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EDITED BY

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,  
MAJOR, INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

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MAJOR, BRITISH ARMY CORPS

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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XXI.—1892.

## 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 Vol. XX. page 266.)*

### CHAPTER IV. (continued).

## THE AUTHOR AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

### PART II. — THE LANGUAGE.

THE language of our inscriptions presents, especially as regards grammar, hardly any absolutely impenetrable obscurities. Much light is thrown upon it by a comparison with the analogous idioms with which literature has made us familiar. Nevertheless, the orthographical or dialectic peculiarities which distinguish the different versions, and the chronological position which our monuments occupy, lend to their study a philological importance, on which it is not necessary to insist.

I propose, in the first place, to sum up, in as condensed an inventory as possible, all the grammatical phenomena worthy of interest. In a second part I shall draw general conclusions from these phenomena. I shall endeavour to determine the true nature of the orthographical processes, to define the extent of the differences of dialect, and to group together those indications which are adapted to throw light on the state of linguistic development in the middle of the 3rd century B. C.

In spite of the continual progress with which attempts at their decipherment are rewarded, the condition of the monuments does not permit us to hope that the texts will ever be fixed with a rigorous certainty. Our facsimiles, moreover, are, at least for several versions, still regrettably insufficient.

It is, therefore, impossible to establish absolute accuracy in our statistics of the grammatical forms; and it must be understood that many of the facts which are about to be recorded, if they are rare and exceptional, are not free from doubt; but, fortunately, the characteristic phenomena reappear sufficiently often to entitle us to establish them on solid grounds, and what remains in doubt is in no way likely to compromise our general deductions.



## I. — THE GRAMMAR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

## A. — GIRNAR.

## 1. — PHONETICS.

## (a). — Vowels.

**Changes of Quantity.** — Except in certain special cases, I enter neither here nor elsewhere under this heading, words in which the lengthening or the shortening is the result of compensation, and can be explained either by the simplification or by the doubling of the consonant which follows. It is hardly necessary to add that, among the changes of quantity here noted a great many may be and can only be apparent, being referable either to mistakes of the engravers or to incorrect readings.

**Vowels lengthened.** — *Anantaran*, VI, 8; *asampratipath*, IV, 2; *asu* (= *synh*), XII, 7; *abhīramakāni*, VIII, 2; *chikichhā*, II, 5; *ñātikā*, V, 8; *vipulē*, VII, 3; *vijayamhi*, XIII, 10; *tāthā*, XI, 4; *madhūrītāya*, XIV, 4. At the end of words: *chā*, IV, 11; *ēśā* (nom. masc.), XIII, 4; *mitāsānīstuta*, III, 4; *nā*, I, 2; XIV, 2; *parāpāsānīdagarahā*, XII, 13; *sarvatā*, II, 6; *tatā*, XII, 8; XIII, 4; *tatrā*, XIII, 1; *ētāmhi*, IX, 2; *panūthēsū*, II, 8.

A long vowel regularly becomes short before anusvāra, or before a consonantal group, even when, as here, the latter is not represented in writing: but sometimes, instead of doubling the consonant, the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation: *dhāma*, V, 4; *vāsa*, V, 4 al. Sometimes the vowel remains long, even though nasalized: *anuvīdhiyatān*, X, 2; *atikāntān*, VIII, 1; *susrusātān*, X, 2; *vihārayātān*, VIII, 1; *samachērān*, XIII, 7. We should, perhaps, add here several cases in which *ā* represents a Sanskrit *ān* (see below *Nasalized vowels*). Sometimes, finally, a vowel remains long before a consonantal group: *bāmīhāya*, IV, 2; VIII, 3; XI, 2; *nāst*, passim; *rāṣṭika*, V, 5; *tadātpanē*, X, 1; *ātpa*, passim; and before a mute followed by *r*: *bhrātrā*, IX, 6; *mātrān*, XIII, 1; *parākramāmi*, V, 11; *parākramēna*, VI, 14.

**Vowels shortened.** — *Aradhī*, IX, 9; *aradhō*, XI, 4; *ētarisān*, IX, 4; *danē*, IX, 7; *ōpayā*, VIII, 5; *ñatikēna*, IX, 8; *susrusā* (once *susūsā*). At the end of words *mahaphalē*, IX, 4; *prāṇa*,

I, 10; III, 4; *rāja*, V, 1; *tēdā*, XIII, 5; *tatha*, XII, 6 (several times *tathā*); *yatha*, III, 3 (several times *yathā*); *va* (in the meaning of *vā*), V, 8, 5; VI, 2, 3, 9, &c.

**Changes of Quality.** — *Pirindhā* or *pārindhā* = *pul.nda* (?), XIII, 9. *Ēta* (= *atra*) VIII, 1, 3; IX, 3. *Ē* is weakened to *i* in *ōvādītavya* (for *ōdē*) IX, 8; *likhāpayisān*, XIV, 3 (for *lē*). — The vowel *ri* is written *ra* in *vrachhā*, II, 8; — *a* in *bhati*, XII, 6; *vaḍhi*, XII, 2, etc.; *bhātaka*, IX, 4, &c.; *daḍha*, VII, 3; *kata*, passim; *kacha*, IX, 8; *maga*, I, 11, 12; *magavyā*, VIII, 1; *suḥādāya*, IX, 7; *usoṣa*, X, 4; *visitāta*, XIV, 2; *vyāpata*, passim; — *i* in *tārisa*, IV, 5; *ōtārisa*, IX, 7, &c.; *yārisa*, XI, 1, &c.; — *u* in *paripuchhā*, VIII, 4; *vuta*, X, 2.

**Additions and Suppressions.** — Additions: *a* in *garahā*, XII, 3; *garahābi*, XII, 5; *i* in *īthi*, XII, 9; *u* in *prāpūṣṭi*, XIII, 4.

Suppressions: *a* in *pi* (passim) for *api* which is preserved II, 2; *i* in *tī* (V, 8; XIII, 11) for *īti*, which is preserved five times; *ē* in *va* for *ēva* (passim).

**Contractions.** — *ava* into *ō* in *ōvādītavya* (passim); *ōvādītavya*, IX, 8; *ahō*, IV, 3, if I am right in explaining it as equivalent to *athavā*; — *a(l)u* into *ō* in *khō*; — *a(y)ū* into *ō* in *mōra*, I, 11; — *a(v)i* into *ai* in *thaira*, IV, 7; V, 7; VIII, 3; — *a(y)i* in *ē* in *vijātāya*, XIII, 11, and several times in the formative affix of the causal, *hāpēsati*, &c. Cf. below; — *ayō* into *ai* in *traidasa*, V, 4; — *ya* into *i* in *parichijitpā*, X, 4; — *iya* into *ē* in *ētaka*, XIV, 3; — if *pētēnika*, V, 5, really represents a corruption of *pratishthāna*, we should have in it the contraction of *a(t)i* into *ē*.

**Nasalized Vowels.** — The nasal, whether before a consonant, or at the end of words, is, except in two cases in which a final *m* is preserved by sandhi, invariably expressed by anusvāra. The anusvāra is omitted in a certain number of cases, such as *achāyika* for *°kaṇ*, VI, 7; *pāsāṇḍa* for *°dān*, XII, 4; *avihiśā* for *°hinsā*, IV, 6, &c. These omissions, several of which are, without doubt, only apparent, and due to the condition of the stone, are in every case accidental, and are to be referred to the



negligence of the engraver, I lay no stress upon them.

Certain cases seem to imply the equivalence of a long vowel to a vowel nasalized: *āparātā*, V, 5; *atikātān*, IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; *susuṁsā*, XIII, 3; *nigātu* (= *niryāntu*), III, 3; *pādā*, II, 2; *susruśā* (accusative), X, 2; *nichā* (= *nityān*), VII, 3; *pūjā* (acc.), XII, 2, 8; *vanā* (= *vā*, *vai*), XII, 6; *sāmichān* (nom. pl. masc.?), II, 3. But in most of these examples the nasalized vowel is long by derivation, and it may as well be admitted that the sign for anusvāra has accidentally disappeared. It is also possible that the apparent confusion between *ā* and *an* may, in some cases, be due to an error in the reading. The second *u* of *susruśā*, being here almost always written short, there are grounds for believing that the anusvāra of *susuṁsā* is due to an inadvertence of the scribe; the reading *sāmichān* and its interpretation are not certain. There would, therefore, only remain *nichā*, an unique example, and but a fragile basis for such a deduction. We might, perhaps, add *ētā*, IX, 5, which would be equivalent to *ētān* (nom. sing. neut.), unless, indeed it represents *ētān*.

In one case also, *karu*, XI, 4 (cf. *karaṁ*, XII, 4), *an* appears to be replaced by *u*; and sometimes by *ē*: in *athē*, VI, 4, 5; *yulē*, III, 6; *savē* (*sarvē*) *kālē*, VI, 3, 8. But several of these facts admit, as we shall see, of a different explanation.

In *pravāsānūmhi*, IX, 2, the nasal is written twice over, by an abuse which is too frequent in the manuscripts to cause us surprise.

#### (b). — Consonants.

**Simple Consonants. — Changes.** — *gh* into *h*, in *lahukā*, XII, 3; — dentals into cerebrals, in *paṭi* for *prati* (passim); perhaps *praṭi* in *hiraṇyapratividdhān*, VIII, 4, but *pra* is doubtful; *uśaṭa*, X, 4; *śasāḍha*, III, 5; *vadhī*, XII, 2, 8, 9 (beside *vadhī*, IV, 11); *dasanā*, IV, 3; *dasanē*, VIII, 3 (*darsanān*, VIII, 4); *prāpūnōti*, XIII, 4; *yōṇa*, V, 5; — *th* into *h* in *ahō* (*athavā*); — *d* into *r* in *tārisa*, *ētārisa*, *yārisa*; — *bh* into *h* in the base *bhā*: *hōti*, *ahūṁsu*, &c.; — *l* into *r*, if *piriṇḍa* or *pāriṇḍa*, XIII, 9, is equivalent to *pulinda*. If *pēṭenika*,

V, 5, is really derived from *pratiśṭhāna*, it would afford an example of the loss of the aspiration, *t* for *ṭh*.

**Suppressions and Additions.** — Suppression of an entire syllable in *athā* (= *athāya*), XII, 9; *ilōkika*, XIII, 12; *ilōkacha*, XI, 4 (for *ihālō*?); loss of the initial *y* in *āva(yāvat)*, V, 2, al.; of a medial consonant in *khō* (*khalu*), *mōra* (*mayāra*). — Addition of a *v* in *vuta* (*ukta*), IX, 6, &c.

#### Compound Consonants.

*kt* becomes *t*: *abhisita*, &c.

*ky* becomes *k*: *saka*, XIII, 6.

*kr* becomes *k*: *atikāntān*, VIII, 1, &c.; *parākāmātē*, X, 3, &c. It remains unchanged in *parāramāmi*, VI, 11; *parākramēna*, VI, 14.

*ksh* becomes *chh*: *achhāti*, XIII, 7; *chhaṇati*, XII, 5; *chhūḍaka*, XII, 4, &c.; *saṁchhāya*, XIV, 5; *vrachhā*, II, 8; — *kh*, in *ithijhakhamahāmātā*, XII, 9; *khamitavē*, XIII, 6; *saṁkhitēna*, XIV, 2.

*gn* becomes *g*: *agikhaṁdhāni*, IV, 4.

