased the anger of his mind. Quickly a crowd assembled. Harling away the sickle from his hand, he threw it down. His (sense of) sin allowed to go no further. (In) a strait road, a narrow lane, quickly the Haḷabs seized him, and, cuffing and beating him, dragged him to the chaḷūḍi21; no respect was left, to be shewn to Saṅgya. The Kulkarṇī22 came and looked. The Police Pāṭṭi23 said, — “Beat them!” Face to face tightly they bound Saṅgya and Parṣya to a post.

(With a change of metre), — “Beat us not without necessity; now and here we confess that we killed him; arrest us, and send us to Sampgaum.” An enquiry was made in the Kācharī.24 They said, — “Hūvina-Rāma was in the business with us; he is at the village of Wakkund; he is there.”

(Lowering the voice), — The Haḷabs got and went to the village of Wakkund; there he was found, Hūvina-Rāma. He became confused, and was in terror for his life; “they accuse me through enmity,” (he cried); in fear, he staggered about, in an agitated manner; saying, — “What is this that has happened?,” he wept. All the people in the village told him to be brave; “if you were not in this crime, nothing can happen,” say his friends.

(Raising the voice), — In the dead of night he set out; they would not let him eat even a morsel.

17 i.e. Rāḥappa. The word aṇḍappa is a respectful form of aṇḍa, ‘an elder brother.’
18 This is the meaning of the passage; but I have not been able to obtain an explanation of this allusion.
19 haḷabs, ‘one of the ancients, an old servant, an old inhabitant,’ is one of the Kanarese names, the other being utṭāṅka, for the village police or watchmen. They are employed on all miscellaneous revenue and police duties.
20 The original has the words pāṭṭi, which is the English ‘gate.’ It may mean either ‘the village gate,’ or ‘the Police-Station.’
21 The office of the Pāṭṭi and Kulkarṇī, where all the business of a village is transacted.
22 The village accountant; the Pāṭṭi’s right-hand man and assistant.
23 The Pāṭṭi is the head man of a village. In the larger villages, as in the present case, there are separate Pāṭṭis for the police and revenue duties. The pāṭṭa is the English word ‘police;’ the word in composition with it, is the Kanarese pāṭṭa, which is the equivalent of the Marathi pāṭṭa. The Revenue Pāṭṭi is called mutki-pāṭṭi or mutki-paṇḍa.
24 i.e. in the Māmatṛār’s office at Sampgaum, the chief town of the Tālukā or Sub-Division.
Seventh Verse.

The Police Pāṭṭī and the Kulkarṇī said (to the guard). — "Be very watchful; they have killed a most respectable rich man; never before has such a thing happened." They made a report, writing it on paper; a Ḥalab took it, and went to Sampgaun. He delivered the report in the Kachārī; the Subbādār read and examined it. Very speedily the Phaujdar 37 got ready, and said, — "Put quickly the saddle on my horse." Taking a Peon, 38 on Wednesday, in the evening, he arrived.

(With a change of metre), — The Phaujdar came, and stood and looked; with his own eyes he saw the blood; looking at the corpse, he grieved in sympathy. "Why were the gods Hāri and Brahman wroth with him," (he said); "when they killed him, who were there?" (The answer was), — "Three people; (two) Līṅgāyat priests of Māṭrīr, and Paścappa."

(Lowering the voice), — Hearing this much, he told them to bury him. In great affliction the mother and father (of Basaliyagāna) are weeping, falling flat on their faces, and rolling about in grief, crying, — "Evil is our luck; through his kindness there was nothing wanting in our happiness; (when he was born), what was the (evil) boon that he got from Siva, 39 that our son has now left us and gone?; great is the grief of his wife; she has torn off and thrown away her marriage-thread, decorated with jewelled beads, 30 what now remains for us, since he is hidden in the earth?"

(Raising the voice), — O Vaikunṭha (Vishṇu)! an untimely death was his; who can understand the pranks of Siva?

Eighth Verse.

"The day of the Mahāsacram new-moon 41 was Monday; the first day of the bright fortnight of Āsvayuja is Tuesday; it is the Saka year seventeen hundred and eighty-five, and the samvatsāra named Rudhirdrāgjrīn, 42 thus they reckoned it up, — the Police Pāṭṭī, the Kulkarṇī, and the Phaujdar. With Saṅgīya and Parasya in close custody, the Ḥalabs set out. "Be very much on the alert in this matter; attend at the Kachārī; if you fail to be on your guard, no one knows what may become of you;" — thus the Māṁlatār gave the order.

(With a change of metre), — They left this Tālukā, Sampgaun, and carried them to the District town of Belgaun. The gentleman 43 called them, and made the adjudication. To Saṅgīya, it was as if he had fallen into a tank or a well. They wrote the proceedings, and sent them to Bombay; 44 (and reported that) the bringing of Hūrīna-Rāma (into the matter) was unjust.

(Lowering the voice), — After three months the answer came; the noble officer read and examined it; "let Parasya off with transportation, 45 this is enough." As to the principal prisoner, Saṅgāṇa, the settlement was thus; the gentleman said, — "Go to Dhrāvād; it is

28 The word in the original here, and a little further on, is rāpāja, which is an adaptation of the English word.
29 The Māṁlatār; the head revenue and magisterial officer of the Tālukā.
30 The 'Chief-Constable' of the Tālukā.
31 Bhū-śaivāya, lit., 'a man who wears a brass badge on a belt slung over his shoulder or worn round his waist.'
32 The usual term is gaṇđā, from the Hindustāni patās, which denotes the same belt with its badge. The word "bajri" is an adaptation from the English, and is, I imagine, the word 'bill.' But it is supposed by the Nāres to be an adaptation of 'buckles,' which is often used for the same badge.
33 Here, again, I cannot get an explanation of the allusion.
34 The gaṇḍā is a more elaborate kind of tāli, 'the marriage-badge worn by married women round the neck,' which is removed when a wife becomes a widow.
35 The Mahāsravatam-asamastagāna is the popular name, in the Kanarese country, for the new-moon of Bhārana, which immediately precedes Āśvina śukla 1. The present new-moon tithi ended on Monday, 13th October, A.D. 1883.
36 The Rudhirdrāgjrīn samvatsāra coincided with Śkra. Satarāt 785 as an expired year. And the corresponding English date for the details given in the text, is, Tuesday, 13th October, A.D. 1903, on which day the tithi Āśvina śukla 1 ended.
37 i.e. the Sessions Judge.
38 i.e. in order to obtain confirmation of the death-sentence. It would seem that, in the Sessions Court, Parasya, as well as Saṅgīya, was sentenced to death; but that in his case the High Court commuted the sentence into one of transportation.
39 Kari-sdr, lit, 'the black water.' This is the popular term for transportation, because it entails crossing the sea, to the Andamans islands. The Marāṭhī expression gājī-pā, has exactly the same meaning.
notified that the sentence is \((that \ he \ is \ to \ be \ hanged)\) by the neck." A guard of soldiers on him, all around, took him to Dhrāwād; not any device \(\text{for saving himself}\) suggested itself to him after that.

(Raising the voice), — Very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks!

**Ninth Verse.**

He left the village of Dhrāwād, and came away; no one could save him. "Take him, and go to Hoṅgal," said the gentleman, the Subhēdār, the Phanjdār, and the Kārkān; "be wide awake, with great watchfulness." In front of him and behind, there was an escort with drawn swords; there was all the apparatus for hanging him; and Sāngya was seated on a cart. They brought him in close restraint. He converses without any fear. On the Thursday he sent for his elder and younger brothers, and his mother.

(With a change of metre), — To the mother that bore him, he says, — "Why dost thou weep?; all that which was to happen, has occurred; it has befallen me as it did to Abhimanyu in the battle-field; for me from no one was there any aid; to-day the debt is paid; cease now to grieve for me."

(Lowering the voice), — Saying this, he made the funeral lament, for just a little while, "That my fate has been settled thus, \((is \ the \ decree \ of)\) an unjust court; they inquired not into my fault; I thought that they would let me go free, with imprisonment for only a year; I have been caught and captured; my fault has been in accordance with that which \(\text{the god Brahman wrote}\); my fate \((is \ like \ that \ of)\) a lamp that has gone out unintentionally while still there is oil left; \((to \ nourish)\) enmity is very evil; anger should not be felt."

(Raising the voice), — Disputing at every word is bad; to a good man, a \(\text{mere} \) word is a blow!

**Tenth Verse.**

The market-day was Friday, that same day the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. He talked with catching breath, and is beside himself. They brought him outside the village. Joining his hands in respectful salutation, he made a little request to the gentleman, — "Spend five rupees, and have me buried in a māthā." His face shrivelled and grew small; his colour lost its lustre, and faded away. Saying "Hara! Hara!" he took his way \((to \ the \ gallows)\), and, mounting, stood on the appointed place.

(With a change of metre), — They fastened the rope around his neck, right round his throat; he trod the path of heaven to Kailāsā. His elder and younger sisters, his elder and younger brothers, and his mother, \(\text{made} \) lament; the people were standing all around. Four months and twelve days \((\text{had elapsed since})\) the date of the Avarāṭī new-moon.

(Lowering the voice), — The village of Bail-Hoṅgal is a great city, this is well known; it is famed far and wide in the surrounding kingdom. \(\text{There there is} \) the god Hanumanta, to whom be reverence! Tukārām is our teacher; the ballad-monger Appu has composed \((\text{this song})\); the hand-writing, in which there is no fault, is that of Dēmāṇa, on whose drum there is

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38 *It. "confined in a net."
39 The more literal meaning is "no one was my charioteer." I have not a book to refer to; but it seems that Abhimanyu was killed in single fight, hemmed in by the Kauravas, with none of his own party near at hand to help him.
40 Brahman is supposed to write on a man's forehead all that he is destined to do during his life.
41 We are told further on that this day was four months and twelve days after the new-moon of Pausha. This latter Hīhī ended on Sunday, 7th February, A.D. 1854. And so we seem to have either Friday, 19th June, or Friday, 26th June, for the day of the execution.
42 *i.e. the Magistrate, or the District Superintendent of Police, who attended the execution.*
43 Compare ante, Vol. XIV. p. 300, where the amount is ten rupees. A māthā is a kind of religious college, or residence of priests.
44 The mountain Kailāsā, supposed to be one of the loftiest peaks in the Himalayas, is the paradise of Śiva. The term Kailāsā-vān, now residing in Kailāsā, is of constant occurrence in speaking of deceased persons.
45 Avarāṭī-sumūrīdī is the popular name, in the Kanaresse country, of the new-moon day of Pausha. I have been told that it is a corruption of avārāṭī-dīrī; but I do not see how it can be connected with any of the avārāṭīs. A more probable explanation is that it stands for avārāṭī-dīrī, 'the night on which people can begin to eat the avārāṭi-bean after the harvest.'
a plume of pearls, with feathers and tinsel, and gold and silver lace. Santu and Basanga, our firm friends, have completely overcome our enemies; defeat has come to the kalagi.

(Raising the voice). — Mādhavarao became a sore trouble to the kalagi; in singing he has everything at the tip of his tongue.

TEXT.

Pallā.

Baṣatana ambūda baja-keṭṭa baḍavaga banto bahu śīṭṭa ||
śawakāra sālā koḍa-bēk-ādara Saṅgīyāga śādo saṅkaśāta || Pallā ||

1ne nudi.

Sahar Hoṅgaladāga śawakāra || Dūrayantī avana hesara || bēli baṅgara rokka
rupāya aliya wahiwaṭa vyāpāra || Chināya kurēda chaṅka-tara || rupāya wōyuṭāra
pattēra || wāra-wāra chalati chaṅka-kekkha māḍodu Saṅiwarā || andāndi avana
kārputra || hatt-eṇṭa mandi avana manṇahāra || māgi maṅīga hatti arawntara
gotta iliła hoṅgasara || Chyē || Yena hēla-evaṇa || kārputra || avana māḍut-iddano
chināwāra || aṅga-tammar-wibbara tiyavāli || avara māḍudu kaḍim-illa gaṅku ||
uraṅgā yāṅdgā-illa beśāri || bahalā sāče iṭṭadda śawakāri || Iḷava || Avana
pōbhāka hētēna nimagā || kēla īga || avi bhiḍa teragat-idda wōṅi || chaṅka-
śikhamāṇi || hākkiḍa koḷalāga || jerakāṭi runāla taḷi-māṇa || nōḍa avaga || hōṭ-iru
dōṭra Nākpirū || kumalata bēre || aṅgī maiyāga || chandrabhāra gōpa chanda hyānga
yedi-māṇa || talatala holudu baṅgara || pavitraṇ-ūnigāra || iṭṭadda bēralāga || Yēra ||
Māḍira iddana bahu-dīṭta || sullā māṭa illa yal-aiṣṭha || Yēra ||

2ne nudi.

Modaḷa kēla māṭina jari || khāteda hola nōḍa jāta yeri || aida varashada
dina muḍda māḍidana baro-koṭṭa kāgada barābari || nyāya bandito hōda-bari ||
jōri māḍalilla kāyade mṛī || māsili-prakāra phirādi māḍidana Sawadattī-kōrtināyāga
bita muri || Basalingaṇana māta sari || shtāpa chelli māḍida mujari || Munuṣ综合体
antana aṅḥil-arji Dhāravāḍake bōgi māḍari || Chyē || Allinda bandana Hoṅgalaka ||
masallata māḍida hogudak-sari || nūra rupāya togoṇḍa hantēka || illinda hoṅgāna
Dhāravāḍake || aṅhil-arji koṭṭaṇa sarakāra || vūkalan-śiṭtaṇa āgina-khaṇḍaka || Iḷava ||
Arji anta māḍi koḍa namaga nī lī nga nūra rupāya togo māri śādi || hēla lagu
māḍi || yēn-anti namaga || vūkla tiḷaṇa manṇāda || nōḍa āga || hīṅ-anta koṭṭa
wachana || kajēda sandana || chinti yāko nimaga || nūra rupāya koṭṭa vālīga ||
kaiyāga || pahilā tārīkha muḍdaṇa Ādityāwāra || munda Sōmawāra || jahā banta
bēga || Yēra || Kārkuṇa tanda jahā ḳīṭa || Basalinga nāḍisida tanna haṭa || Yēra ||

3ne nudi.

Munuṣ综合体 rupāyaṇa māsili || nīna mēl-āyito phaśīlā || kārkuṇa antana
Saṅgīnna karaṇa nī yēna māḍatī sawāla || Saṅgīyāga bitto māha-jālā || hēli-kōnḍa
tana anakīl || phaśīlā-prakāra rupāya koḍatana holada-walāga bijāsari pāl || sarva
tappa nanda āyī-āyī || unnindra horata gati-īlā || Basalingaṇana māta mṛūḍiḷa ||

46 The allusion here is to a singing-match between two rival parties of ballad-singers. The members of one party have on their drums the tund or 'plume of feathers and pearl, with gold and silver lace,' and those of the other party, a kalut. Which seems to be a 'plume of feathers for a horse's head.' The two parties sing alternately, and until one is declared to have surpassed the others. In the present case the tund-party, to which belonged the composer of this ballad, is declared victorious.

47 lit.,'water has descended upon.' The metaphor seems to be of Marathi origin; see Molsworth and Candy's Dictionary, s. v. pādī.
4ne nuñi.