*gr* becomes *g*: *agēna*, X, 4, &c.

*jñ* becomes (*ñ*)*n*: *kataññatā*, VII, 3, &c.; *āṇapayāmi*, VI, 6, al.

*dy* becomes *d* in *pūdā* (*pāṇḍyāḥ*), II, 2.

*ny* becomes *ṇ*: *ānaṇṇa*, VI, 11; *hiraṇṇa*, VIII, 4.

*tm* becomes *tp* in *ātpa*, XII, 3, 4, 5, 6.

*tth* becomes *st* in *ustāna*, VI, 9, 10.

*ty* becomes *ch*: *āchāyika*, VI, 7, &c.

*tr* becomes *t*, as in *bhātā*, XI, 3, &c. It is unchanged in *bhrātā*, IX, 6; *mātraṁ*, XIII, 1; *mitrēna*, IX, 7; *paratrā*, VI, 12; *prapōtrā*, IV, 8; *pōtrā*, IV, 8; *putrā*, IV, 8, al.; *savatra*, VI, 8, al.; *savatra*, VI, 4; *tatrā*, XIII, 1; *tatra*, XIV, 5; *yatra*, II, 7.

*tv* becomes *tp*: *alōchētpā*, XIV, 6; *āra-bhītpā*, I, 3; *chatpārō*, XIII, 8; *dasayitpā*, XIV, 4; *hitatpā*, VI, 11; *parichijitpā*, XIV, 4; *tadāt-paṇḍ*, X, 1. It becomes *t* in *satiyaputō*, II, 2, if the etymology proposed by Dr. Bühler is correct.

*ts* becomes *chh* in *chikichhā*, II, 4, &c.; — and *s* in *uśāṭēna*, X, 4.

*ddh* is preserved: *vadhī*, IV, 11, or more ordinarily changed into *dh* in *vadhī*, XII, 9, al.

The cerebral *ṣ* is always preserved in the base; it never appears in terminations, even where it ought to

exist according to the Sanskrit rule, as in *dīcāṣa-priyāṣa*, &c.



*dy* becomes *j* in *aja*, IV, 5; — *y* in *uyāna*, VI, 4.

*dr* becomes *d*: *chhūdaka*, &c.

*dv* is preserved: *dvē* I, 11, al.; *dvādaśa* IV, 12, al.

*dhy* becomes *jh*: *majhama*, XIV, 2, &c.

*dhr* becomes *dh*: *dhuva*, I, 12, &c.; it would appear to be preserved in (*a*)*mūdhra*-, XIII, 9, according to the reading of Dr. Bühler.

*ny* becomes *nū*, *ñ*; *onūcē*, V, 5, &c.; *mañatē*, X, 1, &c. The spelling *ñayāsu*, for *niyyāsu*, VIII, 1, is connected, in a manner more or less arbitrary, with this transformation of *ny* into *ñ*.

*pt* becomes *t*: *asamātonh*, XIV, 5, &c.

*pr* becomes *p*: *pakaraṇa*, XII, 3; *dēvānāsh-piya*, XIII, 9, &c.; — it is preserved in: *asakpratiṭipati*, IV, 2; *dēvānāshpriya*, I, 1, 5, 6, 8; II, 1, 4; IV, 2, 5, 8, 12; V, 1; VIII, 2; IX, 1; X, 3; XI, 1; XIV, 1; *prāchamētēsu*, II, 2; *prūdēsikē*, III, 2; *prāpunōti*, XIII, 4; *prakaraṇa*, XII, 4; *prajā*, V, 7; *prajūhitavyaṇh*, I, 3; *prāṇa*, I, 9, 10; III, 5; IV, 1, 5; XI, 3; *prapōtā*, VI, 13; *prapōtrā*, IV, 8; *pratiṭipati*, XI, 2; perhaps *prafivīdhānō*, VIII, 4; *pravajitāni*, XII, 2; *pravāseṇmhi*, IX, 2; *priyadasi*, IV, 1, 5, 8, 12; VIII, 2; X, 1.

*bāh* becomes *dh*: *ladhēsu*, XIII, 1, &c.

*br* becomes *b*: *bāmhaṇa*, passim; it would appear to be preserved in *brāmhaṇa*, IV, 2, 6.

*bhy* becomes *bh*: *ārabhisu*, I, 9; *ārabharē*, I, 11.

*bhr* becomes *bh*: *bhātā*, XI, 3, &c.; it is preserved in *bhrātrā*, IX, 6.

*my* is preserved: *samyapratipati*, IX, 4; XI, 2.

*mr* becomes *m̐*: *tam̐bapam̐hī*, II, 2.

*rg* becomes *g*: *svaga*, passim.

*rg̐h* becomes *gh*: *dīgha*, X, 1.

*rch* becomes *ch*: *vachabhūmikā*, XII, 9, &c.

*rñ* becomes *m̐*: *tem̐bapam̐hī* II, 2.

*ri* becomes *t*, as in *anuvatarē*, XIII, 9, &c.; — *ṭ* in *sonvaca*, IV, 9: V, 2.

*rth* becomes *th*, as in *atha*, passim.

*rd* becomes *d*: *mādava*, XIII, 7.

*rdh* becomes *dh*, as in *vadhayisati*, IV, 7, &c.; — *ḍh*, as in *vadhayati*, XII, 4, &c.

*r̐bh* becomes *bh*: *gabha*, VI, 3.

*rm* becomes *m̐*: *kam̐cē*, &c.; *dhāma*, V, 4.

*ry* becomes *y*: *niyātu*, III, 3.

*rv* becomes *v*: *puva*, VI, 2; *sava*, passim; — it is preserved in *purva*, V, 4; *sarva*, VI, 9 (and three other times); *sarvata*, VII, 1; XIV, 2 (and four other times); *sarvatra*, VI, 8 (and three other times); *sarvā* VI, 8 (against eighteen *sava* or *savata*).

*rs* becomes *rs* in *darsana* VIII, 4, &c.; — becomes *s* in *dasaṇā*, IV, 3.

*rsh* becomes *s*: *vasa* (*vāsa*), VIII, 3, al.

*rshy* becomes *s* in *kāsati* (for *kar[ṣ]shyati*); V, 3; *kāsanti*, VII, 2.

*rh* becomes *rah*: *garahā*, &c.

*lp* becomes *p*: *apa*, passim.

*ly* becomes *l*: *kalāṇa*, V, 1, al.

*vy* is always preserved: *aparyayatā*, III, 5; *divyāni*, IV, 4, &c., except in *pūjētagā*, XII, 4.

*vr* becomes *v*: *pravajita*, XII, 2, &c.

*ēch* becomes *chh*: *pachhā* I, 12.

*śy* becomes *s*: *pasati*, I, 5; — or *siy*: *paṭivē-siyēhi*, XI, 3.

*śr* becomes *s*: *susūsā*, III, 4, &c.; — or *sr* in *bahusruta*, XII, 7; *susrusā*, XII, 22; XI, 2 (and three other times); *sramaṇa*, IV, 2 (four times *samaṇa*); *srivāpakaṇh*, VI, 6; *sruṇāju* (?), XII, 7; *susrusātāṇh*, XII, 2.

*śv* becomes *sv*: *svētō* in the legend attached to the elephant.

*shk* becomes *k* in *dukata*, V, 3; *dukara*, V, 1, al.

*shtr* becomes *st*: *rāstika*, V, 5.

*shṭh* becomes *st*: *adhisṭāna*, V, 4; *sēstē*, IV, 10; *nisṭāna*, IX, 6; *tisṭānō*, IV, 9; *tisṭēya*, VI, 13.

*sk* becomes *kh*: *agikhoṇḍhāni*, IV, 4.

*st* is preserved: *astī*, passim; &c.; — it becomes *st* in *anusastī*, VIII, 4, al.

*sth* becomes *st* in *gharastāni*, XII, 1; — and *st* in *stīta*, VI, 4.

*sm* becomes *m̐*, e. g. in the locatives in *m̐hi*.

*sy* becomes *s*, e. g. in the genitives in *asa*.

*sr* becomes *s*: *parisava*, X, 3, &c.; — it is preserved in *nīrita*, V, 8; *sahasra*, I, 9; XIII, 1.

*sv* is preserved: *svaga* VI, 12, al., &c., except in *sakaṇh*, IX, 5.



*hm* becomes *mh*; it is, at least, thus that I believe that we should read the group  $\text{ॐ}$ , which, strictly speaking, could also be read *hm*.

(c). — Sandhi.

Sandhi rarely occurs except between the parts of a compound word, and, as an almost invariable rule, requires the elision of final consonants; it is nearly exclusively vocalic.

A final anusvāra is changed into *m* in *kata-vyam ēva*, IX, 3; *ēvam api*, II, 2. I further note the form *añamanāsa*, XII, 7.

A final *d* is retained in *tadōpayā* VIII, 5; *tadajñāthā*, XII, 5.

*a + e* gives *ā*, except in *dhāmadhiśānāya*, V, 4; *dhāmanugāhō*, IX, 7. In *nāsti* (passim), the long vowel is retained in spite of the double consonant which follows.

*a + i* gives *ē* in *vijayēchhā*, XIII, 11.<sup>2</sup>

*a + u* gives *ō* in *manuśōpagāni* II, 5.

*a + ē* gives *ē* in *tēnēsā*, VIII, 3; *chōva*, IV, 7.

*i + a* gives *ī* in *īthijhakhmahāmātā*, XII, 9.

*u + u* gives *ū* in *pasōpagāni*, II, 6, a curious form which would appear to be borne out by the other versions.

2. — INFLEXION.

It must be understood that, except in special cases, I shall not expressly quote those modifications which are of a purely mechanical character, being merely the applications of the phonetic rules which have just been indicated.

(a). — Gender.

The distinction between the masculine and the neuter tends to disappear. This, as we shall shortly see, is evidently due to the influence of the Māgadhi spelling.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

This tends to go over into the declension of bases in *a*: *parishad* becomes *parisā*; *karman* becomes *kañma*, and is declined like a neuter in *a*; of *varchas*, we have the locative *vachamhi*, VI, 3; the present participle of *as*, makes its nominative singular *santō*, VI, 7; VIII, 2.

The following are the traces which still exist:—

Bases in *AN*. — nom. s. *rājā*; gen. s. *rājñō*; instr. s. *rājñā*; nom. pl. *rājñānō*.

Bases in *ANT*. — *Karañ*, XII, 4, nom. sing. of the participle present, beside *karō(n)tō*, XII, 5, *tiśantō*, nom. pl. masc., IV, 9.

Bases in *AR(RI)*. — Contrary to the other versions, Girnar presents, for these bases, no traces of the passage into the vocalic declension. Instrum. sing. *bhrātā*, IX, 6; *bhātrā*, XI, 3; *pitā*, IX, 5; XI, 3. Locat. sing. *mātari*, *pitari*, passim.

Bases in *AS*. — Acc. sing. *yasō*, X, 1, 2; *bhuya*, VIII, 5, ought to be *bhuyō*.

Bases in *IN*. — Here we have no trace of the vocalic declension. — Nom. sing. *piyadasi*, *priyadasi* (passim); the final vowel is always short. — Gen. sing. *pi(pri)yadasinō*; instr. *pi(pri)yadasinā*.

(c). — Declension of Vocalic Bases.

Bases in *A*. — Masculines. — The terminations are the same as in Pāli. I only note peculiarities worthy of remark.

Nominative singular. — Besides the regular form in *ō*, there are several cases of the nominative in *ē*, as in Māgadhi: *apaparisavē*, X, 3; *puvē*, IV, 5; *dēvānampiyē*, XII, 1; *prādē-sikē*, III, 2; *rajūkē*, III, 2; *sakalē*, X, 3; *yē*, V, 1. To these examples we should add the many more numerous cases in which the nominative neuter ends in *ē*, instead of, and beside, *añ*. It is the less permissible to suggest a mechanical change of *añ* to *ē*, because the termination *añ* is still retained in the majority of cases. We have, therefore, here an imitation of Māgadhi; and, so far as regards Māgadhi itself, the final reason for the use of the termination *ē* in the neuter, lies in the obliteration of the distinction between the neuter and the masculine, which has resulted in the common acceptance, for both genders, of the uniform use of the masculine termination. It is clearly in this way that, VIII, 4, we have *hirāñnapaṭṭividhānō* (for *°dhānāñ*).

Accusative singular. — I have quoted above the form in *ē* in *athē*, VI, 4, 5, and *yulē*, III, 6, for the accusative. Twice, *sarvē kālē*, VI, 3, 8, corresponds to *savañ kalam* of the other versions. It must, nevertheless, be stated that

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bühler's interpretation would do away with this combination.



*savé kálé*, can very well be explained as a locative, and that *yuté* could, without difficulty, be understood as a Pāli accusative plural. It is true that we miss parallel examples to authenticate this termination here. However the matter may be, if we must really admit it, I can hardly imagine for the ending *é* of the accusative, any origin other than false analogy with neuter nominatives in *é*.

*Dative singular.* — It is always in *āya*. There is one solitary instance of the form *ētāyē*, III, 3.

*Ablative singular.* — In *ā*: *hitatpā*, VI, 11; *kapā*, IV, 9.

*Locative singular.* — In *amhi* or in *é*. The two terminations occur with about equal frequency.

*Neuters.* — The terminations are the usual ones.

*Nominative singular.* — As examples of the nominative in *é*, I quote: *añé*, IX, 5; *bakuvīdhé*, IV, 7; *charañé*, IV, 7, 10; *dāñé*, VII, 3; VIII, 3; *dasané*, VIII, 3; *manṅalé*, IX, 4 (*manṅalan*, IX, 1, 2, 3, 4); *kañmē*, IV, 10; *mahālaké* (*vijitān*), XIV, 3; *mahaphalé*, IX, 4; *katavyamaté* (*lōkahitān*), VI, 9; *mūlé*, VI, 10; *peṭivīdhāñé*, VIII, 4; *sēsté kañmē*, IV, 10; *vipūlé*, VII, 3; *yé*, V, 2; *tārisé*, *yārisé*, *radhité*, IV, 5.

*Nominative plural.* — We have a termination in *ā*, instead of *āni*, in *dasanā*, IV, 3; *prāna* (read *°nā*), I, 10.

*Feminines.* —

*Instrumental singular.* — In *āya*, as *mādhūritāya*, XIV, 4.

*Locative singular.* — In *āyañ*, as *parisāyañ*, VI, 7. It is difficult to decide whether *sañtīrañāya*, VI, 9, is, or is not, an error of the engraver.

*Nominative plural.* — In *āyō*, in *mahidāyō*, IX, 3.

*Bases in I.* — Of *Masculines* we find —

*Genitive plural.* — *Ñātinañ*, IV, 6, al.

*Locative plural.* — *Ñāttsu*, IV, 1.

*Feminines.* — We have no example of the plural. For the singular, the accusative in *im*, and the instrumental in *iyā*, call for no remark.

*Nominative singular.* — In *ī*. I note, however, *apachiti*, IX, 11; *hīni*, IV, 4; *rati*, VIII, 5.

*Dative singular.* — *Anusasṭiya*, III, 3, ought perhaps to read *°yē*.

*Ablative singular.* — *Taṇḥapamñi*, II, 2.

*Bases in U.* — *Masculines.* —

*Nominative singular.* — *Sādhu*, IX, 5.

*Genitive plural.* — *Gurūnañ*, IX, 4.

*Ablative plural.* — *Bahāhi*, IV, 4.

*Feminines.* —

*Nominative singular.* — *Sādhu*, IX, 4, 11.

*Neuters.* —

*Nominative singular.* — *Bahu*, XIV, 3, al.; *sādhu*, IX, 8, al.

*Nominative plural.* — *Bahāni*, I, 8, al.

#### (d). — Declension of Pronouns.

*Demonstratives, &c.* — I give, according to the alphabetical order of the bases, the forms found at Girnar.

*Anyā.* — Nom. sing. neuter: *añé*, IV, 7; IX, 5 *āñā*, IV, 9; IX, 19. — Gen. sing.: *añamaññasa*, XII, 7. — Loc. sing.: *aññé*, VIII, 5, beside *añamhi*, IX, 2. — Nom. pl.: *aññé*, V, 5.

*Ima.* — Nom. sing. masc., *ayañ*; fem. *iyam*; neuter, *idañ*. *Ayañ* is, however, used for the feminine: I, 10; V, 9; VI, 13; XIV, 1, and for the neuter with *phalañ*, XII, 9. — Gen. masc.: *imasa*, IV, 11. — Dat. fem.: *imāyā*, III, 3. — Instr. masc.: *imindā*, IX, 8, 9. — Loc.: *imamhi*, IV, 10.

*Ēkatya.* — Nom. plur. masc.: *ēkachā*, I, 6.

*Ēta.* — Nom. sing. masc.: *ēsa*, X, 3; used for the neuter, or rather with a masculine which, by origin, is neuter, such as *kashmē*, &c., IV, 7, 10; VI, 10; fem., *ēsā*, VIII, 3, 5; neuter, *ētañ*, X, 4 (perhaps under the form *ētā*, IX, 5); the parallel use of *ta* would lead one to think that *ēta*, X, 4; XI, 3 = *ētañ*, and is not an incomplete writing of *ētañ*. — Dat. sing.: *ētāya*, once (III, 3) *ētāyē*. — Loc.: *ētamhi*, IX, 2. — Nom. pl.: *ētē*, which, being associated with *tī prāñā*, indicates again a confusion of genders.

*Ka.* — Nom. sing. masc.: *kōchi*, XII, 5, neuter: *kinchi*, passim.



*Ta*. — Nom. sing. masc. : *sa*, XII, 5, and usually *ś*; fem. : *śā*, XIII, 10; neuter : *tañ*, XIII, 2, more often *ta*, IV, 10, al., whether for *tañ*, or more probably for *tad*, preserved in composition, VIII, 5 and XII, 5; *ś* is employed adverbially as equivalent to *tad*, I, 10, as frequently appears in the versions in a Māgadhī spelling. — It is unnecessary to draw special attention to *tañ*, *tasa*, *tāya*, *tēna*, *tañhi*, *tē*, *tēsañ*, *tēhi*.

*Na*. — XII, 1, we find *nē* used as an accusative, and applied to neuter substantives.

*Ya*. — Nom. sing. masc. : *yā*, once (V, 1) *yē*; neuter : *yañ*, VIII, 3, but much more frequently *ya*, for *yad*, IV, 10; VI, 5, 6, 11; X, 3; XII, 3. — Nom. plur. : *yā*, XIII, 6; *yāni*.

*Sarva*. — Nom.-acc. sing. neuter., *sarvañ* (*savañ*). — Loc. sing. (?) : *sarvā*, VI, 8; *savā*, VI, 3. — Nom. plur. : *savā*, VII, 1.

**Personal pronouns.** — The following forms occur of the pronoun of the first person : *añ*, *mama*, *mē* for the genitive and once (VI, 9), for the instrumental, *mayā*.

### (e). — Declension of Numerals.

*Dvā*, nom., I, 11; II, 4. — *Ti*, nom. neuter (*prāñā*), I, 10, 12. — *Chalpārō*, nom. masc., XIII, 8. — *Pañchasa*, loc., III, 2.

## 3. — CONJUGATION.

### (a). — Verbal Bases.

The simple bases are, in general, the same as in Sanskrit, after making allowance for phonetic modifications, as when we have side by side, *bhavati* and *hōti*, *prāpuñōti* for *prāpnōti*. There are, however, changes, as : *chhañati*, XII, 5, in place of *chhañōti*; *kañ*, XII, 4, participle present, beside *karōntō*, XII, 6; we should note the extension and alteration of the base of the present in *prajāñitavyañ*, I, 3. The consonantal conjugation is only preserved in *asti*; in *upahanāti*, XII, 6, it passes into the 9th class. For the root *kram* we have the two bases : *parākramāmi*, VI, 11, and *parākramatē*, X, 3. In the passive, the formative affix *ya* is combined according to the usual phonetic laws, in *ārabharē*, I, 11; *ārabhisahrē*, I, 12; *ārabhiu*, I, 9.

In the causals, whether in *aya* or in *paya* the formative *aya* is contracted to *ē* whenever it would take the form *ayi* : *alōchētpā*, XIV, 6;

*hāpēsati*, V, 3; *pañivēdētavya*, VI, 8; *pājēta(v)ya*, XII, 4. One exception : *likhāpayitañ*, XIV, 3. In one case, *brāditavya*, IX, 8, it is even reduced to *i*. *Likhāpayisañ*, beside the usual *lēkhāpita*, presents an analogous weakening in the base.

### (b). — Terminations.

**Present.** — The terminations of the middle voice, which in one case are, for this tense, used to form a passive, *ārabharē*, I, 11, are generally used with a neuter, or even with an active sense : *anuvatarē*, XIII, 9 (the reading *anuvatanlē* of Dr. Bühler appears to be at least very doubtful); *manñatē*, X, 1; XII, 8; *parākramatē*, X, 3 (by the side of *parākramāmi*, VI, 11); *karōtē*, IX, 1, 2, 3 (by the side of *karoti*, V, 1). — In *sukhāpayāmi*, VI, 12, associated, on the one hand, with *gachhēyañ*, and, on the other hand, with *ārdhayāñtu*, it is difficult to avoid recognising the subjunctive use.

**Imperative.** — The 3rd pers. plur. : *ārādha-yāñtu*, VI, 12; *niyātu*, III, 3; *yujāñtu*, IV, 11, require no remarks. The middle termination, with an active sense, is preserved in the 3rd sing. : *anuvīdhiyātāñ*, X, 2; *susrusatāñ*, X, 2. It will be noted that both exceptionally retain the long vowel *ō* and not *am*. The 2nd pers. plur. borrows, as in Prakrit and in Pāli the termination *tha* of the present, *pañivēdētha*, VI, 5.

**Potential.** — 1st pers. sing. : *gachhēyañ*, VI, 11; plur. *dīpayēma*, XII, 6. — 3rd pers. sing. in *ē* in *bhavē*, XII, 13; in *ēya*, in *tisēya*, VI, 13; in *ētha*, i. e. with the termination of the middle, in *pañipajētha*, XIV, 4; plural : in *ēya*, in *vasēya*, VII, 1; in *ērañ*, termination of the middle : in *anuvat(ē)rañ*, VI, 14; *susūsērañ*, XII, 7. Dr. Bühler reads *srūñērañ*, i. e. *srūñērañ*, XII, 7, the form which to me seems to give *srūñāju*. The correct reading would be *srūñēju* for *srūñēya*. But, at Girnar, we have no certain example of the spelling *j* for *y*. — The verb *as* makes the 3rd sing. in *asa*, X, 3, and the plural *asu* (*śsu*), XII, 7. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of this form; some look for it in the Vedic subjunctive *asat*, and others in the extension by analogy of *śyāt*, *syuh* into *asyāt*, *asyus* (Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Pāli Gramm.*, p. 104).