Maṅgalāra udayaka tä yadda täyī-pādaka hōgī bidda | Saṅgya Pariśya
ibbaru antara Basavana naḍasu nama jidda kudagola masada | ava hēnda
bagalaḥa mchichi-konda tä naḍada | mūra täsa hōt-ērita āga Phakrāṇa mani
banna maniyāga kēṭāra yelli hōda | bahāja kēlaṣa itta avaninda | Tukkana
antana yātaka bandi yēna keleṣa nana munda | Chyē | Tāṭa kēli hindaka
 tiriga hōda | holadāga holāga hudiṇidā | ava sīkara prāṇa hōgūdā | Phakrāṇa
Paramāvāra kīda | hudiṇy-ādī āṅgādgīrī banna kappara kāya togoṇa wonda |
Māḍi namakāra Hoṅgala ḍāri hōḍīdā | Saṅgaṇa banna munda-munda it allinda
Mogāḷ-Parasa yēn-anda | munche kāḍun-anda | Rāchappana hōḍīdā | hōgī māṭādi
pariparidinda | wond-ondā | Rāchappana maniṇe hōgī kēlāra mudikīrī Aṇṇapa
yelli hōda | Yēra | Kollavanakinta kāyava āṭēṣṭha | bahāja chelu avaara
ad                                                   arsha 2 4

5ne nuñi.

Bandaddati antara kāli | ittā ḍāra tamma manadalli | Basaliṅgaṇavāṇa maniṇe
hōḍaro tilīyalilla ibbaru neli | wombat-tāsā vēlēda mēle pūrva-liṅkā ḍādaṅgītā
allī | Saṅgya Pariśya muḥjārī māḍīkīyāra hōgī nintaro avana bāḍiyali | Basaliṅgaṇavāṇa
chitha rupāyī mēle | mūra nāku mandi avana bāḍiyali | kaḍadāru ambudu avaga
tilīyalilla | Siva tanda hākida māli | Chyē | Saṅgya mūṇghaṛī-āṅgīṛī tēḍī-kōṇḍa
bagalāna kudagola takkoṇḍa | nīnta nōḍī kaḍadānu avana chaṇḍa | adaraanta
kudagola yasa-kōṇḍa | kaḍad-avana hindaka san-kōṇḍa | wōḍī hōdāna Pariśyaṇna
kara-kōṇḍa | Yēra | Basaliṅgaṇa yēddha saṅgaṭ-āḍī | śira bāṛi i bāłyī suritā
nettarā | hārita kābār | biddada jīva hōgī | kūnt-iru mandi gāra āgī horaga
hōgī | yellaru antara hōdi hōḍi wōḍātana wōḍī | kōḍa kuttīgī | bārunhatu mandi
idariṇi bāḍī-āḍī avana hōḍiyālilla yār-yārā | bandara hāḷabār āga suḍdy-āḍī | Yēra | Ḫūrā ḍāṭīta babbāṭa | ḍāṭalilla Hoṅgala gōṭa 2 5

6ne nuñi.

Śiṭṭa āvarta manadandā mandi kūḍītō sutvaradā | kaiyāṅa kudagola
bisāṭi wogedāna pāpa hōga-ghoḍalilla mundā | bikṣaṭa hādi wōḍī śandā hālābara
hiḍida māḍī jāladā | hoḍa-kontā baḍa-kontā chāwadīg-ōḍara marvāde ulīyalilla
Saṅgyāṇā | kulakariṇi banda noḍīdā | pōḷī-gawāda hoḍi andā | idara-bāḍara
Saṅgyāṇa Pariśyaṇa kambaka kāṭāro biga-bigada | Chyē | Śūlā bāḍiya-bēḍari
nīva namagā | kaḍad-āṅgā kābul-āṅgā | nammane hōḍa kāḷavari Saṅgaṅgāryāga | chaukāsī āḍīta kachēryāga | Ḫūvīnā-ṛāmu ḍidāna idaraṅga | ava ayidāna ayidāna
Wakkunda-wōṛāga | Yēra | Wakkunda-wōṛīrī hoṛaro hāḷabar āyaṭāra | ava śikka
Hūvīnā-ṛāmu | āḍī bēḍāma jīvaka banta gōṛā | adawatī ḍēḷāṭāra avara ibbarā
aṭī muddagatāra tarātar | id-ena ākāra kaṇṣī gandha nīrā | Ḫurā ḍēḷāṭāra
dīrā | yellaṛā | pāḍadāga jār illa yēn-ēṇ-igudilla antāra geniparā | Yēra
Rāto-ṛatrī aha hoṛa | us-ghoḍalilla wand-ṭa | 6
7ne nudii.

Połisa kulakarni yen-anda ; bahala hũs̄ari ira-bėk-sanda ; wolę sawakarana kaḏada hãkida hā hint-āda ąągakilla ; yendenda ; raporta mādera kāgada barada ; hałaba togoṇda Saṃpaṅgānvigē hōda ; kaźeři-wolaga raporta cheljyana subbēdāra wōdī nōdīda ; phaujīdārā lagu-bēga tāyara āda ; kudurigī taqi bēga hāk-sanda ; billi manushyaṅa togoṇda Budhawharā chejj-veledali ava banda ; Chyē ; Banda ninta nōdīda phaujīdārā karṇiika kaṃda nettarā ; ēnu nōdī maṛagidā maramara ; ēna munidāna Hari-Brahma-dēvarā ; ivana kaḏaddāgā idāra yār-yāra ; Maṇḍūra ayyagōla Paźchappa māvarama ; Ilāva ; Īṣṭa keji manṣa koḍaṃ-endā ; aratiṇā ; tāy-tenant aḷaṭāro bōryādi ; bidda hōralyādi ; adarushhta kum namadā ; ēna kaḏiṃiyā ; ēna amāndā dayadindā ; ēna bēgi bandana Sivanali namma hotṭili maga biṭṭa hōda ; nān-paṇi dukkha strīyaladā ; hākida gaṅda-guladāli wogadāla harada ; inn-ēna ati nada ; manṣi manṣi mari āda ; Yēra ; Dur-maṇa ādiṭo Vaṅkṛṣṭa ; yārige tilayado Sivanēṣṭa ; 7 7

8ne nudii.

Maḥanaumī amāśi Sōmawāra ; Aświja sudda pāḍyā Maṅgaḷāra ; Sake satarrāse paṅchā-śaśi.47 Rudrāngīrī-nāma-saṃvatsara ; hōga mādēdara vīchāra ; pōlisa kulakarni phaujīdārā ; Saṅgīyana Pariṣyāna kaida-wolaga saṅgata hoṣṭara haḷaban ; idara mea bala-huṣṭara ; kačēri-wolaga ējāra ; yachchara tappi yattara hōdiri hukuma mādēdāna māmledāra ; Chyē ; IIIī talūka biṭṭa Saṃpaṅgānvī ; wōda hākya hā jille Belajāṅvī ; karasi sāhēba mādēda nirṇyā ; Saṅgīyā bidd-ānga adita keri bānī ; kaṭa barada kaṭiyāra Māmāṃyī ; Huvvina-Rāmanna tandadā anyāyī ; Ilāva ; Māra tiṅgaligē banta uttarā-maṇkūra ; wōdi nōdīdāna saradā ; Pariṣyāna kari-nūrā ḍi bīḍu ṣṭi pūrā ; Saṅgūṣa awala kaiśīdāra ; karīra ; Dhārwadaka sāhēba hōg-anda sajā gallinda ati jāhīrā ; sutta-mutta avana mēli pāṭa ; cheṭīrā ; Dhārwadaka hākida tanda hunara munidāna tīḷiyallā jara ; Yēra ; Ingreśi kāyide bikkaṭṭa ; naḍuvadilla yār-yāra āṭa ; 8 8

9ne nudii.

Dhārwadaka-wūra biṭṭa bandā ; ulasaga ṣagalīla yārindā ; sāhēba subhēdāra phaujīdāra kārkāna Hoṅgāḷaka tokoṇḍa na汀-endā ; yachcharike ira-bėkā yachcharandāna ; birada katti pāra ṣinda mun ṣaddā ; gallī-ḥākudu sāmāna yeṭa ; Saṅgīya cekkaḍī mega kun-tiddā ; mōdi tandaro bali-bandā ; mātājāṭana daraj-illāda ; Bestāra-divasā appa-ṭammarana tanna tāyin karisidā ; Chyē ; II Haḍeda tāyavvag-antāno yāk-ālaṭi ; āghuhaṇād-ellā āgi hōti ; raṇa-maṇḍala Abhimānya nanag-ati ; nanaga yār-yāra illad-āṅga āṭo sārati ; indige riḍa harada hōti ; inn biṭṭa-koṇa nanna kākalātā ; Ilāva ; Īṣṭa hēli mādēdā alāpa ; wandu swalpa ; nanda hōga itta-pramāṇa keṭṭa divāṅa ; kēḷalīla tappa ; mōdi biṭṭā-santīnī māpā varasha fépa ; sīkk-āṅga āṭo kaiṣerī Brahma bareda bari mādēdāntā tappa ; yeṇṣ-īratā hōd-āṅga dēlā ᾱkālpā ; hint-āda nanna adarushṭa ; jiḍḍa bali-keṭṭa ira-bāndo kōpa ; Yēra ; Maṭa-māṭige mathana keṭṭa ; chelō manushyaga māṭina peṭṭā ; 9 9

10ne nudii.

Santi Sukraṇvara adā dina suttina manḍi kūḍita jana ; havva ēri kābaraillāda mātājāṭana wūra horaga tandāro avanā ; sāhēbaga hēli-koṇḍa yēn-ēna kaimugada mādēda śaraṇa ; aida rupāyī kharchu mādīkāya maṭhadā wolaga kōdasari manṣa ; māri bāḍi adita saṇṇa kale gundi hārīta baṇḍa ; Hara-Harā anta ēdī
SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

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

No. 184. — Komaralingam Copper-Plate Grant of Ratidatta.

This inscription, which, I believe, is now edited in full for the first time, was originally brought to notice by Mr. Rice in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 13. His remarks on it have been reprinted by Mr. Sewell in Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. II. p. 226. And in the same volume, p. 27, No. 185, the original plates are described as being in the possession of Kōmarālingam Rāmayya, residing at Komaralingam in the Udāmalpet Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Coimbatore District, Madras Presidency. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, through the District authorities, in 1883.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring originally about 8½" by 3¼". The second plate is entire. Of the first plate, small portions have been broken away at the ends of lines 1, 2, and 5 to 7. And of the third plate, about an inch has been broken away, all the way down, at the ends of the lines. The plates are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the writing is in a state of very good preservation, and is quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, passes through ring-holes at the proper right end of each plate. It is a plain copper ring, about ½" thick and 2½" in diameter. It had been cut, when the grant came under my notice. No seal is forthcoming; and the ring presents no indications of having had a seal attached to it, or of having been soldered into the lower part of a seal. — The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 2 oz., and of the ring, 2 oz.; total, 1 lb. 4 oz. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is a little over ½". The engraving is good; but it is not very deep, so that, though the plates are rather thin, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. A few of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language as far as line 15 is Sanskrit, very bad both idiomatically and from an orthographical point of view. This portion of the record, as far as line 11, is in mixed verse and prose; but the only complete verse is the first, in lines 1-2; the other metrical passages are mere fragments of verses, plainly quoted from some other source or sources, and mixed up in the most remarkable manner with the prose passages that complete the sentences. A perusal of the text by anyone who can understand it, will satisfy him that these metrical passages really are fragments of verses; not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. In line 16, in the middle of a sentence, the language changes abruptly to a dialect of Old-Kanarese, with a curious mixture of Sanskrit words and inflections in it; and from that point, as far as line 25, the record is in prose. The remainder of it is in Sanskrit, with four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 32 to 36. — The orthography is so bad throughout, that it is useless to select any points for special notice, except the occurrence of the Drāvīdian ḍ in the village name Koḷur, line 14, and in a few words in the Kanarese portion, and of the Drāvīdian ū in two words, lines 25 and 26, in the same portion. I will only remark that the use of śīṅga
(with g, not gh) for sīśha in sīṅgavernma, line 7, and the use of b for v in bbrasudhā, line 33, are in themselves almost sufficient to prove that the record belongs by no means to the early period to which it has been assigned by Mr. Rice.

The inscription purports to be the charter of a grant made by a ruler named Ravidatta, while his victorious camp was at a town the name of which is Kitthipura as it stands in the text, but was probably intended to be Kirtipura. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of some villages to some Brāhmaṇs.

As regards the date, the grant purports to have been made on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Phāḷguna, under the Rāvati nakshatra, and on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. But no reference is made to any era; and Ravidatta is not known from any other record. Consequently, the details cannot be tested by calculation.

Of the places mentioned in addition to Kitthipura or Kirtipura, the first village is Puṅgisoga, which is defined as being in the east-central déṣṭa in the Kudugur nāḍu in the Punnāḍu vishaya. The other villages granted are Koṭur, Kodamukku, Dvatośeyanur, Tānaṇgundur, and Paṭṭal. And the village of Elagovanur is mentioned in the specification of boundaries. All of these names remain to be identified. Mr. Rice (ante, Vol. XII. p. 13) has suggested that Punnāḍu appears as Pannata and Pannuta in Lassen and Yule's maps of Ancient India; and has added his opinion as to its modern representative. As indicated by him, the Punnāḍu vishaya of this record is doubtless identical with the Punnāḍu district, supposed to be a Ten-thousand thousand district, which is mentioned in the Merkara grant (ante, Vol. I. p. 365, and Myore Inscriptions, p. 283). And the statement in line 30 of the present record, that the witnesses were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand vishaya, shews that the Punnāḍu vishaya was a sub-division of the well-known Gāṇgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand. But it is difficult to follow his further identification of the Punnāḍu Ten-thousand (?) with "the Padināḍ or Ten Nāḍ country," mentioned in the Yelandur inscription of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. (Myore Inscriptions, p. 334 ff.), which he has located in the south-east of Māṣṭīr (id. p. xliii.), and the name of which, he tells us, "survives in the existing Hādināḍu, now corruptly into Hādināṇu, a village on the Kābbani river, not far from its junction with the Kāvbē." Hādināṇu (hādināṇu), if this is exactly the right spelling of the name, means "sixteen." And there are the following objections to Mr. Rice's identification. In the first place, it is at least extremely doubtful whether the d of nāḍu can change, or even can be corrupted, into r in Hādināṇu, except in the preparation of an English map by someone who would confuse the two sounds. Secondly, though the syllables hāḍī, or pāḍī in the elder stage of the language, do mean 'ten' in hāṭi-mūru, 'thirteen,' and in hāṭi-nālku, 'fourteen,' yet, as the second part of the word is not a numeral, it is not easy to see how they can be used in that sense in such a name as Hādināṇu or Padināṇu; assuming again that this is exactly the right spelling, and that the second syllable is really di, not dw. And, thirdly, it is still more difficult to imagine how the first two syllables of Padināṇu came to be substituted for the pūṇa or pāḍ of Punnāḍu or Punnāḍu. The identification seems really to be based upon the supposition that each division of "the Padināḍ or Ten Nāḍ country" contained one thousand villages, in support of which there is, at any rate, nothing in the Yelandur inscription; and upon the view that the Punnāḍu vishaya was a Ten-thousand thousand district. This latter point rests upon the opinion, held by Dr. Burnell (South. Ind. Palæo. p. 67), that in the Merkara grant, line 18, a certain akṣhara, which stands between the words Punnāḍu and sahaṇara (sic), is the numerical symbol for 'ten.' But the form of the akṣhara as given in Dr. Burnell's book, differs essentially from the form that it has in the lithograph of the grant (ante, Vol. I. p. 362). Nor, as it stands in the lithograph, does the akṣhara really resemble closely any of the known forms of the symbol for 'ten.' As it stands, it distinctly reads as cāḍā. Without, at any rate, an inspection of the original plate, I will not venture to say what it may mean. But, because it does not agree with the known forms of the symbol for 'ten,' and because the use of a numerical symbol at all is so unlikely in the period to which the Merkara plates really belong, and still more because the use of a numerical symbol as part of a compound, with a fully written word on each side of it, is so very extraordinary that without
genuine analogous instances it cannot possibly be accepted, I cannot take it as proved even that the Punnadha vishaya was a Ten-thousand district.

As regards the full genealogical and historical purport of this inscription, it will be desirable to quote here exactly what was said about it by Mr. Rice, who brought it to notice in connection with the Kajaba grant of Prabhutavarsha-Govinda III., dated Saka-Saṅvat 735, expired,—of which, by the way, the authenticity is at least very doubtful. He wrote (ante, Vol. XII. p. 13):— "I have, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, seen a grant of the "Punnadha Raja which must be early in the sixth century. In its succeeding is thus given:—(1) Kasyappa Rāṣṭravarma; (2) Nāgadatta, his son; (3) Singa Varma, "son of the last; (4) his son (not named); (5) Skandavarma, son of the last; (6) Ravidatta, "his son. The addition to the first name may point to a suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūtas."

But from other inscriptions (ante, Vol. V. p. 140, Vol. VII. p. 175; Mysore Inscriptions, "pp. 292, 293) we know that in the time of Skandavarma the Punnad kingdom was "annexed to the Gaṅga dominions by Avinla who married the king's daughter." Of the two references given by him, only in the first (ante, Vol. V. p. 140, and Mysore Inscriptions, p. 292), and in no other document, can I find the passage which he intends. This is one of the Mallahalji grants; and from it we learn that the son of Kōgaṇimahādhīraja, of the Western Gaṅga line, was Avinla, otherwise named Kōgaṇiyuddharaja and Durvinla, "whose broad chest I "was embraced by the beloved daughter of Skanda Varma, the Punnad Raja1 who herself "had chosen him though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his "own guru, to the son of another," and who was "the ruler of the whole of Punnad "(? Pākhād) and Punnad." Now, this Mallahalji grant, though Mr. Rice will not see it, is a spurious grant, belonging to a much later period than the date, Saka-Saṅvat 435 or A.D. 513-514, to which he has referred it (ante, Vol. V. p. 140). This date was arrived at by him as part of and parcel of his theories regarding the Western Gaṅgas, which are erroneous throughout, because they are based on nothing but a series of spurious and unreliable grants. And, having given up his original suggestion that Punnataraja-Skandavarman, the father-in-law of Avinla, might be a Pallava king or a feudatory of a Pallava king (ante, Vol. V. p. 135), and having identified him instead with the Skandavarman of the present record, it followed that, having fixed Saka-Saṅvat 400 or A.D. 478-79 for the beginning of the reign of Avinla, he was naturally obliged, as part and parcel of his theories, to refer to an early period in the sixth century as A.D. the present grant of Ravidatta, whom he took to be the son of Skandavarman. I shall dismiss, without further comment, the exact dates arrived at by him. It is only necessary to point out that his remarks quoted above show plainly that he treated the present inscription of Ravidatta as a genuine record; and that he used it for historical purposes, either as corroborative of, or as corroboration by, another record, which he supposes to be genuine and ancient.

I differ considerably from Mr. Rice in my interpretation of this inscription. In the first place, instead of finding six generations in unbroken succession of father and son, with Ravidatta in the last of them, I find that Skandavarman's son was Punnataraja, and that Ravidatta is simply mentioned as a descendant of Punnataraja, — with what interval between them it is impossible to say. In making Ravidatta the son of Skandavarman, Mr. Rice seems to have taken the word Punnatarajasya, line 9, simply as an epithet, either of Skandavarman or of Ravidatta, meaning that the person to whom it applies was a ruler of the Punnad or the Punnadu country. The construction of the passage is, of course, bad to a degree; and especially so is the use, — evidently intentional, though the vowel ś has been omitted, — of the as Taddhita affix -āya, which is restricted to the special words āmushyāya or dvyāmushyāya, and to such derivatives as Āśvalāya, Bādarāya, Kātīyāna, &c., and which cannot be correctly used as it has been here, viz. as a separate word after Punnatarajasya which is in apposition with tat-puṭrasya. But, doing the best that is possible with the text, it certainly was

1 The original, however, distinctly has punnataraja, like the present inscription. — I have quoted this passage from its later version, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 292. In ante, Vol. V. p. 140, the only difference is that we have "of the Punnad raja Skanda Varma."
seems to mean that Skandavarman's son was named Punnāṭarāja, and that Ravidatta was a descendant of the latter person, in some unspecified degree. In the second place, it is impossible to agree with Mr. Rice in taking Nāgadatta's son to be Siṅgavarman, i.e. Siṅhavarman. The text, line 7, distinctly gives the name of Nāgadatta's son in the word bhujagādāvārāghaḥ, which, judged by the metre, seems to stand for bhujagādāvārāghaḥ. And it proceeds to mention, not a son, but a daughter of Siṅgavarman; and she is plainly intended to be introduced as the wife of Nāgadatta's son, though the exact words are missing. And in the third place, I do not feel quite sure that we have the whole of the inscription before us. I do not find any record as to whether the ring was still uncut when the grant first came to notice: and even if it were so, it is possible that an original ring, with a seal attached to it, was abstracted; that the present plain ring was substituted; and that, in the course of this, part of the original charter was lost. The doubt arises in connection with the context of lines 7 and 8. The last two letters of the first plate, in line 7, have been broken away. And it is impossible to supply for them anything that can satisfactorily connect the last extant word on this plate with the first word on the second plate, in such a way as to give what is required here, viz. the name of Siṅgavarman's daughter, and the distinct mention of her as the wife of Bhujagādāvārāghaḥ (?). Either her name and the other words were carelessly omitted altogether; or else they came on another plate which, possibly with others also, is now missing between lines 7 and 8. In the face, however, of the worthlessness of the whole inscription, this is not a point of any special importance. And, assuming, as Mr. Rice plainly did, that the entire record is practically before us, I find that it gives the following succession of names:—(1) Rāshṭarāja, who seems to be described as belonging to the Kāśyapa gōtra; (2) his son, Nāgadatta; (3) his son, Bhujagādāvārāghaḥ (?), who married a daughter of Siṅgavarman, i.e. Siṅhavarman, but the name of whose wife either was omitted or has been wrapped up in some unrecognisable shape in the syllables vidyā ... nayanē, line 7-8; (4) his son, Skandavarman; (5) his son, Punnāṭarāja; and (6) his descendant in some unspecified degree, Ravidatta. In the description of these persons, there is nothing to indicate anything higher than feudal rank. And, on the other hand, the statement that Ravidatta made the grant with the permission of Chera miejscza, seems not only to show plainly that he was merely a subordinate chief, but also to give the name of his master. His authority was probably confined to the Punnāṭa vihāra, which is the first and chief territorial division mentioned in specifying the position of Puṅgisoge.

I also differ entirely from Mr. Rice in my appreciation of the value of this inscription. Amongst its peculiarities, the first point that attracts attention is the abrupt manner in which, after the words Om Svasti, it opens with a verse that commences with tād-vam sa jayati, "after that, victorious is ... ... ... Ravidatta." This abrupt opening shows that the record is not complete even at the beginning of it, and that at any rate some invocatory verse or verses, which ought to have been included, must have been omitted here; compare, for instance, the Jñānagāḍ inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 58), and the Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II. (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 241), which open with an invocation of respectively Vishnu and Jinaendra, and then introduce the reigning kings with verses of which one, that in the Jñānagāḍ inscription, commences with tād-vam sa jayati, and the other, that in the Aihole inscription, commences with tād-vam sa, having jayati at the end of the second pāda. The next point, of course, is the extraordinary corruptness of the Sanskrit portion. With the exception of the opening verse, which very curiously contains only one real mistake, viz. sampatadantī for sampatani, the errors, both of idiom and of orthography, are of a more marked kind even than in the ordinary spurious inscriptions. I cannot call to mind any other instance in which the idiom and construction are faulty to the same extent. But the orthographical mistakes are of the kind which occur more or less in all the spurious grants, except in the British Museum plates of Pulikēśin I., dated Śaka-Saṅvat 411 expired (ante, Vol. VII. p. 209 ff.), and in the Pimpāṇḍe plates of Pulikēśin I. or II., dated Śaka-Saṅvat 310 (ante, Vol. IX. p. 293); and in no genuine grants, except
perhaps some of the latest of the Valabhi records. Another point is the wonderful mixture of verse and prose in lines 2 to 11; in respect of which, as I have said above, anyone who can understand the text can satisfy himself that the metrical passages really are fragments of verses, taken plainly from some other document, and not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. For this I can call to mind no parallel whatever. And another point is the abrupt transition from Sanskrit to Old-Kanarese in line 16, not only in the middle of a sentence, but even in passing from an adjective in Sanskrit, used moreover erroneously in the nominative case, to the Kanarese dative which it is intended to qualify. For this, again, I can call to mind no analogous instance. In fine, how anyone can apply the present record seriously, is to me quite incomprehensible. The points to which I have drawn attention stamp it unmistakably as a document that has been pieced together, in the most careless fashion, and by a very ignorant and clumsy person, from perhaps half-a-dozen different sources; so that, whatever substratum of fact there may be in any of the passages included in it, taken as a whole it is a worthless document, utterly useless for any historical purposes. It is by no means the first specimen of its kind from the same part of the country. On the spurious Western Gaiga grants, of which one is the Mallóhali record referred to above, through which the present record has been connected with them, I have written elsewhere (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 11 ff). Wearisome as is the task of dealing in detail with such records, I have now treated fully of the present inscription, because, like the Western Gaiga grants, and in special connection with one of them, it has misguidedly and misleadingly been accepted from a serious point of view; and because, in the face of such treatment, it was necessary that its nature should be plainly exhibited. As far as it can be determined palaeographically, and especially by the marked wave in the upper part of the vowel ą as attached to consonants, which first began to appear about the end of the seventh century A.D.,—see, for instance, the Harihar grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya, ant. Vol. VII. p. 300, Plate,— the date of its composition might perhaps be placed about the commencement of the eighth century A.D.; but certainly no earlier. As, however, I cannot find any date in the eighth century which gives us the Rēvati nākhāstra, at sunrise or at any time during the day, coupled with an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday answering to either the pūrṇimānta or the amānta Phālguna new-moon, it would appear that, unless the given details are purely imaginative, the record must be referred to a later time than A.D. 800.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1. Ōm³ Svasti [ḥ²] Tad-ānu jayati rājā rājamāna[ḥ⁴] svā-diptyā raviriva Ravidattō dattavān dharmanā[kāraṇa] [d[iśi].


3. nā(na)dyā-ti-vi-ni-vi-taḥ niśat-sastra-prayogā[ḥ⁴] āskā-rāja vidita-vijayaḥ Kāṣyapō

4. Rāṣṭrav[ah]a rashma tat-puṭrō bhūt samara-mukha-huta-prā(pra)huta-ādāpurusha-turaga-va-


6. gatiḥ Nāgadattō nārindraḥ tat-puṭrōya

rddāntaḥ-vimardda-vimśi-ditā-svambhā(mbhā) rādhipama-ma[i]n[ā] m[ā]r d[apu ma][ja-


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² From the original plates.
³ Represented by a symbol.
⁴ Metre, Mālīn. This is the only complete verse in the body of the grant.
⁵ After this raṃsā, a na or ra seems to have been engraved and cancelled.
⁶ Metre, Mandākrantā; as far as putrābhūt or samara.
⁷ First mi was engraved; and then the i was partially cancelled.
⁸ Metre, Mandākrantā or Śragdhara; as far as nārindraḥ.
⁹ Read chaturddanta.
Second Plate; First Side.

8  nayanô  tat-patrasya  svabhau-bala-parâkrama-kraya-virya-sampanna-Skandâ-
va(ya)rmma(ã)  tat-pu-

9  trasya  Punnâta-râjasya[ã]  jîyâna  dhrîmâta[ã]  s[ã]ja-bhûja-virkrama-datta-mâlî[ã]dêr-
E(¡)no[ã]vâkrama-râjasya.

râj[ã]suchirâma  vasundhara[ã]m[ã]

11  śrīmâna  Kâdissata-nâmâdhâya[ã]  Kitsi[ã]puravarav(ã)  adhivasati  vijaya-
skandâvârê  Chrâmm-anu-

Punnâdu-

13  vishyâ  Kudugûr-nâmâl  pûrvarva-madhya-dêsi  Pungisoge-nâma-grâma[ã]  udaka-
pûrvarvavatta[ã]

Sômasa[ã]rmma-bhâta[ã]  Kodamkek-nâ-

gotra[ã]  Kâmarave(ya)rmma-shâdaj[ã]m[ã]

Second Plate; Second Side.

bhûgama[ã]  sa(ã)shaya  ja-

Bîpanmmâ-dvâdi[ã]
Paçha-

18  1-nâmâ-grâma[ã]  dvija[ã]  guru-dêvatâ-pûdyâ  Gaûnâyaka  tûtâ[ã]  samasta-niti-sâstra-
praya[ã]

19  Têtrîya[ã]  charajya-prâ  vachana-kalpa  Vatsa-gôtreyâ  Máda(dha)va-chauvârggama  ìsau[ã]
Kâpva-

bhûg-

21  aya  tasya  simântaratîgî  pûrvarvayan-disi[ã]  kammattîvâya  allîn  vîttandakolîiya
pa-

[ã]y[ã]

23  bandu  Eîagovanàra  bâdajûna  si(i)meyu[ã]  ku(kô)dî  dakkûshayam-disi[ã]
After the words "Om! Hail!", the record opens with a verse introducing the name of the 'king' Ravidatta (line 1), by whom, as we learn further on, the grant purports to have been made. The verse begins with the words tāde-anu jayati, "after that, victorious is Ravidatta," which show that at any rate some invocatory verse has been omitted here.

It then gives Ravidatta's genealogy. It states that there was a 'king' named Rāshtra-varman (l. 4), who seems to be described as belonging to the Kāsyapa gotra (l. 3). His son was 'king' Nāgadatta (l. 5). His son was the 'king,' the illustrious Bhujangādhirāja (l. 7), if we accept the correction that suits the metre and is suggested by the syllables that actually occur; and in connection with this person, and evidently as his wife, mention is made of a daughter of the 'king,' the illustrious Singavarman, but her name either was omitted or cannot be made out. His son was Skandavarman (l. 8). His son was Punnatārāja (l. 9). And his descendant is the 'king,' the illustrious Ravidatta (l. 11), who has now been governing the earth for a long time.

While his, Ravidatta's, victorious camp is at the town of Kitthipura, or perhaps Kritipura, which is the best of towns (l. 11), with the permission of Cheramma, on the new-moon day of Phālguna (l. 12), on Sunday, under the Rāvati nakhatra, and at an eclipse of the sun, the village named Puṅgiāgō (l. 13), which is described as being in the east-central désa.
in the Kudugur nad which is in the Punnadu vishaya, has been granted, free of all obstruction, apparently to a Brhma named Dvivivipa.