*Past.* — 3rd pers. plur. aorist: *ahūṣu*, VIII, 2; *ārabhiṣu* (= *ārabdhisu*, passive sense), I, 9. The form *ñayāsu*, i. e. *n(i)yyāsu*, VIII, 1, may be compared with the 3rd pers. sing. in *āsi*, of the dialect of the Gāthās (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, 548). The 3rd sing. *ayāya*, would seem to be a sort of imperfect, influenced, perhaps, by the analogy of the perfect *yāyē*.

A solitary example of the perfect, in *āha*, passim.

*Future.* — The only example of the 1st pers. sing. is in *am*, for *ami*, as in Prākṛit: *likhāpayisaṃ*, XIV, 3. The 3rd plur. has twice a middle form: *anuvatisarē*, V, 2; *ārabhisamrē* (passive), I, 12; in this last case, the *ū* is a

material error, unless it has been introduced after the analogy of the termination *amti*.

*Absolute.* — In *tpā* (= *tvā*): *alōchētpā*, XIV, 6; *ārabhitpā*, I, 3. Once in *ya*, in *saṃchhāya* = *saṃkshaya*, XIV, 5.

*Infinitive.* — *Arādhētu*(m), IX, 9. — It is very doubtful whether *khamitavē*, XIII, 6, is an infinitive. *Dāpakaṃ* and *śrāvāpakaṃ* (VI, 6), which appear to perform the office of infinitives, are in reality adjectives, like *pāchaka*, *bōdhaka*, with this particular shade of meaning, 'which is to be given,' 'which is to be taught.'

*Participles.* — The middle form of the participle present is preserved in *bhūṃjamānasa*, VI, 3.

## B. — KAPUR DI GIRI.

The readings of Kapur di Giri have of late made marked progress.<sup>3</sup> A few items of uncertainty, no doubt, still remain, a state of affairs which is sufficiently explained by the condition of the rock, but it is only in points of detail that certainty is really impossible, and we may believe that, so far as decipherment is concerned, we have not so much to expect from the future. I cannot, therefore, do better than take for the basis of my grammatical analysis the last publication of Dr. Bühler in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIII., pp. 128 and ff.

### 1. — PHONETICS.

#### (a). — Vowels.

The alphabet of Kapur di Giri does not distinguish between long and short vowels. We cannot, therefore, here discuss changes of quantity.

**Changes of Quality.** — *a* for *u* in *garunaṃ*, IX, 19; *pana*, *ibid.*, by the side of *guru* and *puna*. — *i* for *ē*, in *likhapayami*, XIV, 13; *bhagi amhi*, VIII, 17; *vijinamani*, XIII, 3; *amtikini*, XIII, 9; *ghaṭiti*, XIV, 13; *duvi*, I, 1. — *u* for *a* in *uchavucha*, IX, 18; *ōshudhani*, II, 5; *muta*, XIII, 8; *ē* for *a* in *ētra*, VI, 15; *ētraka*, IX, 20. We cannot say that *ē* has been substituted for *a* in cases like *saṃkshayē*, XIV, 14 and the datives in *ayē*; all we can do is to infer the graphic equivalence of *aya* and *ayē*. — *ē* for *i* in *ēdisaṃ* XI, 23; *al.* — In *bhuyē* (for *bhuyō*) we should not, I think, look for an actual change in this dialect of *ō* into *ē*, but should simply consider it as an accidental Māgadhism of the spelling. — *u* for *ō* in *likhapitu*, I, 1. The vowel *ri* has no real existence

in this dialect, which, however, does not prevent its being represented in several ways by the orthography. It takes sometimes the form *ra*, in *grahatha*, XIII, 4; XII, 1, sometimes the form *ri*, in *vistritēna*, XIV, 13, and sometimes *ru*, in *ēruṇēyu*, XII, 7; *mrugō*, I, 3. It is changed to *a* in *dukaṭaṃ*, V, 11; *vapaṭa*, XII, 9; *viyapaṭa*, V, 13; *usaṭēna*, X, 22; so also in *vajri*, in which the influence of the etymological form has introduced an *r* in the following syllable; — to *i* in *diḡha*, VII, 5; *ēdiśa*, IX, 18, *al.*; *kiṭa*, VI, 14; the influence of the *r* has here cerebralised the dental, which shews that the orthography *kiṭra*, II, 4; VII, 12; VII, 5, is purely a learned and affected one; — to *u* in *vuḍhēṣhu* V, 12; *viyapuṭa* V, 13; *paripuchha*, VIII, 17; *muṭē*, XIII, 1; *dharmavuṭaṃ*, XIII, 10. — In *rukha*, XII, 5, *vri* would be changed into *ru*, but Dr. Bühler's reading, *vuta*, gives an entirely different word.

**Additions and Suppressions.** — Additions: initial *i* in *īstri*, XII, 9.

Suppressions: *a* in *pi* (passim); *i* in *ti* (passim); *ē* in *va* = *ēva* X, 22, *al.*; *vō* and

<sup>3</sup> Note by Translator. — The section regarding Kapur di Giri having been entirely re-written by the author for the purpose of this translation, it is hardly necessary to point out that the following, in no way, agrees with the corresponding pages of the original work.



*yô* = *évanh* (cf. below); in *sha* = *éshān*, VI, 16, if Dr. Bühler's analogy is well founded.

**Contractions.** — *ava* into *ô* in *ôrodhana*, VI, 14; &c.; into *a* in *yamatrô*, XIII, 6, if we must take it as equivalent to *yāvamātra*; *alu* into *ô* in *khô* (passim) and *u* in *ku*, IV, 9; *iya* into *ô* in *êlakayê*, X, 21; *ayô* into *i* in *tidaśa*, V, 11, if this is the correct reading, which I strongly doubt; — *vā* into *u* in the participle absolute, and in *chatura*, XIII, 9.

As for examples of Hiatus like *dévanapriasa*, *priadarśa* I, 1; XIII, 1; *êkatiê*, I, 2; *ia* (*hia*) V, 13; VI, 16; IX, 20; XI, 24, the resemblance between *a* (*ê*) and *ya* (*yê*) *ha*, is so close, that it is perhaps still permissible to doubt whether the reading is certainly correct.

**Nasalized Vowels.** — I believe that, considering the condition of the rock, it is just as impossible as it is at Girnar, or more so, to attach here any definite significance to instances in which the *anusvāra* is omitted, especially as the last revisions have considerably reduced the number.

I shall have occasion, lower down, to draw attention to the equivalence of *an* and *o* final, the explanation of which still appears to me to be doubtful, although certain instances seem really to indicate an actual phonetic phenomenon. A presumption favourable to this explanation might be drawn from the spelling *atikasudarô* for *°sam*°, XIII, 9.

As for the nominatives neuter in *e* for *an*, the concurrence of a number of masculine nominatives in *e*, only allows us to recognise in them instances of Māgadhisms, and not a phonetic fact peculiar to the dialect of Kapur di Giri. So also in the cases of *chaturê*, XIII, 9, for *chaturô*, and *rajani* for *rajanô*, equivalent to *rajinô*, *ibid.*, if, as I have considerable doubt, the reading is really correct. As for *ayi* = *ayān*, VI, 16, the correct reading is very probably *ayo*.

#### (b). — Consónants.

**Simple Consonants.** — In addition to the characters of the alphabet of Girnar, Kapur di Giri possesses, so far as regards consonants, two peculiar signs, one for the cerebral and the other for the palatal sibilant. I shall only note those instances in which their use does not correspond with that of Sanskrit.

**Changes.** — *kh* into *k* in *ku* = *khu* (*khalu*), IV, 9.

*g* into *k* in *maka*, XIII, 9.

*gh* into *h* in *lahuka*, XIII, 11.

*j* into *y* in *prayuhôtavê*, I, 1; *raya* (by the side of *raja*), I, 1; al.; *kambôya*, V, 12; — into *cha* in *vrachanîti*, XIII, 10; *vrachêyanh*, VI, 16.

*t* is cerebralised into *ṭ* under the influence of an *r*-sound, whether vocalic or consonantal. The spelling, however, fluctuates. Not only does the classical appear side by side with the Prākṛit orthography, but we also find intermediate stages in which the *r* is retained in writing, and often in an arbitrary fashion. Examples are, — *prati* becomes *paṭi*; but *prativêsiyêna*, IX, 19; *sasūpratiṭi*, IV, 8; *pratiṭipajêya*, XIV, 14; *prativêdêstavô*, VI, 14; *paṭrivêdaka*, *paṭrivêdêtu*, VI, 14; *paṭrivêdêstavô*, VI, 15; *kṛita* is written *kiṭa*, VI, 14; *kaṭa* in *sukaṭa*, V, 11; *kiṭra*, II, 4; V, 11, 12; VII, 5; *vyāṭṛita* is written *va(viṭa)paṭa*, passim; *vyapuṭa*, V, 13, and also *viṭapapra*, *ibid.* I may also quote *vistṛiṭêna*, XIV, 13; *muṭô*, XIII, 6, and *muṭê* (?) XIII, 1. — *t* appears weakened to *d* in *hidasukhayê*, V, 12, by the side of *hita*°, *ibid.*

*bh* into *h* in *ahô* (= *athavâ*), IV, 8.

*d* into *y* in *iyān* for *idan*, nom. sing. neut.

*dh* into *d* in *hida*, I, 1 = *idhâ* (?).

*p* into *v* in *avatrappêyu*, XIII, 8.

*b* into *p* in *padhanh*, VII, 15.

*bh* into *h* in the base *hōti*, by the side of *bhōti*, *bhavati*.

*l* into *r* in *arabhati* and its derivatives and in *rochetu*, XIII, 11.

*v* into *y* in *yô* for *évanh*, if Dr. Bühler's analysis is correct (in IV, 9).

*ś* into *y* in *badaya*, III, 5; IV, 10; — into *s* in *anusôchanah*, XIII, 2; *samachariya*, XIII, 8.

*sh* into *s* in *manuśa*, II, 4, 5 (by the side of *manusha*, XIII, 6); — into *s* in *arabhiyisu*, I, 2; *yêsu*, XIII, 4; *abhisita*, IV, 10; al.

*s* into *ś* in *anusāśanah*, IV, 10; *anusāśiśanṭi*, *ibid.*; into *sh* in *pañchashu*, III, 6 (cf. *shashu* below); — into *h* in *hachê* (= *sachêd*), IX, 20.

**Suppressions and Additions.** — Loss of an initial *y* in *ava* = *yāvat*, passim; — of a medial *h* in *ia*, V, 13; VI, 16; IX, 20; XI, 24, if the reading is certain.



Addition of a prosthetic *h* in *hia*, IX, 20; *hida*, XIII, 12; *hēdīsa*, VIII, 17; of a *v* in *vachati*, XIII, 8, in *vuta* II, 5, if this reading (= *uṭa*) should really be preferred to the reading *rukha*.

**Compound Consonants.** — *kt* becomes *t*: *abhisita*, V, 11; &c.

*ky* becomes *k* in *śakō* = *śakyaṃ*, XIII, 7.