Also the following grants seem to have been made. The village of Kolur (l. 14), to Samaarmabhaa; the said village apparently being his birth-place (jannamakshetra). The village of Kodamku, to Kumbhaarmabhaa. One share, apparently, of the village of Dvatoogayanur (line 15), to Kamaravarmashadagaavid, of the Kaayapa gotra, and to Padavasarman of the Atreyu gotra; and the text seems to intimate that their birth-place was here, and that the rest of the village belonged to them by right of that fact. The village of Tanagundur (l. 17), to Bihamadivrnin, the son of Sridharachauva. And, apparently, one portion of the village of Pasal to Gaananayaka, and the other to Madihavachauva, of the Taittirlya charana and the Vatsa gotra, and to Kaasvaramayita of the Kaavyana gotra.

Lines 20 to 28 contain a specification of boundaries, in the course of which there is mentioned the village of Ebagovanur (l. 23). But it is not clear whether the boundaries are those of Puugisoge; or of all the villages, on the understanding that they formed one compact block; or of a portion only of the lands that were granted.

Lines 28-39 seem to refer to some other grant which was made at the same time, but the nature of which is not apparent. Lines 29-30 state that the witnesses to the grant were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand vishaya. And lines 30 to 36 contain a precept in prose, and four of the customary Saksity benedictive and imprecatory verses, with which the record ends.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.
TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.
(Continued from p. 184.)

As the sixth of the dasu texts the pabhavara padasadu are named. This is to be sure the name of the tenth ahya, which is also divided into 10 dstras but not into 10 aijh. The names of the ten aijh. quoted here show very plainly that here, as in the case of ahyas 8, 9, the author had quite a different, and in fact an older, text before him than the one we now possess. These names are in agreement with the name of the ahya itself, whereas our text of this ahya shows no connection with it. The names are: uwaam, uvaabhi, aviisbhi,atyiyayabhiaadhi, mahdvabhdhaa, khomagapsibhi, kumalapashibhi, adagapasibhi, avyutthapashibhi, bahurapashibhi. The names of ahyas 6, 8, 9, 10 recur in that table of contents of ahya 10 which is found in ahya 4 (and Nandi) so that there the text which existed at the period of ahya 3 and not our present text, is meant. Abhayaadeva says, in so many words: parnatdayakyaraadadati ih 'kvarpa na driyaanadi, driyaamanda tv pauchdiravapaphasainvaraadimita iti, iho kridadhi tl'pamadii am adhyayanam akshararaha [273] pratyayamuna eva tt.

The names of the following dasu do not recur elsewhere. The names of the 10 aijh. of dasu 10 are mentioned, not as parts of the Siddhanta but as belonging in or to it. In the seventh place appear the pabhahadasu, the 10 aijh. of which have the following names:バンディーハ ya mokkhe ya dvididdhi Daarasamanjalai ti ya 'dyayiyavipaddiiti uoajjhayawippaddiiti bhavanti vimociti saasate kanni. In the eighth place we find the dyayiyadidasu (dyayiyaddiiti) with the following names dve vdevt sukhet kasiit ti ya 'bhytalballa suvinia thai mahdusvit haar Ramaagutti ya baam ee dasa ayia. In the ninth place the dasa-dasadu is mentioned with following names: chohd shre ya sukkk ya, Sridhavi, Pabhavai, divasamuddasadatta, Bahuputti, Mahdarai ti ya 'thre Saabhvyavi, thre Pahma-ussanvisissaa iti. Abhayaadeva points out here some connection with the narakavalika, or niyaydvalikd.
irutaskandha, i.e. upāyāga 8—12. Finally in the tenth place are the sāṁkhē vyāyadāsās1 with the follow names khaṭṭaṅgāvī mānāsāvī, māhālīyā mānāsā[274]pāvivāhā, anāgacchāliyā, vaggachāliyā, avadābālīyā, Arunāvālī, Varaṇāvālī (Vara in the Schol., perhaps Dhara) Garulāvālī, Vēlaśīkārāvālī, Vēsamaṇavālī. All these names recur in the avāṇavivittha list of the Nandī (Pākhīkās. Vīdhipra). We have seen above, p. 223, 224, that the five ajjhāyaṇas beginning with khaṭṭaṅgāvī, are designed for the eleventh year of study, the five ajjhājyaṇas, which begin with arunāvālī, for the twelfth year of study. From this two facts are plain: first, that they still existed at the date of composition of the versus memoriales in question, secondly, that they were of great importance in so far as their study is made to occur after that designed for aṅgā 5 i.e. the tenth year. By avadābālīyā (vyākhyā bhagavatī, tasya chālikā) we are in any case to understand one or more of those supplements to aṅgā 5, all of which now appear to have been incorporated in that aṅgā.

We cannot doubt that all the texts mentioned above were thus constituted at the period of the existence of aṅgā 3. Hence the extreme interest of this detailed presentation of the subject. It is only as regards aṅgā 7 and chhēdasātra 4 that this account is in entire agreement with the existing text of the Siddhānta; in all other particulars this account is either widely different or has reference to texts,10 which are not found in the Siddhānta at all. The proof here given of the fact that from the mention of a work in one place or another there does not [275] follow the identity of the then existing texts with the present (though in reality proof of a fact that is self-evident) is nevertheless not out of place in the present case, since it has become so customary in these days to draw from the titles of Chinese, etc., translations of Buddhistic works conclusions in reference to the existence of the latter in their present form. The proof here carried out in reference to aṅgā 8 to 10 is intended as a reminder that greater caution must be used in the future. (See Ind. Stud. III. 140).

Of great interest is furthermore the enumeration in ajjh. 7 of the names of the seven schisms11 together with those of their founders and of their localities: evān chāṇa samanasa bhagavatī Mahāvīrassā tīṭhāhuṁ satta pavayanaṁina haṁ pañ haṁ taṁ: bahuvarā, jīrapadāyā, avattiyā, sūmucchāliyā, dōkṣiyā, tōṣvāya, avardhāliyā [(1)]; eśī pañ haṁ stāṭhāha pavayanaṁina haṁ gāha haṁ satta dharmāvāriyā kottā haṁ taṁ: Jamāḍa, Tikaśūṭe, Avāṭā, Asokaṭṭe, Gā❣te, Chāvake, Gōthāmāhāli; ēśī pañ pañ haṁ satta upattinagarā kottā haṁ taṁ: Śāyattā, Usabhāpura, Sēyabiyā, Mihāli, Ullagāṭṭa, puraṁ Antāraṭṭa, Dasapura(m) nihaṭṭa- upattinagarā. According to Āvāy. nīj. 8, 14, 28, the last of these schisms occurred in the year Vīra 884; from this we may derive some basis for chronological determination.12 See Jacob, Kalpas. p. 15.

An exact examination of this important text is a great desideratum, since in it are contained a large number of signifi cant [276] statements and data. It constitutes a perfect treasure-house for the correct understanding of numerous groups of concepts in distinguishing which from another one the pedantic formalism of the Jains was wont to run riot.

The table of contents in aṅgā 4 and Nandī (N) reads: sō kiṃ ṭaṁ thāṅe? thāṅe pañ haṁ saṣamaya thāvijjānti parasamaya saṣamaya-parasamaya; jīva thāvijjānti aṭīva, jīva jīva; lōgō alōgō lōgolōgō thāvijjānti;13 thāṅe pañ haṁ davaṇ-gūsa-khetta-kāla-pajavapayatthā pañ sēḷa sallā

1 7 sirghadandhā swārāpratō-nagarā ḍvā, ṛṣadāhyayanā (kāni) chin narakāvalīkā-irutaskandaṁ upalabhyaṁ; tātra chaṇḍrāvayaṇatīpratibaddhan chaṇḍrāṁ adhyayanam, tathāḥ: Rājaṅgirī . . . śaṅkarī śrīnī apratīkānī.

8 sanāthākāḍa ṛṣa any anārātavāryā ḍvā, ṛṣadāhyayanāḥ punaṁ arthāṁ: khaṭṭaṅgā tyādi, śavālākā ṛṣaṭāravānyānāpyabhijñanā yaṁ tē hubhāṇā tē vānāvāryaḥbhaktih, tachi sari kāṃ alapgraṁkārthānā, tathāḥ naḥ mahāgraṁkārthānā.

9 This first 5 of the preceding ten ajjhā are doubtless meant by this statement. At least in the Nandī they preserve the same order of succession.

10 These texts may be concealed, i.e., absorbed by larger texts—a conjecture which is very probable e.g. in the case of the vīdaḥśāstra. See above.

11 cf. Kap. 794 (4), where the words "in connection with Ayārakkha and Pāsamitta" belong to the last line after Gōthāmāhāla; see Av. N. 8, 89.

12 The Jain records on the above seven schisms have been translated into German by Leumann, Ind. Stud. XVII., p. 91-135.—L.

13 In N. we read āyājñāṇa pādhyāya at the beginning; then follows bīd alōgā bīdāthā; and anasamot p. saṣamaya-praparopäṇāḥ forms the conclusion, (as also in the case of aṅgā 4 et seq.); the verb is yātākcariṣṭ in each one of the nine cases—i.e. in the plural.
The commentary is by Abhayadeva, who both here at the end and elsewhere is frequently called navânyavrittikâraḥ. Commentaries to aûgas 3—11 are ascribed to him; and we have one from his hand on upâga 1.

He calls himself a scholar of Jînevarîchârya and of Buddhâsâgara the younger, brother of the former. The present commentary was prepared by him Saunât 1120 (A.D. 1064) in Asakâhâsâkâsaka with the help of Yâsâdevâgavan, a scholar of Ajitasinhâchârya, for a pada-paññâparâsad, conducted by Sûrâdhâchârya. According to Buddhâsâgara's Gûrâvâîl, the navânyavrittikâra, Abhayadeva died Saunât 1135, according to others 1139. See Kl. 2486. 2536. (12, 30).

IV. The fourth aûga, samâvâya, "association, group, rubric," in one aûja, that consists of very heterogeneous parts. The contents of the first two-thirds is in general the same as that of the third aûga, both being designed for instruction in the eighth year. See above. There is however the difference that the categories here exceed 10, 12 and continue by progression up to 100, 20 and then per âlitas far exceed 100. Immediately following, but without any logical connection with this, is a detailed table of contents and extent of all the twelve aûgas; then all sorts of statements which cannot be united into one class and which deal partly with doctrine, partly with hagiology and, if we may use the expression, history or legend. This third part is without doubt to be regarded as an appendix to the first part, and the whole as a supplement to the third aûga; as in fact we learn from § 57 that aûjas 1 to 3 were regarded as a connected unit. We have here a compendium of everything worth knowing, [278] a perfect treasure-house of the most important information which is of the greatest value for our understanding of the Siddhânta.

Of special significance are, in the first place, the statements of literary and historical content in § 1—100, in reference to the extent and division of the separate aûgas, etc. (statements which were doubtless the principal cause of the addition of the full treatment of this subject); the mention of various celebrated Arhats of the past together with the number of their scholars (this was the cause of the addition of the concluding part); and the frequent reference to the lunar and nakshatra computation of time and to the quinquennial yuga. The references to the yugas are exactly in the manner of the jyotisha vêdângas, Kriyâka, etc., being the beginning of the series of the nakshatras.

Aûga 4 begins, after prefacing the customary introduction (ryum mè âusan, têpa nîbhâgavatateva evam akhâdayah) with a fresh statement in reference to the authorship of Mahâvîra:—tha khala samâvâya bhâgavatâ Mahâvîrâma (then follows the regular varâahas with about 40 attributes, among which are Jîpâna, bhûdakâna, etc.) imî dvâlänasûya gamipidagdah22 pannattte, tân jâhâ: (then follow the names of the 12 aûgas) [279]

21 Purâsikâya tî purâhaspara kânu niranânamât dibhâdabh; põâhântâreṇa: pusaajàga tû upalakshanoâti pushyadikasahâbrikhâsa chandârâsa saha paschimgrîmorphyâmâparâmâdikâ yogâb.
22 "chânâ B C; jyûtisâka Brahmâsvarâdandats (olP)."
23 N. has instead of thânâ naî diavya: the following: tâkkâ khâla sêla sinhâripa bhâhâkâ kusâlāhî bhûdakâ agara dahâ nau agavârivijâhî, tâkâ thâna ujâlakâ ujâlukarânih vûjûkâ dannoâsaanîvîrâdikâbhârâpî sârâvân arâna agavârivijâhî.
24 The founder of the Kharatrapâcchâka; see the pâttâsîvîl at the end of the Saubhagabhdâdikâ 2 (ms. or. fol. 818), and Kl. 2484 (11).
25 In § 1—100 there are many statements which recur in the same form in aûga 3.
26 They are counted up to 100 as first, second, third samâdâya (or in the neutron samâdâya) up to the hundredth.
28 This word, which in § 57 is used especially for aûgas 1—3, belongs of course to the tipitâka of the Pāli texts, but has no reference to the number-three. The designation of "basket" includes one to think of its having been committed to writing. On the first mention of the name tipitâka see Ind. Stud. 5, 26; Vorles. Ind. Lit.-G. 911, appendix, page 15.
29 All of the preceding from thâ khala on gives an impression of secondary origin. This is the first occasion that we meet with the varâahas of Mahâvîra.
Ittha vāha jē sē cauṭhē anīgha samevīś ti ātīh.24 tassa, vāna āyam aṭṭhē ... In anīgha 1–3 we do not find at the outset any such designation as first, second, third anīgha.

I extract the following from the remainder of the anīgha. In § 1 repetition of the statements of the third anīgha in reference to the asterisms addā, chitte, saūdi being called āpatāra; further on the same statements are made about the remaining nakṣatras; in § 7 the 28 nakṣatras are divided into four groups, viz.: kṣittiyāṇa ("ādīka") in the East (puṇvadrājya), mahāraja in the South, ayāra hāya in the West, dhanaṇṭhṛa in the North. After25 the sentence kṣittiyāṇa satta nakṣatrapuṇvadrājya paṇ (pañattā) the words pāṭhānāśareṇa abhāhiyāṇi (A, abhāhiyāṇi) BC are inserted,26 whereby, as the scholar explains, abhāhiyāṇa, aśīvāṇa, puṇvā, svāṭi are indicated rather than the names in question. This insertion purposed to put the series of nakṣatras, first invented by the Jainas and taught especially in upāhyāya 5, 7 (see Ind. Stud. 10, 220, 304) in the place of the old kṛitiḥaka series, which still maintained its validity at the time the fourth anīgha was first composed.27 The new view had not yet received the authoritative stamp of orthodoxy. [280]

We must however here notice that (cf. p. 269) in the third anīgha § 7 we find statements completely identical with those in this insertion. — In § 18 enumeration of the 18 kinds of writing usual for the bahlī livī (but not so correct as in upa...4 on which account I cite them there); — § 18 attihathipāvayassa puvrassas (this is the fourth vīravan) attihathasa vaṭṭhā; — in § 19 enumeration of the 19 nāya[jh]ayanaṇaḥ, i.e. of the 19 books of anīgha 6, in kārībā form; — in § 23 enumeration of the 23 sthāyagadissajhyanas, i.e. of those of anīgha 2; — in § 25 enumeration of the 25 aṣṭaḥ of anīgha 1; āyārasa bhagavan so dharmaṇya, the mahāpurimā being mentioned in the ninth place and the nivāhajhyanas being designated outright as "25th aṣṭa." The latter is probably the chūliyā (see § 57 and p. 254); the designation as bhagavan is found also in § 38, cf. also § 44; — in § 36 enumeration of the 36 aṣṭaḥ of the uttarajhyanas, i.e. of the first malaśatra, and in fact with a few insignificant variations of the names given here; see below — § 43 tāvālsānaḥ kammavīgarā[jh]ayanaṇaṇaḥ paṇ(nattā); the names are however not enumerated, accord. to the schol. the 20 aṣṭaḥ of the eleventh anīgha, called sāvagaya, are hereby referred to, as also the 23 of the second (1) anīgha. Cf. page 270 in reference to the kammavīgarājas in ten aṣṭaḥ, mentioned in anīgha 3, 10; — § 44 chūliyāsanā aṣṭaḥyanasāyaṇaḥ isibhāsīyā devālōgachyabhāṣīyā paṇ(nattā); both of these texts, at least under these names, are no longer extant.28 I have found the devālōgaḥchachyabhāṣīyā mentioned in this place alone; the isibhāsīyā however are often mentioned. We have already come across them (see p. 272) in anīgha 3, 10 as third aṣṭaḥ of anīgha 10 (1) [281] In the Nandi they appear among the apanajaparaviṣṭha texts; the author of the āvās, nijya, confesses that he (2, a) is author of a nijya to the isibhāsīyī too, and (8, 14), placing them in the second place, describes them together with kālīsana, sūrapannattī and dvitiyāṣṭa as the fourth kinds of ayūs (see p. 255); Abhay, however here characterizes them as kālīkarutuvāśivahahātānā. Haribhadra on Āvās identifies them, on one occasion (2, a) with pānīna 7, on another (8, 14), he calls them uttarādhyayānādīnī! See above, p. 259. They appear also in connection with the pānīnas, embracing 50 (!) aṣṭaḥ in the Vidhīprajya, where their connection with the Uttarajhyanas as mataḥācora is also referred to — § 46 dīthivāyasa paṇ chhādhilanka mūnayāpaṇa (madīprabhādānī) paṇ(nattā); bamāhi paṇa śīvā chhāyādasanā madurakkhā (madurakkha BC, perhaps mūnakkhard 2 mātri + aśīh2) paṇ. In reference to the 46 mūnayāpaṇa of anīgha 12 see below. By the ṛkhyāvādāna 46 mātrikākharāṇa is the Scripture, are according to the schol., to be understood29 a to la, with the addition of kha, but with the

24 Abhayāya, 3 assumed several years ago (see Bhag. 1. 410. 2, 261) under the erroneous belief that his form belonged especially to the Sūryaprajapati (see Ind. Stud. 10, 254) that this abhiṣek were derived from the root khyā weakened to khi, kh. I should now prefer to regard them as a species of regressive formation from the common ḍhāna (root ah).
25 Thus in Ā: in BC before.
26 The same case is found § 72.
27 The schol. however regards the abhiṣek series as siddhāntamāsamā: he then adds: ida (in the text) tu mātramāram dīrṣya kṛitiḥkādīnaḥ: bhūta: chandraprajapati tu bhūtānā mānvi darṣītāni (Ind. Stud. 10, 258).
28 See however the last but one asterism note.
29 The Pāṇiniyaś śikhā counts 33 or 64 varnas and (as is very remarkable) "both for Sanskrit and for Prākrit (!)" as Vidhīprajya. [290]
omission of jha-da-tri(?)-iha(?)-la (710) These statements are of the most remarkable character. The number of 46 aksharas, whether written signs or sounds (which can have reference to Sanskrit alone and not to Prakrit, since keś is included in the list), I am as yet entirely unable to explain—§ 57 tinhăm gaπip̥idaganaṁ dyār狐liiyavajjakajānaṁ sa†avannam ajjhyayaṁ pañ’h (nattā) dyārē 24, vāyagaiś 23, ṭhaṅ (229) 10; here the first 3 aśkas are taken together as a unit and called ‘the three gaπip̥idagā’ par excellence. It is here worthy of note that only 24 aśkas are referred to the dyāra after the separation of the dyār狐liiyā, and in fact (p. 254) only the nīskaπajkaṇaṁ, which in § 25 is called the 25th aśka, can be meant by dyār狐liiyā;—in § 59 fifty-nine day-nights (nītānīdiya) are allotted to each season of the lunar year;—§ 61 pahacahasa-vackaharasa pañ’h jugasaṁ riπumāṇaṁ mīpyaamanayaṁ ọṣattīthi udumādu pañ’h(nattā); see on this Jyōtishā v. 31 (my treatise, p. 93)—§ 62 the quinquennial yuga has 62 full moons, 62 new moons;—§ 67 67 nakhaπattamaṇaḥ; according to § 71, the winter of the fourth lunar year (in the yuga) has 71 nyōyajāna—toπhuddharaṁ pañ’h chandḍasasvaπvackhaharaṁ hau maṁ paḥ ekusahaan niṇṭhaṁ niṇṭhaṁ;—in § 72 enumeration of the 72 kalās which are essentially identical with those which recur in aṣka 6, 11, 15, vīpāṅga 1, 19 and elsewhere;—§ 72 the repeated use of the word lakkaπha probably forms a literary and linguistic tradition with the Mahābhārata and the Atharva-pariśiṣṭha. See Ind. Stud. 13, 460 Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 9 fgs.; the names are:—

Lēhaṁ 1, gaπinyaṁ 2, āruṇaṁ 3, naṭṭaṁ 4, glyaṁ 5, vāyiaṁ 6, saragayaṁ 7, pukkharagayaṁ 8, samatā-laṁ 9, jyanaṁ 10, japaṁvāyāna 11, pōrevačchaṁ (A, kavvya B.) 12, aśthaπayaṁ 13, daγamaṇṭiyaṁ 14, annaṁvīhīṁ 15, pāpaṁvīhīṁ 16, lopavī 24, 17, saγaṇaṁ 18, ajjapahēliyaṁ (ajjana pa.C. 19, meγhayaṁ 20, gāhaṁ 21, siloγaṁ 22, gaṅdhaπuttaṁ 23, [283] madhusūthānā 24, abharaπvīhīṁ 25, tarunapijąkmāṇaṁ 26, itiblakkaπhaṇaṁ 27, purisaṁ 28, mayaλ 29, gāγa 30, guγal 37, 31, kuγkaṇa 32, miγhayal 33, chakkaλ 34, chhattal 35, daṁḍal 36, asil 37, maγil 38, kāγaγil 39, chammaλ 40, chandaλal 41, sūrachariyaṁ 42, rāhuγchariyaṁ 43, gabarchariya 44, sōbhikaγa 45, doγhakaγa 46, viγjayaγa 47, maṭtag 48, rahassag 49, saγhavaγa 50, vārān (? chāra BC 51, paγdāvāna (chāra BC) 52, būhān 53, paγ drihaγa 54, khaγhāravāmāpaṁ 55, nagaramāpaṁ 56, vattumāpaṁ 57, khaγhavāravāvesaṁ 58, nagaraγivēsaṁ 59, vattvivēsaṁ 60, iṣatāna 61, chharupavāya (pagaya BC 62, asajkhaṇa 63, hatthisikkaṇa 64, dhanavādaṁ 65, harivāḍaṁ (haraπavāya BC) 66, suγaṇvādaṁ 67, mānīγaγa 68, dhāŋγa 69, bāγujuddhaṁ 70, daṁḍaj 71, muγthiγ 72, aśthiγ 73, juddhaṁ 74, nījuddhaṁ 75, juddhaśiγuddha 76, suttakhaγdha 77, pāγiyakhaγda 78, vattakhaγda 79, dharmakhaγda 80, chaγhavāγa (paγcaga BC) chheγya 83, pattagheγya 84, saγjivaγ 85, niγlvāγ 86, saγpamaγa 87 iti. Of these 87 names, 15 are to be removed, whether they are pūhāγaras (see on No. 80) or interpolations. For the v. r. from Nāy, see below;—§ 81 avivāhapannttā (in the fifth aṣka) ekkaśitaṁ mahāyummasaṁy [284] (mahāyuyamaśtanā) pañ’h(nattā);—§ 84 avivāhapannttās pañ’h bhagavān chaurāśitaṁ paγān-

10 Among the Brahmanas too there is found an enumeration of the alphabet in order to form a diagram. Cf. my treatise on the Rāma Tāp. Up. 1. 68, p. 309. This enumeration contains 51 aksharas (15 vowels, 36 consonants), which, after deducting 5 aksharas, shows the 46 māywakkaṁ ascribed in aṣka 4, 46 to the bāṅkīli liet. In reference to their use see page 463. It is however doubtful whether the use of the letter (on page 462) represents an example of the māywakkaṁ.

11 tāṁ chā ‘κarktāṁ hākkaśihaṅdaī (vyākta) sakka karktā jha-la-trī-dūn-laṇā (lit.). (Leumann proposes to me to read tī, jī, li, but what is the meaning of jha and da? !) by eva (1) ity tāṅkharasaπvakharavartaṁ saγhayaṁ (Ar.);—The letters meant are indeed tī, jī, li, and l, see Weber’s Cat. IL, p. 408, n. 2. —L.

12 See Paul Steinthal, Specimen of the Nyāyā, p. 22 and Leumann Aspātā, p. 77, where especial notice is taken of the variant readings here.

13 Nāy. has here pumygam and reverses the position of 12 and 13.—The right name of the 12th kalā is no doubt pēγvāchcaπpannttiśa.—L.

14 Viśeśāya Nāy. with the addition of vāṭhav.

15 Nāy. adds piγyaṁ.

16 Instead of 23, 24 Nāy. has hiγraγajjitaṁ, suγajaj, chauγaj.

17 Steinthal has gaγal.

18 Nāy. omits 33, 34.

19 Are they to be regarded as planets or are they to be understood according to the fashion of the Ath. Paris. 53. 54.

20 Instead of 51-57 there are in Nāy. the following 51 names: vāṭhavajjitaṁ, khaγhāravāmāpaṁ 56, 53, 54, 51 (BC), 52 (BC) chaγhavāγa, pāγcaga (paγcaga), saγaγa, aγhāla, 74, 76, 73, 73, 70, 73, juddhaγa, 61, 62, 65, 67, 77, 79, 79, 81, 82, 86-87.

21 Omitted in BC, where we read instead pēγvāchca (piγkhaḷtarga) chaγhavā, by which chaγhavā is manifestly designated as v. 1 to pumygam.
Later on in the course of our investigation we will recur to the fact that this statement in reference to the extent of the text is less by 100,000 padas than that of the present text. See § 85 and § 25 on the designation as bhagavatī, which has remained the exclusive property of this text.—§ 85 ayārassā puṅ bhagavatī saṅkhyāgāsa puṇḍrāsā ν uddēsa-

nakāla; — § 88 diṭṭhivāyassī puṅ ṛṇāṭhāsī sūttāsā puṅ taṅā: ujjāvay, parinayopariṇayāvah, ṛṇā ṛṇāṭhāsī sūttāsī bhāṣyāvāpanī jāhā Nandā. This reference to the Nandā, by which any further enumeration has been spared, is very remarkable from the fact that the statements in it, a few pages further on, are found in exactly the same detail in the fourth aṅga itself at this very point, in the consideration of the contents and extent of all the aṅgas. This being the case the reference ought to have followed the collective statement found several pages further on in the same aṅga. We are therefore compelled to believe that the Nandā is the original source of information for this presentation, common to aṅga 4 and the Nandā, and that this presentation was at a later period taken from the Nandā and inserted in aṅga 4; furthermore, this insertion must have occurred at a period succeeding that to which the above reference of the redactor belongs. Or have we merely to do with a later act of the scribes? Were this the case, this act of theirs is at least very remarkable, if not unfortunately executed. There is, however, one difficulty in the way of the assumption that the Nandā is the ultimate source, viz.—there are all manner of differences between the treatment in the Nandā and that here, differences in which the Nandā does not always [285] contain the more ancient statements. See below. The fact that the table of contents in N. is much shorter than that here makes, it is true, an impression of greater antiquity; and N. offers in this table of contents many readings which are decidedly older and better.

We have now reached a point where we may discuss the collective presentation itself. It begins simply: dvādaśasūṇaṃ paṇḍitātā puṇ (vattē), taṅā ... then follow the names of the 12 aṅgas and then the details in reference to contents, division and extent of each of the twelve. I insert here what I have collected from the statements in reference to division and extent, that the reader may obtain a general survey of the whole. I subjoin the v. r. from the Nandā (N) which, after what I have said above, may in the last instance claim priority over those of the aṅga.

1. ayārē, 2 suyakhaṃdā, 25 ajjhayāṇī, 85 uddēsaṇakālā, 85 samuddeśaṇakālā, 18 payasa-

hassāni payaggaṇam.

2. suyagadē, 2 suyak. 23 ajjh., 33 udd., 33 samudd., 36 padasahassāmi (36,000) payag-

gaṇam.

3. thāṇē, 1 suyak., 10 ajjh., 21 udd., 21 samudd., 72 payasahassāmi (72,000) payaggaṇam.

4. samavādā, 1 ajjh., 1 suyak., 1 udd., 1 samudd., ēgē chōyāḷē payasasahassē (144,000; 

saya is omitted in the incorrect Berlin MS. of N, but accord. to Leumann is in the N Ed.) pay.

5. viyāhe, 1 suy., 100 ajjh. with a residue (1 ēgē saīrēgē ajjhayasayē), 10 uddēsaṇahassā-

si, 10 samuddeśaṇahassāni, 36 vāgarasahassāni, 84 (!) payasahassāni (84,000) payag-

gaṇam.—the latter statement is found also in § 84—see above page 284—N. however, has: do 

lakkhā aṭṭhāsī (288,000) payasahassāni, which corresponds to twice the former steady increase 
in 1—4.

6. [286] nāyādhammakaṇhā, 2 suyak., 19 (A N Ed., 29 BCN) ajjh.43 10 dhammakaṇhāṇi vaggā (this omitted in N), 19 (A N Ed., 29 BCN) uddēsaṇakālā, 19 (A N Ed., 29 BCN) samuddeśaṇakālā, saṃkhējjiṇāṃ payasasahassāni p. (saya omitted in N., also in Ed.; 376,000 Schol.)—Between 10 dh. vaggā and 19 (or 29) udd. we find inserted: in each dhammakāṇha 500 akkhāyā, in each akkhāyā 500 uvakkhaṅyā, in each uvakkhaṅyā 500 akkhāyā-uvakkhaṅyā, in all 3½ akkhāyakākōjī.44 In N this statement from dasahamnakahanjan vaggā (inclusive) on, is at 
an earlier place in the description of the contents:

7. tuvasagadasāñā, 1 suyak., 10 ajjh., 10 udd. kālā, 10 samudgalā, saṃkhējjīvī payaśa-

hassāni p. (saya omitted in N., also in Ed.; 1,152,000 Schol.)

43 ēgūcāyāsa A N Ed., ēkānānāvātā Schol. (also on N), ēgūcātyaṃ BCN.

44 Cf. my remarks on aṅga 6 in reference to this remarkable number. We are lead to expect a much higher 
figure. N Ed. has kaṭṭāgagakōjī accord. to Leumann instead of akkhāyakākōjī.
8. amatagadadasā, 1 suyak, 10 ajih. (N omits), 7 (8 N) vaggā, 10 (8 N) udālā, 10 (8 N) samudālā, saṃkhējājaṁ payasa-yasa-hašsāinā p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 2,304,000 Schol.).