*kr* remains unchanged: *parakramati*, X, 22; &c.

*ksh* becomes *kh*: *saṃkhayē*, XIV, 14; *rukha* (?), II, 5; *khudrakēna*, X, 22; — and *chh*: *mōchhayē*, V, 13; *īstridhiyachha*, XII, 9; *chhamitaviyē*, XIII, 7.

*khy* becomes *kh*: *mukhamute*, XIII, 8.

*gr* remains unchanged: *agrabhuti*, XIII, 4; &c.

*jñ* becomes *ñ*, except in the base *anapēti*, in which it becomes *p*.

*jy* becomes *j*: *jōtikamdhani*, IV, 8.

*ñj* yields *ñ* in *vaṇanatō*, III, 7.

In *shashu*, I do not think that the *sh* can be considered as representing the group *śs*. We have here an instance of formation of the locative after the analogy of substantives.

*ñdy* becomes *ñd* in *paṇḍa*, XIII, 9.

*ny* becomes *ññ*, except in *ananiyaṃ*, VI, 16, in which it is written *niya*.

*tt* becomes cerebralised into *t*, under the influence of an *r*-sound, in *dharmavutṣam*, XIII, 10; *nivaṭiya*, IX, 19.

*tth* is written both *th* and *ṭh* in *uthana*, VI, 15.

*tm* becomes *t* in *ata*<sup>o</sup> XII, passim.

*ty* becomes regularly *ch*. The Sanskrit spelling is, however, preserved in *ēkatīē* (or *ēkatīyē*), I, 2; and it is changed into *tī* in *paritijitu*, X, 22, and also, perhaps, in the participle absolute in *tī*, if it is to be analysed as equivalent to *tya* (by false analogy).

*tr* remains unchanged, except in *tidaśa* (or *tō*<sup>o</sup>) equivalent to *trayōdaśa*.

*tv* becomes *t*. I can hardly believe in the absolutely solitary example of a double *tt* in *tadattayē* X, 21, as read by Dr. Bühler. I should prefer to suggest the reading *tadatrayē*, were I not much more disposed to think that it is simply *tadattayē* which we should read. Cf. *satiyaputra*, II, 4.

*ts* becomes *s*: *chikisa*, II, 4; *usafēna*, X, 22.

*ddh* is cerebralised into *dh* under the influence of an *r*-sound: *vudhi*, IV, 10; *vudhanan*, VIII, 17.

*dy* becomes *j*, except in *uyana*, where it becomes *y*, VI, 14.

*dr* remains unchanged in *khudrakēna*, X, 22.

*dv*, becomes *d* in *diyadha*<sup>o</sup>, XIII, 1, and is resolved into *dud* in *duvi*, I, 3; II, 4; it is reduced to *b* in *badayo*<sup>o</sup>, IV, 10.

*dhr* remains unchanged: *dhrura*, I, 3; &c.

*nt*, instead of the spelling *nt*, appears, according to Dr. Bühler, to be written *tn* in *atikratnāṃ*, VIII, 17, and *karōtnē*, IX, 18. This is a detail which deserves verification.

*ndhr* is written *ndhr* in *andhra*, XIII, 10.

*ny* becomes *ññ*: *anña*, IV, 9; &c.

*pt* becomes *t*: *natarō*, IV, 9, &c.

*pn* is resolved into *pun*: *prapunatī*, XIII, 6.

*pr* usually remains unchanged. Excluding doubtful cases, I, however, note *pajupadanē*, IX, 18; *papōtra* XIII, 11. We have already seen how extremely fluctuating is the spelling of *prati*: sometimes *prati* (*pratirēṭiyēna*, XI, 24), but also *paṭi* (passim), *prafi* (*samanprafipati*, IX, 19), and *paṭri* (*paṭrivēdaka*, *paṭrivēdētn*, VI, 14).

*bh* becomes *dh*: *ladhesku*, XIII, 8.

*br* remains unchanged: *bramaṇa*, passim.

*bhy* becomes *bh*: *arabhiśamti*, I, 3.

*bhr* remains unchanged: *bhratuna*, IX, 19; al.

*my* becomes *m* or *mm*: *abhiramani*, VIII, 17. The double *m* admitted by Dr. Bühler in *samma*, IX, 19; XI, 23; XIII, 5, appears to me to be improbable. I prefer to read *saman*, and to suggest that either *saman* is for *samma*, or that *samyak* has taken the form *saman* by analogy.

*mr* becomes *mb* in *tambapanṇi*, II, 4.

*rg* becomes *g*: *sagan*, VI, 16; or is written *gr* in *vagrēna*, X, 22.

*rch* becomes *ch*, with the *r* transposed to the preceding syllable, in *vrachasi* (= *tarchasi*) VI, 14, if my analysis of the word is justified, and we should not understand \**vratyasi*.

*rn* becomes *nn* in *tambapanṇi*, XIII, 9.

*rt* becomes *t* (*anuvaṭiśasti*, V, 11): sometimes written *rt* (*kirṭi*, written *kirtī*, X, 21),



or with transposition of the *r* to the preceding syllable (*kraṭava*, I, 1); sometimes, also, *t*: *katavó*, XI, 24.

*rth* usually gives us *th* (*aṭha*, passim), but also *th* (*athon*, IX, 20; *anathésu* V, 12), both one and the other being sometimes written with *r*, *thr* (VI, 14; IX, 18) and *thr* (IV, 10).

*rthy* is written *thriya* in *niraṭhriya*, IX, 18.

*rdh* becomes *dh*: *vaḍhiṭi*, IV, 9; &c.

*rbh* gives us *bh* with transposition of the *r* in *garbhagarasi* (written *grabhagarasi*) VI, 14.

*rm* remains unchanged, but with a transposition of *r* in writing: *krama* = *karma*; *dhrama* = *dharma*. The spelling *dhraṇma*, IV, 8; X, 7, marks the real character of this method of writing.

*ry* becomes *riy*: *anantariyēna*, VI, 14; *samachariyaṇ*, XIII, 8.

*rv* usually remains unchanged, with transposition of the *r* either in the same syllable as in *savra*, or to the syllable preceding, *pruva*, V, 11; *srava* (?) VI, 11. But the spelling *v* is not rare: *saṭatra*, 11, 5; V, 13 (several times); VI, 14, 15, 16; VII, 1; XIII, 10 (several times); *savaṇ*, X, 22.

*rs* remains unchanged with transposition of the *r*: *draṣi*.

*rsh* is written *sh* in *vasha*, passim. It remains unchanged in *prashanḍa*, scil. *parshanḍa*, V, 12; VII, 2; XII, 1, 2.

*rahy* gives us *sh* in *kashanti*, V, 11.

*lp* becomes *p*: *kupa*, V, 11; &c.

*ly* becomes *l* in *kalapa*, V, 11.

*vy* becomes either *va* (*vasanaṇ*, XIII, 5; *katava*, VI, 15; *vataṭ*, XI, 24; &c.), or *viya* (*viyapaṭra*, V, 13; *pujēṭaviya*, XII, 3), often in the same words; or it becomes *y* in *mrugaya*, VIII, 17.

*sch* becomes *ch* (and not *chh*) in *pacha*, I, 3; XII, 2.

*śiy* become *śiy* in *prativēśiyēna*, XI, 24.

*śr* usually remains unchanged (*śrusrusha*, passim); it is written *sr* in *srēsta*, I, 2; *srēṭha*, IV, 10.

*shk* becomes *k*: *dukaraṇ*, V, 11; *dukaṭaṇ*, ibid.

*shkr* becomes *kr*: base *nikramati*, passim.

*shṭ* becomes *st* in *dipista*, IV, 10, &c.; — and *th* in *aṭha* = *aṣṭa*, XIII, 1.

*shṭr* is written *st* in *vastikanan*, V, 12.

*shṭh* is written *th* in *srēṭha*, IV, 10; *th* in *tithē*, IX, 20, *adhithanē*, V, 13; and *st* in *srēsta*, I, 2, and *tistiti*, IV, 10.

*shy* becomes *ś* in all futures: *anapēśanti*, III, 7; &c.

*sk* becomes *k* (and not *kh*) in *jōṭikanūdhani*, IV, 8.

*st* remains unchanged, whether written with the special sign to which Dr. Bühler appears to have correctly given its true value, or with the group *st*, as in *saṁstuta*, IX, 19.

*str* remains unchanged: *striyaka*, IX, 18; *istri*° XII, 9: cf. also *vistriṭēna*, XIV, 13.

*sth* becomes *th*: *chirathitika*, V, 13; *grathatha*, XIII, 4; and also *th*, *grathaṭhani*, XII, 1.

*sm* becomes *s* in all locatives in *asi*; but these forms do not properly belong to the language of Kapur di Giri.

*sy* usually becomes *s*, as in the genitive in *asa*. But we find written *siya* as equivalent to *syāt*, IX, 20; al.

*sr* remains unchanged: *sahastāni*, I, 2; &c.

*sv* is assimilated into *s* in *sagan*, VI, 16; *samikēna*, IX, 19; and written *sp* in *spasunam* (V, 13), if the reading is really certain, and it is not simply a badly written *sv*.

*hm* becomes *m*: *bramaṇa*, passim.

*hy* becomes *h* in *mahan* = *mahyan*, V, 11.

#### (c). — Sandhi.

A final *anuscāra* is changed to *m* in *ēramēva*, XIII, 9; *paratvikam ēva*, XIII, 11.

In compound words, I have noted:—

*a* elided before *i*: *bramaṇibhēṣu*, V, 12.

*a* combined with *u* into *ō*: *manuṣṭpakan*, II, 5.

*a* elided before *u*: *pajnpadanē*, IX, 18.

*a* elided after *i*: *istridhiyachka*, XII, 9.

*u* combined with *u* into *ō*: *paṣṭpakan*, II, 5.

#### 2. — INFLEXION.

##### (a). — Gender.

Here, as at Gīrnar, the nominative singular neuter of bases in *a* often ends in *ē*, e. g. IV, 8: *yadiṣan* . . . . *na bhutaṇpurca tadēṣē*, &c. Another example of the confusion of gender appears in the plurals *yutani*, III, 7, and *kaliṇagani*, XIII, 2 (if indeed it is thus that we



should read). One is tempted to attribute to the same cause the not unfrequent use of the desinence *ô* for *am̐*, *dharmacharavô*, IV, 9; *praticêdêlavô*, VI, 14, 15; *kaṭavô*, IX, 18, 19; XI, 24; *vatarô*, IX, 19; XI, 24; *śakô*, XIII, 7; *pranatravô*, I, 3, which I take as equivalent to *prānatrayam̐*; but the accusatives *imô*, IV, 9; *anudivasô*, I, 2; *śatabhagô*, XIII, 7, and, above all, the nominative *karcim̐* (for *karcim̐tô*) XI, 24; XII, 4, 6; (perhaps, also, *śam̐tô* = *śam̐tô*, VI, 14); *vô* = *évam̐* (Bühler, in II, 5), appear to shew that in these cases there is only a mechanical equivalence between the sounds *ô* and *am̐*. There is still, however, *sô*, often used (I, 2; IV, 7; &c.) as a particle, equivalent to *tad*, and which cannot be explained as a mechanical substitute for *ton̐*. It only remains for us to see in it an arbitrary restitution from the Māgadhî *sê*, based on false analogy.

#### (b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

Of this only a few traces survive.

*Bases in AN.* — Nom. sing. *raja* (*raya*), passim; gen. *rañô*; instr. *rañña*, XIV, 13; — nom. plur. *rajanô*, XIII, 9. I do not believe in the reading *rajanî*.

*Bases in AR (RI).* — Except the nom. plur. *natarô*, IV, 9; VI, 16, the other forms have adopted the vocalic declension, the bases in *ar* having gone over to the declension in *u*: *pituna*, *bhratuna*, IX, 19; *bhratunam̐*, *spasunam̐*, V, 13; *matapitushu*, passim.

*Bases in AS.* — Acc. sing. *yaśô*, X, 21. The loc. *varchasi*, VI, 14, can indifferently belong to the base *varcha* or the base *varchas*. *Bhuyê*, VIII, 17, is a Māgadhism for *bhuyô*.

*Bases in IN.* — *Priyadarśin* has gone over to the declension in *i*: *priyadarśisa*, passim. I note, however, the instr. *priyadarśina*, IV, 10. We have also the nom. plur. *hastinô*, IV, 8.

#### (c). — Declension of Vocalic Bases.

*Bases in A.* — **Masculines.** — Here, again, I only note such peculiarities as deserve attention. The nom. sing. regularly terminates in *ô*, which appears to be weakened to *u* in *likhapitu*, I, 1; sometimes it takes the form in *ê*, the Māgadhî termination (*samayê*, I, 2; *dēganam̐priyê*, *janê*, X, 21; *mukham̐utê vijayê*, XIII, 8; *Turamayê*, XIII, 9), written *i* in *am̐tiki*, XIII, 9; *śrēstamati*, I, 2. — Dat. sing. *aya* written more commonly *ayê* — loc. sing. usu-

ally in *ê*; but often also in *asi*, as in Māgadhî: *mahanasasi*, I, 2; *gaṇanasi*, III, 7; *dharmayutasi*, V, 13; *śrôdhanasi*, &c. VI, 14; &c. We find the locative in *ê* written as weakened to *i* in *bhagi am̐ni*, VIII, 17.

**Neuters.** — The nominative singular ends in *am̐*, which is several times written *ô*, as I have noted above. I have also pointed out the frequent Māgadhism of the nominative neuter in *e*, which is sometimes written *i*, as in *ghatiti*, XIV, 13.

**Feminines.** — The loc. sing. in *ayê*: *aṭhasam̐tiravayê*, VI, 15; *parishayê*, VI, 14.

*Bases in I.* — **Feminines.** — Dat. sing. in *iya*: *ayatiya*, X, 21; *nivutiya*, IX, 19. — Instr. sing. in *iya*: *anustatiya*, IV, 8. — abl. sing. the same, *tan̐bapem̐niya*, XIII, 9.

*Bases in U.* — **Masculines.** — Cf. bases in *AR*.

**Feminines.** — It is questionable whether *sadhu*, III, 6, 7; IV, 10, represents the feminine, or whether it is not rather the nominative neuter.

**Neuters.** — Nom. and acc. sing. in *u*: *bahu*, IX, 18, &c. — Nom. plur. in *uni*: *bahuni*, I, 2.

#### (d). — Declension of Pronouns.

##### Demonstratives, &c.

*Anyā.* — Nom. sing. neut.: *am̐ñam̐*, IV, 9; IX, 19. — Dat. sing.: *am̐ñayê*, III, 6; IX, 18. — Loc. sing. *am̐ñi*, VIII, 17. — Nom. plur. masc. *am̐ñê*, V, 13; al.

*Ima.* — Nom. sing. fem. *ayem̐*, I, 1; al. I have no hesitation in considering that *ayi*, VI, 16, should be read *ayô* = *ayom̐*; neuter, *idam̐*, IV, 10; *iyam̐*, V, 13; XII, 2 (*iyô*); *imam̐*, VI, 16; al. — Gen. sing. *imisa*, III, 6; IV, 10. — Dr. Bühler considers that, in VI, 16, we should read *êsha* = *êsham̐*. I doubt this.

*Ekatya.* — Nom. sing. masc. *êkatiô*, I, 2.

*Eta.* — Nom. sing. masc. *êshê*, XIII, 8; neut. *êtam̐*, IX, 19; X, 22; *êshê*, X, 22; perhaps *êta*, I, 3. — Gen. sing. *êtisa*, III, 6. — Dat. sing. *êtayê*, passim. — Gen. plur. *êtêsha*, which should probably be read *êtêshan̐*, XIII, 5.

*Ka.* — *kichi*, the nom. neut. is of frequent occurrence. — IX, 20, Dr. Bühler reads *kêsha*, which he explains as the gen. plur. This passage should not, however, be considered as having received its definitive analysis.



*Ta*. — Nom. sing. masc., *sô*, V, 11; al. — Neuter: *tan*, passim. — *sô*, frequently employed as a particle, when it represents practically the same form: I have already intimated above how this has come about. — Of the other cases, it is sufficient to note *têsha* (*têshan*?) XIII, 6.

*Ya*. — Nom. sing. masc. *yô*, passim; Fem.: *ya*, XIII, 7, 12. Neuter: *yan*, passim; *yê* IX, 18. — Gen. plur. *yêsha* or *yêshan*, XIII, 5. — Loc. plur. *yêsu*, XIII, 4.

*Sarva*. — Nom. sing. neut.: *sarva*, XIV, 13. — Acc. sing. masc. and neut. *sarvan*, VI, 14; VII, 2. — Nom. plur. masc.: *sarvê*, VII, 1; al. — Loc. plur.: *sarvêshu*, V, 13.

#### Personal Pronouns.

1st person. — Nom. sing. *shan*, passim. — Gen. sing. *mê*, V, 11; al.; *maha* (*mahan*) V, 11. — instr. *maya*, VI, 15; al.

#### (e). — Declension of Numerals.

*Dvi*, nom. I, 3; II, 4.

*Chaturê*, nom. masc. XIII, 9.

*Panichashu*, loc. III, 6.

*Shashu*, loc. of *shaf*, XIII, 8.

*Atha*, — *ashtau*, in composition, XIII, 1.

It seems that the form of the numeral adjective for twelve, was *badaya*, III, 5, and for thirteen, *tidasa*, V, 11.

### 3. — CONJUGATION.

#### (a). — Verbal Bases.

Save for phonetic modifications, these have, in general, the usual forms. I only note the presents *upahan*, XII, 6; *prapun* for *prapun*, XIII, 6, and the participle *prayukh*, I, 1, with an irregular extension of the base of the present. *Aha* is transferred to the present under the form *ahati*, never *aha*.

In the passive, the formative affix *ya* follows the ordinary rules in combination: *hamnan*, I, 3; *arabhi*, I, 3; *vuchati*, XIII, 8. In *arabhiyisu*, I, 2, it is expanded into *iya*. Cf. *anuvidhiyan*, XIII, 10.

The causal formative affix, *aya* is usually contracted to *ê*. Nevertheless, we have, VI, 14, *apayami*, by the side of *apemi* in the following line.

#### (b). — Terminations.

According to Dr. Bühler, there survives one example of the middle termination in *karontê*,

IX, 18, but I am very sceptical regarding this reading. Even the passive, as we have just seen, always takes the terminations of the *parasmaipada*.

*Potential*. — *As* has its 3rd pers. sing. *siya*, X, 22, al., which serves in one passage as base of an anomalous plural *siyasu*, XII, 7, by the side of which appears also *asu*, XIII, 11. The 3rd pers. plur., *êyasu*, instead of the usual *êyu* (*êrupeyu*, XII, 7; *avatrapiêyu*, XIII, 7) also appears in *hamniêyasu*, XIII, 8. The usual formation of the singular is in *êyan*, *êya*; but the form in *ê* (Skr. *êt*) appears to have been retained in *tithê*, IX, 20, and *prabhavê*, XIII, 7 (which it does not appear to me to be possible to analyze as a locative).

*Past*. — 3rd. pers. sing. *nikrami*, VIII, 17. — The last revisions have revealed the middle form *dipista* (Pali *dipittha*) IV, 10; V, 13; VI, 16; XIII, 11, with a passive meaning. The 3rd. plur. usually keeps the *sh*; *nikramishu*, VIII, 17; *manishu*, XIII, 11; *Wchêshu*, IV, 10. We have, however, also, *arabhiyisu*, I, 2. *Abhavas*, VIII, 17, is an anomalous formation, due to false analogy.

*Future*. — It is written everywhere in *isati* instead of *ishati*. We have, however, *kashati* = *kar(i)shyati*, V, 11. It is doubtful if *achhan*, V, 11, ought to be classed as an irregular future of *as*.

*Participle Absolute*. — Usually formed in *tu*, e. g. *êrutu*, XIII, 10, and the irregular *vijinitu*, XIII, 2: in *yê* in *samkhayê*, XIV, 14. It would appear that we have the termination *ti* in *alochôti*, XIV, 14, and, if the reading will stand verification, in *tistiti*, IV, 10. I still prefer to explain it, after the analogy of *paritijitu* (X, 22) for *paricha(tya)jitu*, as a contraction of *tya*, rather than as representing the vedic *tvî*, which Dr. Bühler sees in it.

*Infinitive*. — I note the infinitive forms *dapakan* and *êravakan*, VI, 14.

*Participles*. — I find the following middle forms of the present participle: *asamanasa*, VI, 14 and *vijnamani*, XIII, 3.

The Future Participle Passive usually has the termination *taviya*; but *tava* also occurs in *kaçavamatah*, VI, 15.



## WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from Vol. XX. page 375.)

XVII. The fifth upāṅga, sūriyapannatti (sūryaprajñapti) bhagavati, in 20 pāhuḍas (prābhṛita) of which 1 has eight, 2 three, and 10 twenty-two subdivisions called pāhuḍapāhuḍa. This strange name pāhuḍa is found beside here only in the purva contained in the ditthivā. By the use of this word a special connection between the ditthivā and this upāṅga is *eo ipso* rendered probable.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the direct statement in the introduction to up. 7. In discussing aṅga 3 I have remarked (p. 269) that its mention of a sūrapannatti designated as aṅgabāhira had reference to this upāṅga, though it could not be regarded as certain that the present form of this upāṅga was thereby attested for that period. If it is doubtful whether the present form of this up. existed even at the date of the Nandī [402] in which the sūrapannatti also is enumerated among the anāṅgapaviṭṭha texts; but there are two other texts enumerated together with (or immediately after) the sūrap., treating in all probability of the same subject, which are at present discussed in books 1 and 9 (see note 1, pages 406, 407). Perhaps the double mention of the sūrap. in Āvaśy. Nijj. 2, 8 and 8<sup>24</sup>, is to be referred still farther back, though it is still *in dubio* whether this mention refers to the present text or not. In the first of these passages, the author says of himself that, besides other texts, he desired to provide both the sūriyapannatti and the isibhāsiya with a nijjutti. If tradition is correct, Bhadrabāhusvāmin is to be regarded as the speaker; and Malayagiri in the commencement of his comm. on uv. 5 makes especial mention of a lost niryukti of Bhadr. on the fifth upāṅga. In the second passage both of the texts just mentioned<sup>2</sup> are adduced<sup>3</sup> together with the kāliasuam (the 11 aṅgas according to the schol.) and the ditthivā as the four anuyōgas, i. e. objects of study. In this passage the isibh. occupy the second place, the sūrap. the third, the ditthivā the fourth. The sūrap. occupies here manifestly a very important position. The importance of the work is in fact very great, as is apparent from the thorough-going report I have made concerning it in Ind. Stud. X. 254—316. In it we find the most remarkable statements concerning the astronomy of the Jains arranged in a systematic form of presentation. [403] Apart from these most peculiar lucubrations, this account is of especial interest inasmuch as it displays remarkably close affiliations with the Vedic calendar-text called Jyōtiṣham, with the Nakṣatrakalpa and the pariśiṣṭas of the Atharva-Vēda. The quinquennial yugam, sun and moon, and especially the 28 nakṣatras, are placed in the foreground. The planets are known (Jupiter and Saturn with their periodic times), though they assert a very unimportant position and are not cited in the Greek order. There is no mention whatsoever of the zodiac. The 28 nakṣatras begin with Abhijit, and the yugam consequently begins with the summer and not with the winter solstice. The *libido novandi* of the Jains, which has intentionally changed almost entirely everything which they enjoyed in common with the Buddhists or Brāhmins, is here very apparent. In reality, the Jains are but tolerably fitted out with intellectual gifts. In order to conceal and compensate for this lack of originality they seek to possess something that is their individual property, and to attain this end they do not hesitate to indulge in the wildest dreams of fancy. In the province of astronomy they have given full reins to their imagination. The polemical spirit, manifested especially in the sūrap. against other opinions (paḍivatti), proves that they are perfectly aware of the opposition between their own views and those generally accepted. The beginning of the nakṣatras with Abhijit as the sign of the summer solstice, [404] which Malayagiri presumably refers back to Pādaliptasūri<sup>4</sup> (l. l. 286), pre-supposes Aśvini as the sign of the vernal equinox (l. c. pp. 304, 305). It is