9. aputtaravāvvyadassā, 1 suyak, 10 ajih. (omitted in N Ed.), 3 vaggā, 10 (3 N) udālā, 10 (3 N) samudālā, saṃkhējājaṁ payasa-yasa-hašsāinā p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 9,216,000 Schol.).

10. pañhāvagaramani, 1 suyak, [45 ajih. N], 45 udālā, 45 samudālā, saṃkhējājaṁ payasa-yasa-hašsāinā p. (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 9,216,000 Schol.).

11. vivāya-su, [2 suyak. N], 20 ajih., 20 udālā, 20 samudālā, saṃkhējājaṁ payasa-yasa-hašsāinā p. (saya omitted in AN, also in Ed.; 18,432,000 Schol.).

12. [287] diṣṭhitvā, 1 suyak, 14 puṣvāṇa, saṃkhējāja vadhū, saṃkhējāja chula (chulla N) vadhū, saṃkhējāja pāhuḍā, s. pāhuḍapāhuḍā, saṃkhējāja pāhuḍiyā, saṃkhējāja pāhuḍiyān, saṃkhējāja payasa-hašsāinā.

The most remarkable feature of the above is the statement in reference to the number of the words of each āgā. According to Abhayadāva in the scholiā, the number of words in the case of āgās 1—4, increases continually by half till the eleventh āgā is reached; and the Nandi and an anonymous writer thereupon asserts the same with the modification that, instead of āgās 1—4, āgās 1—5 are said to show this increase. This view is however in direct opposition to the actual facts of the case, for āgās 7—11 are the least of all as regards their extent; which is so very small that there can be no thought of “100,000” countable padās, “countable” meaning here probably “those that need a special count,” “numerous” or “innumerable.” If we reckon on the average for each padā three akṣaras and for each grantha (śloka i.e. 32 akṣh.) twelve padās, the following is the result of a comparison of the number of these granthas, stated as in the MSS., with the above padā numbers [286].

1. āgās, 2554 gr., i.e. 30,645 padās, instead of 15,000 p. 238.
2. , 2300 gr., 27,600 padās, 36,000
3. , 3750 gr., 45,000 padās, 72,000
4. , 1007 gr., 19,284 padās, 114,000
5. , 15,750 gr., 129,000 padās, 84,000
6. , 5,373 gr., 64,500 padās, 576,000
7. , 812 gr. 9,744 padās, 1,132,000
8. , 890 gr., 10,680 padās, 3,504,000
9. , 192 gr., 2,304 padās, 4,608,000
10. , 1300 gr., 15,072 padās, 9,216,000
11. , 1316 gr., 15,792 padās, 15,432,000.

Drinavatikā lakṣhā śhājasahasa-hāhikā.

Ekā padādāta chatraśātīrī lakṣā śhājasahasa-hāhikā.


* N at least has only “thousands.”

* Accord. to Leumann saṃkhējāja signifies merely an indefinite number that is still to be counted, and not always a large number.

See Bhagav. 1, 377. This is true in the case of the prose; in verse we must reduce the number somewhat.

The preliminary question is of course—What does the author understand by padas? [Malayagiri in the Nandiṇīśākha says p. 423 yajtrīrāja-sadhāhi tāt padās. 1.]. In this approximation of three akṣaras to a padā I have reckoned the single members of compounds as a single word, in so far as the compounds can lay claim to be considered as such.

See above, p. 250. The grantha enumeration is of secondary origin in comparison with the padā enumeration.

So also in nīthihasthāhāya pethā, 1 (taken from the Ācāra-nirīya). It must, however, be noted that the above number (18,000 is referred to the first Śrutakhandha only. Malayagiri says [Nandiṇīśākha p. 425]: anna parā yaṁ ākṣhārye dvan ājīrāngam saha-saha-pramānaṁ ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam saha-saha-pramānaṁ ājīrāngam ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam ājīrāngam śājāsahasa-hāhikā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam. Saṃgītika p. 425: "śājāsahasa-hāhikā padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam padāmarā ājīrāngam.

Another statement 2,550 gr., or 4,155 gr.
In the case of añgas 1 and 5, the numbers above given are less, in the case of all the others, greater than the actual state of the case. In a majority of cases the difference is simply ridiculous. The statement in reference to añga 5 (84,000) is not in harmony with the increase in 1—4 i.e. twice the number of the previous. We should expect that añga 5 should have preserved the same ratio, as is the case in N. This statement is in direct contradiction to those statements which are found in the MSS. of añga 5; according to which its extent is not 84,000 (and not 288,000, as is stated in N) but 184,000 padas (Bhag. 1, 377), which corresponds well enough to its actual extent: 15,750 gr. = 189,000 padas. The peculiar nature of our statement in reference to 289 to 84,000 padas is, finally, rendered more apparent by the fact that it is found in § 84 of the first part of our añga, on the strength of which it has again found a place here. In that § it is so free from suspicion that I consider it correct for that period, and find in this very circumstance a critical criterion or testimony that, at that time, the fifth añga had not yet reached its present extent.

As peculiar as the statements in reference to numbers of padas are those concerning the '31 kotis' i.e. 35 millions, in añga 6. That all this is perfect nonsense, is perfectly apparent. See below. Finally there are several differences of a very surprising nature in the other statements which are not so readily set aside as incorrect or impossible, differences which exist partly in these statements themselves, partly in their relation to the actual facts. First, the difference in reference to the number of aṭṭhayanās in añga 6; according to A and Abhayad. there are 19 and such is the actual state of the case—but according to BCN there are 29. Then as regards añga 8 the 10 aṭṭh. are wanting in N. The number of the vaggas (7) of the udd. (10) and of the sāmudd. (10) is in N everywhere 8; likewise as regards añga 9 N has the number 3 as in the case of the vaggas, and in that of the udd. and sāmudd.; in the case of añga 10 N adds 45 aṭṭh. and in that of añga 11 likewise 2 suyaṁi. In reference then to the actual facts, we must make the preliminary observation that the division into uddeśagamas in the case of añgas 8—11, and that into sāmuddēśagamas in general in all the añgas, is not denoted in the MSS. The other differences refer chiefly to the fifth añgam which has no division into aṭṭhayanās; in that añga they are called saya (kata), and their number is not 100 but 41 or, including the sub-sayas, 138; likewise the existing text has only 1925 (not 10,000) uddeśagamas. A special demarcation of vāgaraṇa sections is unknown. What can possibly be the meaning of 36,000 vāgaraṇas and only 84,000 padas! (cf. Bhag. 1, 376). The differences in reference to añgas 8—11 are not less remarkable. As regards the vaggas (8), añga 8 agrees with N, but has, not 10 (cf. añga 3, 10), but 93 aṭṭh.;—añga 9 has likewise not 10 (cf. again añga 3, 10), but 33 aṭṭh.;—añga 10 has ten dāras; cf. the ten aṭṭh. in añga 3, 10, whereas we have here no information about dāras or aṭṭh., and N, on the other hand, speaks of 45 aṭṭh.—añga 11 has in agreement with N the 2 suyaṁi, which are not mentioned in the source of information before us. In the case of añga 12 there is no possibility of comparing the statements in question with the text, since there is no longer any such extent. —See below.80

80 Or saṃvartitavāt 1841 (v. 1. 1894) granthas!
81 So also Abhayadīva, who shows that he is evidently embarrassed in his statement: chakravatītadivasaḥ sahasriṇi padgṛpaḥ 'ti samavāyāpāhūtyā ("in reference to § 84") dvijagatayā (tāya"?) iti (7) nārayanaḥ (9), anyathā tad dvijagata eva tākṣaḥ abhītah sahasriṇi cha bhavanī. In the following añga he states the number of padas to be 570,000 i.e. twice that of those in añga 5, according to his computation.
82 According to Leumann Nād. has 19 and not 29. Here again, as with añga 1, only the first drusakandha is intended by the assertion of there being 19 aṭṭhayanās and not 29. In the same way only Part I. of añga 11 has been known to the author of añga 3, 10 as has been shown above on p. 370.—L.
83 According to Leumann this is not so in Nād.
84 This statement requires some modification; see the closing words of añgas 8—10 in Weber’s Cat. II., 502 (8), 507 (9). 550 (10); daman chāva diśāya uddeśiṇanti . . . . ; añga 11 has in the place a reference to añga 1 (see ibid. 564) which, however, has the same bearing.—L.
85 This demarcation, or the number 36,000 representing it, is also found in the table of contents of añga 6 preceding the statements in reference to the extent.
86 I will note here merely the fact that in the section in reference to the twelfth añgam, Bhaddabhū is mentioned by name, whom tradition proclaims to be the last teacher of this añgam or of the fourteen pūrvas; see above, p. 214. It is furthermore stated that therein was contained a section in reference to Bhaddabhū and to his history.
The question now arises how are these differences to find a fitting solution? It is self-evident, that, so far as the extraordinary character [291] both of our information in regard to the number of padas, and of the *akhāhūs* in *āṅga* 6 is concerned, they are a fabrication of the author; nor is it improbable that a similar explanation may hold good in the case of the special differences of detail. The carefulness of statement which we notice here, renders it, on the other hand, possible that the author has based his statements on those of his authorities, and that we have to deal with genuine discrepancies between two different texts. Abhayadēva declares here that he is unable to explain the contradiction in the case of *āṅga* 8 and 9 and in the case of *āṅga* 10 all that he does is to admit the existence of the conflict. But in his commentary on *āṅga* 10 he addsuces (1) a further case of divergence—an introduction at variance with the general character of the introductions in that it allots to the *āṅga* two *svyākhana-dhās*, and (2) refers especially to the conflict between the *pihākāhārādha* and the aidahāyānākādha. See below. Of primal importance for *āṅga* 8 to 10 (11) is the fact that the statements in *āṅga* 3, 10 too render it [292] probable, that these *āṅgas* had then a text different from our own. The irreconcilability of title and contents show that in the case of *āṅga* 10 something must have occurred to cause the present condition of affairs.

As we have seen that there are important differences between the statements made here or in N. and the actual state of things in the eleven *āṅgas*, so far as extent and division are concerned, we now discover that the same holds good as regards the statements, now under examination, concerning the contents. These statements, which in N. are much more brief than those in *āṅga* 4, are, it must be said, of so general a character and so colourless that their real contents can only be discovered with difficulty. They appear in a form that is purely stereotyped (see the common introduction in *āṅgas* 2 to 5, and in 6—9 and 11,44) whereas there is no such similarity of contents between each of the single members of these two groups; and the statements in question are not in exact accordance with the contents of any single one. This latter remark holds good in the case of the special statements in reference to the contents of *āṅga* 10, to which we do not find any such stereotyped introduction. These special statements suit the name of the *āṅga*, but not its present contents. It is of great significance that the statements in *āṅga* 3, 10 (see above, p. 272) are essentially in accordance with these now under discussion. This agreement [293] makes it extremely probable that the contents of the tenth *āṅgam*, as it then existed, was in harmony with these statements.

To the detailed consideration of the twelve *āṅgas* there is appended here, as in the Nandī, a passage on the entire duvalasahāmag gaṇipīdam. This deals partly with the attacks, which was subjected to in the past,45 which it now experiences in the present and will experience in the future, partly with the acquired devices which is its lot to meet with in these three periods and concludes with the declaration of its certain existence for ever: na kāyā na āsī, na kāyā na ‘tthī, na kāyā na bhavissati.

The concluding portion of the fourth *āṅga* consists of frequent reference to the legendary hagiology and history of the Jains, genealogical enumerations (and others of different content) of parents, wives, etc. of the kulakaras, 24 tilakakaras, 12 chakkaśaśītas, 9 Balādevas, 9 Daśarhas, 9 Vāsudēvas, partly in metrical form (śloka and ārya). Towards the end there is a transition to prophecy (construction in the future). Our information here varies in part very materially from that contained in Hēma. 26 fg. 691 fg. and is not preserved in the MSS. with any

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41 On 8: dada aṭṭhāyata tī prathamavargpēkēshayai 'va khatavā, Nāndīyā tathai 'va vyākhyaśatavat (see below); yathā (yathā chē) 'ha pathyāt satta vāgāt ti tat parthamavargaḥ anyavargātēkāhayā yati 'tva sarvē paśīsa svasa Nāndīyān api tathā paśīsaḥ . . . svasa (adhyāyatana) cāti kavāvyātēkāhayā yugapad uddhiyante, ato (tva) bhavevat : atithā uddhātā iti kā, iha cha daśa 'dēśānākākā adhyāyanta iti na 'syā 'bhīṣṭayādhiadhipachāhāmun:— and on 9: iha 'dhyāyanaamāmā vāg, āttā 'dhyāyanaāmā, vāgāma cha yugapad eva 'padayavā, ity ati prave eva 'dēśānākākā bhavantītī eva cha Nāndīkā adhyāyata, iha ta druṣyāt, āttā ity, ati bhīṣṭayādhipacāhāmun.

42 Yadi nā 'ha adhyāyatanaḥ duṭṭhatāt dadaśīty 'vyā 'dēśānākākā bhavantī tathā 'pī vāchānterāpēkēshaya (cf. N) pāścanāvātīvādīvā iti sambhāryatanti tāti pasoyāśīlam ity kā iti aviruddhāna (I).

43 Samāya, āsī, āsīva.

44 Nayakādaśīntī tī N limits herein its treatment of the subject entirely to this common introduction and gives nothing else in addition.

45 According to Abh., attacks at the hands of Jamāli, Goshṭhāmāhīlī, etc., i.e. the representatives of the seven schisms.
greatest consistency. Hence it appears that our knowledge is not complete, but is derived from accounts of a partial nature which is in need of additional supplementary testimony. Some of the MSS. afford at one time generous information and at another limited data.

The survey of contents of aṅgas, contained in the detailed account of the aṅgas, runs as follows: sā kim tām samavā h1? samavād naṁ saṣamasyā sūjajānti [294] parasamayā s. jāta lógalōgē sūjajānti66; samavācānām ēgādīyānām ēgātēhānām ēgūttarīyāparivādhiyāna7 (dvārālasangāsa ya gaṅipidaggaśa pallaṅgāc camaṇcapāyījā1ayā);71 thānagasyassā 75 bārasaṅvāvītharassā 75 suyaṅgāsāsaya jagejvāhīyāsa77 bhagavatō samāseṣāṇām samāyāra77 āhījai; tatt thāya nāṅavīvāppagā jivājvā vā vanniyā75 vītharēṣaṁ, avarē vi ya bāhuvihi viśā samārya-tirīya74 maṇyasuragaṇānaṁ āhīr -ussāsa-lōsa-āvāsa-saṅkha-āyaya-pamāna-uvavāya-chay yoga-oghāna' -oḥi76 vēyaṇavīhāpa vaṇāma76 jōga-indiya-kasaṣya,77 vivęh yā jivājvā vikṣīhamīh' usēhāparīrayappamānaṁ vidhivādea78 ya, Mahādrādīnaṁ mahīhārēṣaṁ, kulagara-tithagara-gaṇahariṇā samatta Bhrāhāhīvīnaṁ79 chakākha-chōva chakkhahara-haḷahāraṁ ya, vṛṣāya80 ya nīkga81 samē, ete annē ya evam-ai etthā82 vītharēṣaṁ atthā samāśeṣaṁ.83

The commentary is by Abhayadēva.

(To be continued.)

MICRELLANEUS.

GUSTAVE GARZ.