<sup>1</sup> In up. 6 — see p. 414 — a division into vatthas is ascribed, as seems probable, to our text. The name vatthu at least recalls the purvas.

<sup>2</sup> isibhāsiyāmin is explained by the schol. here by uttarādhyayanādinai; on 2, 8 by devendrastavādinai. See pages 259, 261, 429, 432, 442.

<sup>3</sup> An imitation of this passage is the one quoted from Śāṅkha on p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> In the year Vira 437 according to the thērvall of the Kharatarag. see Klatt, p. 23.



based, therefore, upon the rectification of the old *Kṛittikā* series, which had already taken place, and which upon occasion (see 20, 17) appears as the old traditional series. It is an open question whether Greek influence made itself felt in this rectification; at any rate we have to deal here with an indigenous stage of Indian astronomy antecedent to the authoritative and preponderating influence of the Hellenes. It is probable, therefore, that the period opened up to us by these astronomical conceptions, is the period embracing the first few centuries of our era.

G. Thibaut, in two treatises on the *Sūryaprajñapti* in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* 1880, pp. 107—127, 181—206, has collected some facts of especial interest in this connection, facts which make for the connection of the contents of the *Sūryapr.* with the corresponding statements in the *Tcheou Pey*, see Ed. Biot in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1841, pp. 592—639, the second part of which Biot holds to be not later than the second century A. D. Thibaut does not attempt any answer to the question whether or not there is here any historical connexion. If such a connection be proved, the Chinese must be regarded as the borrowers, through the medium of Buddhism, with which Jainism was frequently confused by the Chinese. The opposite opinion appears entirely removed from the domain of possibility by the actual facts of the case. [405] The text has been handed down to us contaminated by many corruptions. The numerous *gāthās* contained in it often appear with entirely uninflected noun-forms (used in the nominative or accusative) in *apabhraṃśa* fashion. The nom. sing. of the first declension mostly ends in *o* and not in *e*. The numerals appear in a form that is excessively curtailed. If all these are *peccata ab origine*, they are besides secondary corruptions of the text which are easily traceable. Several *gāthās*<sup>5</sup> stood originally at the end of several §§ in Book I; the MSS. containing the express statement: *attha . . . gāthān bhāṣitavvāu*, but the words of the *gāthās* have disappeared. Even Malayagiri is unable to restore them, since they were no longer extant when he wrote: *saṃprati kvā 'pi pustakē na dṛiṣyāntē*, l. c. p. 266a.

The text begins with the legend (and in fact in the customary formula: *tēṇaṃ kālēṇaṃ*) that *Imdabhūti*, at the time of king *Jiyasattu* in *Mihilā*, requested that he should be instructed (by *Mahāv.*) in . . . , and then follows in 15 *gāthās*<sup>6</sup> a complete statement of the contents of the 20 or the 33 sub-divisions in books 1, 2, 10. The redaction is, therefore, the result of the activity of one individual. Books 10 and 15 close with the formula *tti bēmi*, which we met with in the case of *aṅgas* 1—3. Is it possible from this fact to conjecture [406] that originally they existed separately, before the author incorporated them in his work?<sup>7</sup> In I. 3 there is a reference in the text to the *Jambuddivapaunatti* which here in turn cites our text. I here reproduce from my treatise cited above a short statement of the contents:

Book I. in 8 chapters, *maṇḍalāi*, the circles traversed annually by the sun,<sup>8</sup> viz.:—

1. *vaḍḍhāvaḍḍhi mahuttāṇaṃ*, increase and decrease of the number of hours for day and night.
2. *addhamāṇḍalasam̐thi*, the position (of the two suns)<sup>9</sup> in the semicircle traversed by each daily.
3. *kē tē chinnaṃ pariyaṇāi*? how does one sun traverse the space traversed by the other?, and how great is this space?
4. *amtaraṃ kiṃ charaṃti*? in what intervening space do the two suns course?
5. *ogāhaī kēvaīyam*? how great a surface does each dip into (illuminate)?
6. *kēvaīyaṃ vikampaī*? how large a tract does each pass over every day?
7. *maṇḍalāṇaṃ sam̐thāṇē*, the figures of the orbits described by them.
8. *vikkham̐bhō*, compass and extension of the revolutions of the sun.

<sup>5</sup> I, 3 states their number to be 140!

<sup>6</sup> See l. c. pp. 261, 275, 285.

<sup>7</sup> See the next note and note 1, page 407.

<sup>8</sup> *maṇḍalappavēsō* is enumerated in the *Nandī* as a separate text.

<sup>9</sup> See *Colebrooke*, *Miscell.* 2, 227—4 in reference to the two suns of the Jains, etc.



Book II. in three chapters, *tirichchhâ kim gachhaï*, how does the sun go sideways?, viz.:—

[407] 1. Eight different antagonistic opinions in reference to the rising and setting of the sun.

2. Of the passing of the sun from one circle to another, etc.

3. Of the speed of the sun's motion through each of its 184 circles.

Book III. *obhâsai kēvaīyam*? how much (space) is illuminated (by sun or moon)?

Book IV. Of the *sēyā*, *śvētātā*, the luminous body and field of illumination of the sun and moon.

Book V. Of the resistance which is met with by the light of the sun (20 different *prati-pattis*).

Book VI. Of the nature of the sun's light, and of the continuance of the power of its beams.

Book VII. Who draws to himself (absorbs) the light of the sun?

Book VIII. Of the rising of the sun, or of both the suns, in *Jambudvīpa*, and of the 4, 12, 42, 72 suns in the other *dvīpa*.

Book IX. Of the amount of shade in the different seasons.<sup>10</sup> See *Ind. Stud.* 10, 224.

Book X. in 22 chap. (about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the whole). Of the connection of the moon with the *nakshatras*, viz.:—

1. *āvaliya*, the order of succession of the 28 *nakshatras* beginning with *Abhijit*.

2. *muhuttaggē*, the number of hours for the connection of each of the *naksh.* with the moon or with the sun.

[408] 3. *bhāgā*, the parts of the day or night (or of the heavens) which belong to each of the *nakshatras*.

4. *jōgasā*, more exact statements in reference to the time of day in which the *nakshatras* come into conjunction with the moon and the length of this conjunction.

5. *kulāim*, the family connections of the *naksh.* with the months.

6. *punnamāsi*, the days of the full moon; how and with which *nakshatra* these end during each of the five years of a *yuga*.

7. *sanivâḥ*, the mutual harmonious concatenation of the days of the new and full moon.

8. *saṁthiī*, figures of the *naksh.*

9. *tāraggaṁ*, number of stars of the *naksh.*

10. *nētā*, leader, i. e. which *naksh.* lead which month?

11. *chāṇdamaggam*, relation of the *nakshatras* to the 15 day-circles of the moon.

12. *dēvatāṇa ya ajjhayaṇē*, the tutelary divinities of the *nakshatras*.

13. *muhuttāṇaṁ nāmayāi*, the names of the 30 *muhūrtas*.

14. *divasarāi*, the names of the 15 days and the 15 nights of the *karmamāsa*, calendar month.

15. *tihī*, *tithayaḥ*, ditto of the lunar month.

16. *gottā*, the families of the *naksh.*

17. *bhōyaṇṇi*, the foods which are good during each of the *naksh.* — That the *naksh.* begin here with *Kṛittikā* (!), is due to the influence of the well-known material that is here treated of.

18. *āichchachāra*, course (of the *naksh.*) with the sun or with the moon during the *yuga*.

[409] 19. *māsā*, names of the months of the world and those above the world (*lōkōttara*, chiefly of climatic contents).

<sup>10</sup> *pōrishmaṇḍalam* is cited in *Nandī* as a separate text.



20. pañcha saṁvachharāi, the five years, viz. : —
1. the nakshatra year with 12 periodic months of  $327\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$  *vyāṭhameṣa*.
  2. the yuga year, lunar year of  $354\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$  *vyāṭhameṣa*.
  3. the pamāṣa (pra°) year, of which there are five kinds. In addition to the two just mentioned, the ritu year (sāvāna) of 360 *vyāṭhameṣa*, the solar year of 366 *vyāṭhameṣa*, and the lunar leap-year of  $383\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$  *vyāṭhameṣa*.
  4. the lakṣhaṇa year, divided into the same five groups as above; there are, however, in addition certain requisites or characteristics.
  5. the year of Saturn (30 years), during which Saturn completes his circuit though the 28 naksh.
21. jōisassa sayadārāim, the gates of the nakshatras (in what quarter of the heavens they bring good fortune).
22. nakkhattavijāḥ (vichayāḥ), transit of the sun and moon through the 28 naksh.
- Book XI. Of the beginning of the five lunar years belonging to the yuga.
- Book XII. Of the five kinds of year, which were discussed in 10, 20 on pamāṣasaṁvatsara; they receive a much fuller treatment here.
- Book XIII. Of the waxing and waning of the moon.
- Book XIV. When is moonlight the brightest?
- Book XV. Of the rapidity of the five classes of constellations—sun, moon, planets, naksh. and tārā. — According to Leumann cf. also Jiv. 4, 31, 12.
- [410] Book XVI. Of the properties of moonlight.
- Book XVII. Of the fall (passing away) and uvavāya (resurrection) of the genii of the moon, sun, etc.
- Book XVIII. Of the height of the constellations above, and their distance from, the earth — cf. Jiv. 4, 31, 3 (L.)
- Book XIX. Of the number of the suns, etc., in Jambudvīpa, etc.; cf. Jiv. 4, 16, 17, 7, 20, 3, 10, 13, 21 (L.)
- Book XX. Of the nature and substance of the five classes of constellations.
- There is a commentary by Malayagiri.
- XVIII. The sixth upāṅgam, the Jambuddivapannatti.