The year 1888 was darkened by the deaths of two great French oriental scholars,—Abel Bergeigne, and Pierre-Gustave Garz. Neither could be spared, for each was a high authority in his own domain. Bergeigne’s Vedic studies were cut short by a tragic accident which occurred while he was still in the active vigour of his maturity, and Garz’s death, as sudden as it was unexpected, has left a void which will be none the less felt, because his modesty prevented his name being widely known beyond the immediate circle of the Société Asiatique.

A short memoir of the career of the latter, from the pen of M. E. Senart has appeared in the pages of the Journale Asiatique, and a brief account of the salient facts of his life will now be acceptable to the readers of the Indian Antiquary.

He was born at Rome in the year 1834, was brought up in Paris, and as a young man saw military service in the Crimean war. He left the army in 1857, and abandoned himself to study with that inexhaustible energy, that labor improbats, which characterised all that he did, and which resulted in the acquisition of a vast amount of learning of varied kinds. His bent was always towards foreign tongues, and he commenced with German and Italian. The perusal of Max Duncker’s Histoire de l’Antiquité turned his attention to the East, and armed with Benfey’s Manual, he commenced, unassisted, the study of Sanskrit. The range of his studies quickly extended. India led him to Irān, and Irān to the Semitic languages and civilisations of ancient Asia. He studied, in turn, Zend, Persian, Pahlavi, Armenian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, without allowing the wide extent of his reading to interfere with its depth. In India, too, the boundaries of his researches approached nearer and nearer to the present day, and he made himself master of the Prākrits, of the dialectic Sanskrit of Buddhism, and of the modern languages,—not only those of the Āryan stock, but also the Drāviḍian ones, and more especially Tamil.

All this time spent in the acquisition of learning gave him little leisure for the production of original compositions. Moreover, never satisfied with anything short of perfection, an unshaking and severe critic, he could not be prevailed upon to publish to others that with which he was not himself entirely satisfied. With such

66 N has instead of sūjajānti everywhere samāshiṣaṁ and, as in the case of 3, the order jivā ... lōc ... saṣamāś.
67 parivādhiyā A.
68 pallaṅgāc camaṇcapāyījā A.
69 N is much better; samavā naṁ ēgādīyānām ēgātēhāñām ēgūttarīyā parivādhiyānājā; dvārālasangāsa gaṁ pallaṅgāc camaṇcājā. N omits all the following. As the words dvārālasangāsa interrupt in aṅga 4 the connection, I have enclosed them in brackets.
70 bārāsa A.
71 jivājvāsa hi A.
72 yācī A.
73 viśā yā; varṇāḥ.
74 nāgaratvārīyā A.
75 uggāḥyā A; avangānā, avadhi.
76 uvāka A B C.
77 kasāyā A B C; prathamā ... lōpāḥ.—So upākāya 1, 12 presents ācāra-achāyaṁ tātā ya (see p. 88, note 6 of my ed. of the text).—L.
78 viddhasēha A.
79 sāmastiṣaṇaṁ Bharatādhipānaṁ.
80 aṅga ya BC.
81 gūma ya BC.
82 kī ‘ṛtha A.
severe self-criticism, there is the danger of writing too little, and into this danger Garrez fell. His ripe learning, his power for comparative philology, have been lost to the world. His two principal essays, the one on the Bundehesh of Justi (1869) and the other on Weber's Hala (1872), are monuments of erudition. He showed himself able to thread his way with equal ease amid the mazes of Zend and Pahlavi, Arabic and Armenian, Prakrit and Sanskrit, ancient and modern India. His review of Hala's Saptakotaka is probably that which is best known in India, and its readers will remember with what sobriety, yet decision, he put forward theories then altogether new, but since in great measure confirmed, regarding the comparatively late development of the classical literature of India, and the previous existence of a literature couched in the popular dialects. Other shorter essays, published in the Journal Asiatique, and in the Revue Critique, need not be referred to here, though we may direct attention to his luminous criticism (Rev. Crit. March 1873) of the first volume of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar. The writer of these lines well remembers a pleasant afternoon spent at the rooms of the Société Asiatique in Paris, in the winter of 1886, and how delighted he was with the learning and the originality of some remarks on Hindi put forward by Garrez in the course of an ordinary conversation.

His private means were sufficient to render it unnecessary for him to submit to the drudgery of a professorship, and at the same time prevented his feeling the at times useful spur of necessity. Hence, beyond the range of his intimates, his name was as little known, as his writings were rare.

M. Senart's closing remarks deserve quoting in their original form,—"Cette vie se ferme sans avoir conquis dans le public la réputation légitimement due à tant de travail et de mérite. C'est une tristesse pour les amis de Garrez. Quant à lui, jamais une pareille préoccupation ne l'a effleuré. Il était aussi supérieur à la vanité qu'étranger à l'ambition. Sa noble carrière, toute pleine d'une activité sans agitation, quoique sans repos, gouvernée par une âme haute et sereine, éclairée par un esprit admirablement formé et étendu, restera inoubliable à ses confrères et à ses amis; elle leur sera, mieux qu'un cher souvenir, un modèle fortifiant. Quelle récompense plus enivrible pour un homme qui, avec la patrie, a surtout passionnément aimé deux choses; la science et l'amitié?"

G. A. G.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 31.

In the Tālgund stone inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha III., from Maistre, published by me in this Journal, Vol. IV. p. 278 n. (see also Pdl, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 215), the date (line 8 ff.) is —Saka-varsha 950naye Viḥabhava-sahvatasarada Pushya-sūdhā-5-Sūmaavrad-uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti-andu,—"at the time of the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṃkrānti of Monday, the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of (the month) Pushya (i.e. Pana) of the Viḥabhava saṃvatsara, which is the 950th Saka year." And the inscription goes on to record that, on this occasion, the Thirty-two thousand (Mahājana) of Sthānakkudrā, an agrahdra that had existed from time immemorial, made a grant of twelve māras (of land), by the measure of the staff called gaṇimbada-gale, of the god Pranamēvara.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Viḥabhava saṃvatsara coincided with Saṅkha-Saṃvat 951 current; i.e. with the given year 950 as an expired year. In this year the given tithi, Paṇa sukla 5, began on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 1028, at about 56 ghasts, 42 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); was current all through the Monday; and ended on the Tuesday, at about 1 gh. 7 p. And the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṃkrānti, as represented by the sun's entrance into Makara, occurred on the Monday, at about 37 gh. 53 p. Accordingly, the English equivalent of the given date is Monday, 23rd December, A.D. 1028.

This date gives an instance of the custom to which I have drawn attention at page 269 above, of quoting, as the tithi of a saṃkrānti, the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the saṃkrānti. It is not a very pointed instance; because there was no other tithi, current or ended, on the day of this saṃkrānti. But there was no absolute necessity for the original to quote the fortnight and tithi at all; there are plenty of instances in which these details, and sometimes even the name of the month, are omitted, in connection with a saṃkrānti. And therefore this date is an instance of the custom in question; though doubtless we shall obtain more pointed instances hereafter.

In this instance we find that, though the saṃkrānti occurred more than three ghasts after sunset, its purvikāla was not deferred till the next day, but was taken to be on the day of the occurrence of the saṃkrānti.

J. F. Fleet.

1 Rice (Mysore Inscriptions, p. 201) has given 'Sunday,' but this is a mistake; the syllables sāmavāra are very distinct.
THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

In order still further to facilitate the finding of the exact commencement (and end) of a Jupiter's year which may be mentioned in a Hindu date, I have constructed the accompanying Tables from the data in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, *ante*, pp. 103-209. Tables 1 and 2 serve for the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule; Tables 3 and 4 for the Jyotistattva rule.

In Table 1 the last two columns give the day of the Julian period for the commencement (or end) of a complete cycle of sixty years, counted from Viśu as the first year of the cycle, without and with Bijá; and the first column gives the European date for the day put down in the same line under the heading 'without Bijá,' while the second and third columns give the expired (northern) Viśu and Śaka years to which the European date belongs. Table 2, on the other hand, gives the number of days for the commencement of every year within the sixty-year cycle, also without and with Bijá. And all that is necessary to find the European date for the commencement of any year, is, to add up one set of figures from Table 1 and another set of figures from Table 2, and to convert the sum into the European date, and into hours and minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), as may be seen from the following example:—

According to *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XI. Plate xxxvii. 3, a stone inscription at Jaunpur is dated—

Jyājāj jāhā maśā sitā pākāh dvādasāh (āyāh) Śravastī, 11 Samvat 1333.—

corresponding to Wednesday, 16th May, A.D. 1296. The cycle of sixty years, of which the year Plava, which is here coupled with the Vikrama year 1333, forms part, must be the one which by Table 1 commenced in Vikrama 1344 expired; and we accordingly have, for the commencement of this year Plava, without Bijá,—

by Table 1, commencement of cycle, without Bijá, for V. 1344, 2191 424 3914
+ by Table 2, commencement of Plava, without Bijá, 2 888 2138

sum 2194 312 6093

i.e., the 13th September, A.D. 1295, 14 h. 31.5 m. after mean sunrise; and similarly, for the commencement of Plava, with Bijá,—

by Table 1, 2191 459 6007
+ by Table 2, 2 888 2772

sum 2194 347 8779

i.e., the 18th October, A.D. 1295, 21 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of the same year by adding to the sum found, for the year without Bijá 361 0267 days, and for the year with Bijá 361 0347 days, as shown in my former article, thus:—

Commencement of Plava, without Bijá, 2194 312 6093
+ 361 0267

sum 2194 673 6360

i.e., the 8th September, A.D. 1296, 15 h. 9.9 m. after mean sunrise, end of Plava without Bijá; and

Commencement of Plava, with Bijá, 2194 347 8779
+ 361 0347

sum 2194 708 9126

i.e., the 13th October, A.D. 1296, 21 h. 54.1 m. after mean sunrise, end of Plava, with Bijá.

To show how to find by the Tables the Jupiter's year current at any given moment, and, at the same time, to test once more the accuracy of the Tables, we will ask:—What year, without Bijá, was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, at the time of the Śāla-Simkārāti of the expired Śaka year 1713?

By the Tables given in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, the day of the Julian period for the commencement of the solar year Śaka 1713 expired, Kalīyuga 4892 expired, is—

2375 309 4392 (Śāla-Simkārāti).

Deduct next lower complete cycle, without Bijá, in Table 1, 2364 717 2175
remainder 10 592 2217;

Deduct next lower figure, without Bijá, in Table 2, 10 469 7749 (commencement
of Dundubhi).

remainder 12 4468.

Accordingly, by the Tables, the year without Bijá, current at the time of the Śāla-Simkārāti of Śaka 1713 expired, was Dundubhi, and of this year there had elapsed, at the same moment, 12 4468 days = 12 days, 10 h. 43.4 m. of solar time. Now, by a MS. calendar for Śaka 1713 expired, which is in the Royal Library at Berlin, the Jupiter's year current at the commencement of the year was Dundubhi, as found above; and

*Footnote:* The construction of these Tables has to some extent been suggested to me by the general practice of Dr. Schram's *Hilfstafeln für Chronologie*, and by some MS.
since of this year there are stated to have elapsed, at the time of the Mōsha-Saṅkrānti, 4 months, 2 days, 6 daṇḍas=122 days, 2 h. 24 m. of Jupiter's own time, which are equal to about 122 days 10 h. 45'4 m. of solar time, the result obtained by the Tables for the actual commencement of the year Dundubhi differs from the statement in the MS. calendar by about two minutes.

Owing to the unequal length of the Jovian years, the Jyotistātva rule requires another treatment, and the arrangement of Table 3 and 4 will therefore be found to differ considerably from that of Tables 1 and 2. Here, Table 3 gives in the last column the day of the Julian period for the end of the Jovian year, the number and name of which are given in the column immediately preceding the last. The first column gives the European date for the day of the Julian period put down at the end of the same line, the second column the expired solar Saka year in which that European date falls, and the second column the expired (northern) Vikrama year which approximately corresponds to that Saka year. It should be particularly noted that the Jovian years are here counted as shown in the auxiliary Table at the foot of Table 3. Table 4 gives the number of days for the commencement of a series of Jovian years, the numbers of which must not be confounded with the number of the years in Table 3. The use of the two Tables will appear from the following examples:

According to Professor Eggeling's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. I. O. p. 23, a MS. of the Kauśānuvrama-vaivaraṇa is dated in the Vikrama year 1650, in the year Subhakrīt. The year Subhakrīt, by the auxiliary Table the 36th year of a cycle, which is here coupled with Vikrama 1650, must have followed upon the year 29, Manmatha, which in Table 3 is coupled with Vikrama 1644; and it is clear that, to find the day of the Julian period for the beginning of Subhakrīt, we must add, to the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the said year Manmatha, from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (36 — 29 =) 7th year, thus:

Table 3, V. 1644, end of year
29 2900 798:6997
+ Table 4, commencement of year 7 2 165:8379
sum, commencement of year 36 2902 964:5276 1.e., the 4th March, A.D. 1538, 12 h. 39'7 m. after mean sunrise.

Above we have seen that an inscription at Jaunpur is dated in the Vikrama year 1593, in the year Plava. In Table 3 we find, in a line with Vikrama 1303, the day of the Julian period for the end of the year Sādāharaṇa, the 44th year of a cycle. The year Plava of our date is the 35th year of a cycle, and, coupled as it is with Vikrama 1593, it is clear that Plava does not fall in the same cycle with the year 44, Sādāharaṇa, of Table 3, but belongs to the next cycle. To find the commencement of Plava, we must therefore take from Table 3 the day of the Julian period put down for the end of the year 44, Sādāharaṇa, in a line with Vikrama 1303, and add to it, from Table 4, the number of days for the commencement of the (16 + 35 =) 51st year, thus:

Table 3. V. 1303, end of year
44 2176 245:8692
+ Table 4, commencement of year 51 18 048:6490
sum, commencement of year 95 2194 294:5182 i.e., the 26th August, A.D. 1295, 12 h. 26'2 m. after mean sunrise.

Similarly, if we had to find the commencement of the year Khara, the 26th year of a cycle, which in Table 3 is coupled with Saka 912, we should start from the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the 56th cycle-year Krōdhaṇa, in a line with Saka 827, and should add to it from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (1 + 60 + 28 =) 86th year, because here the difference of 85 solar years between Saka 827 and Saka 912 would show us that there lies a complete cycle of 60 years between the end of the year 59, Krōdhaṇa, which we know from Table 3, and the commencement of the year 25, Khara, which we are to find. Our calculation would accordingly stand thus:

Table 3, Saka 827, end of year
59 2951 693:0488
+ Table 4, commencement of year 86 30 682:7032
sum, commencement of year 145 2082 375:7520 i.e., the 26th March, A.D. 929, 13 h. 29' m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of it by adding 360-9730 days. But the end of the years actually put down in Table 3 must always be ascertained from that Table itself. Thus, in the case of our two first examples, we find:

Commencement of Subhakrīt 2302 964:5276
+ 360-9730
sum 2303 325:5006 i.e., the 28th February, A.D. 1594, 12 h. 0'9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Subhakrīt; and,
TABLE I.

Sārya-Siddhānta Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the commencement of a complete Cycle of Sixty Years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the Cycle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Vikrama expired</th>
<th>Saka expired</th>
<th>Without Bijja</th>
<th>With Bijja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O.S. 101, September 1</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1758 192·3261</td>
<td>1788 218·0194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160, December 21</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1779 853·9294</td>
<td>1779 880·0965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220, April 12</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1801 515·5327</td>
<td>1801 542·1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279, August 3</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>1833 177·1359</td>
<td>1823 204·2566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338, November 22</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1864 838·7392</td>
<td>1844 868·3357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398, March 14</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>1896 500·3424</td>
<td>1866 528·4148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457, July 3</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>1928 161·9457</td>
<td>1888 190·4988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>516, October 23</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>1960 823·5490</td>
<td>1909 852·5729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>576, February 13</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>1993 485·1522</td>
<td>1931 514·6519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635, June 4</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>1993 485·1522</td>
<td>1931 514·6519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694, September 24</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>1996 469·9620</td>
<td>1996 500·8991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>754, January 13</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>1997 808·3583</td>
<td>1974 838·3101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>813, May 5</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>2018 131·5653</td>
<td>2018 162·9682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>872, August 25</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>2039 793·1685</td>
<td>2039 825·0473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>931, December 15</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>2061 454·7718</td>
<td>2061 487·1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>991, April 6</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>2063 116·3751</td>
<td>2063 149·2054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1050, July 26</td>
<td>1107</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>2104 777·9783</td>
<td>2104 811·2845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1109, November 15</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>2136 439·5816</td>
<td>2126 473·3635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1169, March 7</td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>2148 101·1848</td>
<td>2148 135·4429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1225, June 26</td>
<td>1285</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>2169 762·7881</td>
<td>2169 797·5216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1287, October 17</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>2191 424·3914</td>
<td>2191 459·6007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1347, February 5</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>1268</td>
<td>2213 085·9946</td>
<td>2213 121·6798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1406, May 28</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>1328</td>
<td>2234 747·5979</td>
<td>2234 783·7588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1465, September 17</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>2256 408·2012</td>
<td>2256 445·8379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1525, January 6</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1446</td>
<td>2278 070·8044</td>
<td>2278 107·9170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584, April 28</td>
<td>1641</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>2299 732·4077</td>
<td>2299 769·9960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643, August 19</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1565</td>
<td>2321 394·0109</td>
<td>2321 428·0751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702, December 8</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>1624</td>
<td>2343 056·6142</td>
<td>2343 094·1542</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.S. 1762, April 10</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>1684</td>
<td>2364 717·2176</td>
<td>2364 756·2332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821, July 31</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>2386 378·8207</td>
<td>2386 418·3123</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880, November 20</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>2408 040·4240</td>
<td>2408 080·3913</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2.

Stûrya-Siddhânta Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of every year within the Cycle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>Without Bija</th>
<th>With Bija</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>Without Bija</th>
<th>With Bija</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vijaya</td>
<td>000·0000</td>
<td>000·0000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Rudhirôgârîna</td>
<td>10830·8016</td>
<td>10831·0395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jaya</td>
<td>361·0267</td>
<td>361·0347</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Baktâkaha</td>
<td>11191·8558</td>
<td>11192·0742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manmatha</td>
<td>722·0634</td>
<td>722·0693</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Krôdhana</td>
<td>11552·8551</td>
<td>11553·1088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Durmukha</td>
<td>1083·0902</td>
<td>1083·1040</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Kâhaya</td>
<td>11913·8818</td>
<td>11914·1335</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hêmalamba</td>
<td>1444·1069</td>
<td>1444·1386</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Prabhava</td>
<td>12274·9085</td>
<td>12275·1751</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Vilamba</td>
<td>1805·1336</td>
<td>1805·1733</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Vîhava</td>
<td>12635·9352</td>
<td>12636·2124</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Vikârin</td>
<td>2166·1603</td>
<td>2166·2079</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sûkla</td>
<td>12996·9620</td>
<td>12997·2474</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Sarvarin</td>
<td>2527·1570</td>
<td>2527·2426</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Prâmôda</td>
<td>13357·9887</td>
<td>13358·2921</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Plava</td>
<td>2688·2138</td>
<td>2688·2772</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Prajâpati</td>
<td>13719·0154</td>
<td>13719·3167</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sûhakris</td>
<td>3249·2405</td>
<td>3249·3119</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Angiras</td>
<td>14080·0421</td>
<td>14080·3514</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sûhana</td>
<td>3610·2672</td>
<td>3610·3465</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Śrîmukha</td>
<td>14441·0688</td>
<td>14441·3860</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Krôdhin</td>
<td>3971·2939</td>
<td>3971·3612</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Bâva</td>
<td>14802·0956</td>
<td>14802·4207</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Viśvâvasu</td>
<td>4392·3207</td>
<td>4392·4158</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Yuvan</td>
<td>15163·1223</td>
<td>15163·4553</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Parâbhava</td>
<td>4693·3474</td>
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<td>Dhâtari</td>
<td>16524·1490</td>
<td>16524·4900</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Plavanga</td>
<td>5054·3741</td>
<td>5054·4851</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Iśvara</td>
<td>15885·1757</td>
<td>15885·5246</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Kâlaka</td>
<td>5415·4098</td>
<td>5415·5198</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Bahudhânya</td>
<td>16246·2024</td>
<td>16246·5593</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Saumya</td>
<td>5776·4275</td>
<td>5776·5544</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Prâmôthin</td>
<td>16607·2292</td>
<td>16607·6939</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Siddhârana</td>
<td>6137·4543</td>
<td>6137·5391</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Vikrama</td>
<td>16968·2559</td>
<td>16968·6286</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Virôdhakrit</td>
<td>6498·4810</td>
<td>6498·6237</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Bhrîśya</td>
<td>17329·2826</td>
<td>17329·6633</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Paridhâvin</td>
<td>6859·5077</td>
<td>6859·6584</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Chitrabhânu</td>
<td>17690·3093</td>
<td>17690·6979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Prâmôthin</td>
<td>7220·5344</td>
<td>7220·6930</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Subhânû</td>
<td>18051·3661</td>
<td>18051·7326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ánanda</td>
<td>7581·5611</td>
<td>7581·7277</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Târana</td>
<td>18412·3628</td>
<td>18412·7672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Râkshasa</td>
<td>7942·5879</td>
<td>7942·7623</td>
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<td>Pârthiva</td>
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### TABLE 3.

Jyotistattva Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the end of the Jovian year which precedes an Expunged Year.

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### The Sixty-Year Cycle.

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<td>58</td>
<td>20 575.4598</td>
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Commencement of Plava... 2194 294:5182
+ 360:9730

\[ \text{sum} = 2194 \ 655:4912 \]
i.e., the 21st August, A.D. 1296, 11 h. 47.3 m. after mean sunrise, end of Plava.

But the year Khara of the third example ended as put down in Table 3, on the day of the Julian period 2032 741:0107, i.e., on the 27th March, A.D. 990, 0 h. 15.4 m. after mean sunrise.

Finally, to show here also how to find by the Tables Jupiter's year current at any given moment, we will ask: What year was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, on the 30th September, A.D. 1889, 8 hours after mean sunrise?

\[ \text{Expressed in days of the Julian period, the 30th September, A.D. 1889, new style, 8 hours after mean sunrise, is:} \]
\[ 2411 \ 276:3333. \]

Table 3,
\[ 2394 \ 308:5483 = \text{end of year 48.} \]

\[ \text{remainder} \ 16 \ 972:7850; \]

Table 4,
\[ 16 \ 965:7300 = \text{commencement of year 48.} \]

\[ \text{remainder} \ 7:0550; \text{sum} \ 96 = 60 + 36 \]

(Subhakrit).

Accordingly, the current year is Subhakrit, and at the given moment there had elapsed of that year 7:0550 days = 7 days, 1 hour, 19:2 minutes. F. KIELHOHN.

\[ \text{Göttingen.} \]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

RUSTIC CUSTOMS IN OU DH.

Lakhia Bhot, is the name of a festival which is, I hear, of Gurkhâ origin, and is held at the planting of the paddy during the monsoons.

Two men, masked, and with horns tied to their heads, are yoked to a plough. Two rows of men, facing each other, walk sideways behind them, advancing towards and retreating from each other, while imitating the planting of the paddy. When they meet a pool of water, the 'oxen' drop down on their hands and knees and are freely bathed in it.

The procession is followed by a crowd, with music and songs, and the Lakhia Bhot dancing wildly in the midst. The bhot is dressed up in a woman's dress, wears a large mask, and flowing hair made of the tail of the chaur gde (yak).

Query. Who or what is the "Lakhia Bhot"?

Lucknow.

G. H. R.

BOOK NOTICE.

PHILOSOPHISCHE HYMNEN AUS DER RIG- UND ATHARVA-
VEDA-SAMHITA, VERGLICHER MIT DEN PHILOSO-
PHEN DER ALTEN UPANISHADS VON DR. LUCI-
AN SOCHERMANN; STRASBURG, KARL J. TRÜBNER.
1837, 8vo. pp. vii., 96.

In 1833 the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich offered a prize for an investigation into the philosophic hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-Veda-Samhita, with regard to themselves, and in relation to the philosophy of the older Upanishads. The prize was won by Dr. Scherman in 1835, and his essay, revised and corrected, has since been published. The author first gives a revised translation of six hymns or portions of hymns of the Rik-Samhita, and of thirteen of the Atharva-Samhita. Each translation is supplied with copious notes, and (when necessary) with a short paraphrase or interpretation of its contents, and of their philosophic import. It is then, in each case, followed by a comparison of similar tenets put forward by the older Upanishads. The author finally sums up, in seven pages of concluding remarks, the principal points of connexion between the hymns and the Upanishads.

These are: (1) The primitive condition of All is a general denial of all existence and non-

existence, while, however, simultaneously in this absolute "Nothing" a Primitive Being is involved, which out of the non-existing (as out of one of its own limbs) causes the Universe to proceed.

(2) The main factors, which the Primitive Being used for the development of the world, are the abstracta, Tapas, Kama, and Manas, i.e., the Working of the Spirit, the Will, and Absolute Thought, of which the last two work reciprocally. Tapas eventually became identified with (the neuter) Brahma.

(3) The act of creation is similarly explained in the hymns and in the Upanishads. With the help of Tapas (i.e. Brahma), Manas, and Kama, the universe arises in a perpetual order of development.

(4) With the recognition of the impossibility of a clear explanation of the development of the world, the way is opened for the confession that the soul of man is not able to solve such questions.

The above does not pretend to do more than indicate the direction of the conclusions arrived at by the author in his very interesting and learned paper to which the reader must be referred for further particulars.

Geo. A. Grierson.
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ERRATA IN VOL. XVIII.

p. 30 b, No. 21, line 7-8, for śravaṇa, read śrāvāṇa; and line 8, for pakṣhē-vaṇakaṭā, read pakṣhē-vaṇakaṭā.

p. 35, lines 1 and 2 from the bottom, for ddhiṛtya, read ddhiṛtya; and for guḍiṛgya, read guḍiṛgya.

p. 40, Text line 38, for ubhaya, read ubhaya; and in line 42, for mihātya, read mihātya.

p. 63 a, line 36, for nīruṇa, read nīruna.

p. 73, line 1, for kaṭṭakāṭa, read kaṭṭakāṭa.

p. 75, line 15, dele the senukata after them.

p. 76, line 3 from the bottom, for mādavi, read mādavi.

p. 81, note 1, for meaning, read meanings.

p. 82, line 11, for four-months, read four-months.

p. 83, Text line 9, for auvaśāṇa, read auvaśāṇa. (Note: It should be auvaśāṇa.)

p. 85, note 15, for apāṭh, read apāṭh.

p. 85 note 33, at the end of the note add the words, See Vol. VI, p. 212, note, where it is said that it means Brahmans who had not been fed before, and were not to be fed again.

p. 94 a, line 34, for śrama [ch*], read śrama [ch*].

p. 95 a, line 29-30, read Also, not one of the three lithographs of these inscriptions as.

p. 96 a, line 35, for the colon after Siddhānta, substitute a full-stop.

p. 101, line 32, insert a comma after Chakradhara.

p. 102, note to verse 299, read of Iranian origin, the term yamuna might sce. The sentence, as it stands, has been wrongly divided by the substitution of a full-stop after origin.

p. 112, Text line 6, for Chāmu-[m]a, read Chāmu-[m]a.

p. 113, Text line 23, for Vamanasthā-tīrīka, read Vamanasthā-tīrīka.

p. 120, Text line 7, for nilīni-anāha, l, read nilīni-anāha.

p. 136, G. line 1, for 21" by 15", read 21" by 161/2".

p. 146, note 27, for see note 19 above, read see note 29 above.

p. 171, note 50, for paramamahāvāra, read paramamahāvāra; and for paramaavarāha, read paramaavarāha. In Vaiśnava-nayaka, dele the hyphen.

p. 200, line 1, for 5-69 m., read 5-69 m.

p. 267, note 22, for ākṣu-mardonā, read ākṣu-mardonā.

p. 268, Text line 15, for āna-danāh, read āna-danāh.

p. 269, line 10, for four-toothed, read four-tusked.

p. 270, l. 14, for Pādāra, read Pādāra; and at the end of the line insert the mark of the end of the donor's speech.

p. 277-278, for An-Nasir-li-din Allah, wherever the words occur, read An-Nasir-li-din Allah.

p. 277-8, for Ch. D. Fuch, wherever the words occur, read Ch. D. Fuchk.

p. 278 b, lines 33, 34, for Khalīfas Mustafī B’ī’lah, Muta B’ī’lah, and Tā’ī B’ī’lah, read Khalīfas Mustafī B’ī’lah, Mutī’ī B’ī’lah, and Tā’ī B’ī’lah.

p. 279 a, line 13, for from Al-Kauar, read at Kazan.

p. 279 b, line 20, for J. Gottwald, read J. Gottwaldt.

p. 280 a, line 1, for Mītaurov, read Mītaurov.

p. 280 a, line 3, for Mi我家ourov was court captain, read Mi我家ourov was court chaplain.

p. 280 a, line 14 from bottom, for Balabkhar, read Balawar.

p. 280 a, line 4 from bottom, for Wrestler, read Hermit.

p. 280 b, line 30, for Taipna, read Taftaf.

p. 281 a, line 12, for Ahmad-Ibn-Abi-Karim, read Ahmad-Ibn-Abi-Karim.

p. 281 a, line 31, for worshipper of Nābīgī, read admirer of Nābīgī.


p. 281, for mu’āllāh, wherever the word occurs, read mu’āllāh.

p. 282 b, line 16 from bottom, for Rudugzi, read Rubugzi.

p. 282 b, line 8 from bottom, for Khouzoundi, read Khojandi.

p. 282 b, line 4 from bottom, for Ta’ash-Shahdnā, read Ta’ash-Shahdnā.

p. 283 a, line 4, for Majdīla-aun-nafais, read Majdīla-aun-nafais.

p. 283 a, line 19, for Háji Bakhaś, read Háji Bakaś.

p. 283 a, line 22 from bottom, for Iderīnay Baghad, read Iderīnay Baghad.

p. 283 a, line 15 from bottom, for Mustafa Jalālīghā, read Mustafa Jalālīgha.

p. 283 a, line 7, from bottom, for Nusrat-ūmā, read Nusrat-ūmā.

p. 284 a, line 19 from bottom, for Abn-Obaid-Ibn-Sallām, read Abu-Ubed-Ibn-Qasim-Ibn-Sallām.

p. 284 a, line 16 from bottom, for Mīkhī, read Makkī.

p. 284 a, line 15 from bottom, for Rajab Isfahānī, read Raghi Isfahānī.

p. 358, note 43, for avatārar-dītri, read avatāra-dītri.