We have seen (above p. 268) that in the third aṅga 4, 1<sup>11</sup> a work of this name was cited, if not as upāṅga, at least as aṅgabāhira. In that aṅga we find the same minute division of time which we meet with here; hence the existence of this upāṅga is assured even if its present form is different from that then in vogue. In our text upon a definite occasion there is a special reference to up. 5 and up. 7, each of which in turn cites our upāṅga. It is, therefore, probable that these works are synchronistic, supposing that the citations in this instance are not, as usually the case, the work of the redactor.

The legendary introduction to this upāṅga is wholly identical with that which commences [411] upāṅgas 5 and 7, — upāṅgas which are connected by a very close tie. This introduction is inserted between upāṅgas 5 and 7 in a very remarkable manner. Our up. is, however, different from these, in that, like aṅgas 1 — 3, it concludes with the formula ti bēmi, which, it must however, be confessed, is found at the end at least of books 10, 15; see p. 405.

There are no sub-divisions in the text itself, whence the Vidhiprapā calls it ḡgasarā. The commentary, however, recognizes seven sections which it calls by the strange title of vakṣha-kāra.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In 3, 1, however, only the titles of upāṅgas 7, 5 (and the title of a part of up. 3) are mentioned. The title of our up. finds there no mention whatsoever.

<sup>12</sup> This recurs e. g. in H(mahāma's nyāyamamjūṣhā.



The mythical geography of Jambuddīva, interfused with many legends, forms the contents of this upāṅga. The chief part —  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole — concerns the description of the seven vāsas (varsha) and of the six vāsaharas (varshadhara). The description of Bharaha vāsa which is placed in the fore-front comprises at least  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the entire account. The legends of king Bharata, from whom it takes its name, claim a good half of the entire section. The detailed account of Bharaha vāsa in the different gradations of the past and present (in all 4), and in the future (in all 8), is preceded by a minute description of the divisions of time and extent; of which we have already (in aṅga 3) met the first, from āvaliyā to sisapahēliya (or to usappiṇi) — see above, p. 268. One difference is, however, noticeable: — Here<sup>13</sup> the increase is by hundreds after the millennium, [412] after 100,000 years by 84's (chaūrasitīvāsasayasahasāim sē ēgē puvvaṅgē), and from this point on by 8,400,000 (chaūrasitipuvvaṅgasaya . . . sahasāim sē ēgē puvvē); in aṅga 3, however, we find no more exact statement in reference to the manner of the progression<sup>14</sup> (vāsakōḍi 'ti vā, puvvaṅgā ti vā, puvvā ti vā).

As the result of the above we may observe one divergence as regards up. 5, where in book VI. (see Ind. Stud. 10, 282), the word puvva occurred in the signification of a million years, and the increase from that point on (without any special mention of the names in question) simply passing by paliōvama and sāgarōvama, up to ōsappiṇi, merely by 10's.

The enumeration of the 72 kalās in a legend of Usabha is not mentioned in detail; its beginning and end alone being mentioned. The women of the foreign peoples known to us from the Bhagavatī — see p. 302 — are enumerated as servants of king Bharaha: — Tatē naṁ tassa Bharahassa raṇṇō bahūō khuyyā<sup>15</sup>. Chālāti-vāmaṇi-vaḍabhā Babbari-Vaūsiyāō Jōṇiyā-Palhavīyāō, Isiṇiyā-Thāruṇiyā (Thāruṇiyā, Chārūbhāṇiyā) Lāsīya Laūsiya Damilī Sīhālī taha Āravī Pulimī ya Pakvaṇī Vahali Marumī [413] (Mura°, Murō°) Savariō Pārasīō ya appigatiyāō chaṁḍapaṇakalasahattayāō . .

According to the commentary, the first four vakshaskāras treat of the following subjects:— The first, of the Bharataksheṭrasvarūpaṁ; the second, of its special relations during the 14 temporal divisions, Bharataksheṭrasvarūpavarṇanaprastāvanāgatāvasarpiny-utsarpinīdvayarūpa-kālachakravarṇanō nāma; the third, of the legends concerning king Bharata, BharataksheṭrapravṛttinimittāvirbhāvaBharatachakricharitrav. nāma; the fourth, of the remaining 6 vāsas, or 6 vāsaharas,<sup>16</sup> kshudraHimavadādivarshadharairāvatāmtavarshavarṇanō nāma. The fifth treats, in legendary form, of the birth and consecration of a tīrthakṛit, tīrthakṛijjanmābhishēkadhikārav. The sixth, unfortunately, gives but a very short review of the divisions, extent, mountains, temples, lakes, rivers, etc., of Jāmbudvīpa, Jāmbudvīpagatapadārthasaṅgrahav.<sup>17</sup> The seventh deals with astrological and chronological matters, jyōtishkādhikārav., and especially with the number, etc., of the moons, suns and stars in Jāmbudvīpa. Herein it is in very close agreement with the sūrapannatti and chaṁḍapannatti, both of which are cited at the end. The answer to the questions under consideration found at the end is based chiefly upon the discussion: pañchamasuē paḍhamē uddēsāē, by which [414] Bhagavatī 5, 1 is doubtless meant. It

<sup>13</sup> So also in the Anuyōgadvārasūtra, see Bhag. 1, 427. See Ind. Stud. 13, 108. Ind. Streifen, 3, 3. Pañchadandachhotrapr. p. 17 in reference to the customary use of the number 84.

<sup>14</sup> According to the scholiast, we must assume that the relations of modality in aṅga 3 are identical with those here:—pūrvāpi pūrvāṅgāny ēva chaturāsitivarshalakshagunītāni; pūrvāpi chaturāsitilakshagunītāni tṛuṭitāṅgāni bhavanti . . .

<sup>15</sup> kubjāḥ kubjikā vakrajāṅghāḥ, Chālītyāḥ chālādēśotpannāḥ, vāmanikā atyaṁtahravonnatahṛidayakoṣh(hā vā, vaḷabhikā madahakosh(hā vadha(vakrādhaḥ?)kāyā vā; bakaśādēśajāḥ; śinikāḥ thāruṇikāḥ; lāsakadēśajāḥ, lakusādēśajāḥ; tatra chālītyādayō 'abjādaśa tattaddēśodbhavatvēna tattannāmnikā jñeyāḥ, kubjādayas tu tiorō viśeṣhaḥabhūtāḥ; see Leumann in the glossary to the Aup.

<sup>16</sup> Then follows: 2. The mountain (vāsaharasparvātē) chulla Himavāntē, 3. in Hēmarvātē vāsē, 4. mount maha-Himavāntē, 5. in Harivāsē vāsē, 6. mount Nisaha, 7. in Mahāvidhē vāsē, 8. mount Nēlavāntē, 9. in Rammī vāsē, 10. mount Ruppi (Rukmin), 11. in Hirappavāsē vāsē, 12. mount Sīharī (Sikharin), 13. in Ērāvātē vāsē.

<sup>17</sup> 2½ leaves (75b to 77a) in a MS. of the text embracing 95 leaves, of which the fifth section embraces 66a to 75b. A gāhā, which summarizes the contents, forms the introduction. This gāhā is at the head of a saṅghayaṇi in 29 lryā composed in very free Prakrit, by Haribhadrasūtri. See above, pp. 371, 372.



closes in treating of the sun: ichch êsâ Jambuddivapannatti sūrapannattivatthusamāsēṇaṃ samattā bhavati. Then, in close conjunction with the above, it, in like manner, treats of the moon, and concludes: ichch êsâ Jaṭṭi chaṃdapanattivatthusamāsēṇaṃ s. bh. The expression vatthu, which occurs here twice, belongs to the puvva sections — see page 361. It does not occur in the existing texts of upāṅgas 5 and 7, which are divided into pāṇḍas, a term which, it must be confessed, is similar to the pūrvas. Next follows a discussion in reference to the five different kinds of year (see above p. 409), viz.: — 1. The nakkhatta year (and by this is meant the revolution of Jupiter through the 28 nakshatras;<sup>18</sup> in up. 5 (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 299), this is cited merely as a pakṣāntaram. 2. The lunar yuga year. 3. The pamaṇa year with its five groups as in up. 5. 4. The lakṣhaṇa year in five groups. The scholiast says that in the first of the five, the nakshatra year, the commencement is made with Kṛittikā and not with Abhijit! The scholiast on up. 5 at least makes mention of Uttarāśādhās — cf. *Ind. Stud.* 10, 301, note 7. 5. The year of Saturn or its revolution through the 28 nakshatras. Then follow the months, days, hours and the karaṇa, which last was omitted in up. 5. The fourth karaṇam is here called thīvilōṇa, strīvilōchana, or thīlōṇa (so also in the Gaṇaviyā v. 42) and not taitila. The names are as usual: — Bavaṃ bālavē kōlavam thīvilōṇam [415] garāi vaṇijam viṭṭhi (these 7 are chara) saṇi chaṇḍipaya nāgaṃ kiṃttuggham (these 4 are thīra). The beginning with Bava is the one which usually occurs elsewhere; but in the quinquennial yugam, contrary to other statements, everything has been changed. Of the two ayaṇas the summer solstice is in the first place, the rainy season is first among the seasons, Sāvaṇa (Śrāvaṇa) first among the months, the bahulap. among the pakṣha, the day among the ahōratta, and Abhijit among the nakshatras. Then follows a special discussion of the nakshatras, — their position as regards the moon, their divinities, the number of their stars, their gōtta, their form, etc., just as in the Nakshatrakalpa or in upāṅga 5; and partly in the form of gāhā. The names of the nakshatras appear here in their secondary form as in up. 5, in aṅga 3 — see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 296, and above p. 268: — Savana (instead of Śrōṇā), Dhārīṭhā (instead of Śravishtā), Bhaddavayā (instead of Prōshthapadā), Pussa (instead of Tishya). The conclusion is formed by all sorts of remarkable statements in reference to sun, moon, stars, the extent of their vimāṇa, etc.; Mars (iṃgālāē viyālāē lōhitamkē) and Saturn (saṇichharē) are regarded as belonging to the court of the moon; cf. Bhagavati 1, 401. 2, 225. Jupiter was referred to above; but there is no mention of Mercury, Venus, and the zodiac.

The commentary is by Sāntichandra, scholar of Sakalachandra, who lived at the time of the 58th patriarch of the Tapāgachha, Hīravijayasūri († Saṃvat 1652), recognized by Śrī-Akabbarsuratrāṇa (Sultan). This commentary<sup>19</sup> is very verbose, but in the introduction it contains numerous matters of interest in reference to the relations of each of the [416] 12 upāṅgas to that one of the aṅgas which had a corresponding position among the series of twelve, and in reference to the commentaries thereupon — Sīlāmkāchārya (on aṅgas 1, 2), Abhayadēva (on aṅgas 3 — 11 and up. 1), Malayagiri (on up. 2 — 7), Chāṃdrasūri (on up. 8 — 12), and finally — see above p. 224 — in reference to the period of advancement suitable for the study of each of the aṅgas. The full statement in reference to the mutual relation of the aṅgas and upāṅgas is: — tatrā 'mgāni dvādaśa, upāṃgāni api aṃgaikadēsapraṇācharūpāni prāyaḥ pratyāṃgam ēkaikabhāvat tāvānty ēva, tatrā 'mgāni āchāraṃgādini pratitāni, teshāṃ upāṃgāni kramēṇa 'muni: āchāraṃgasyau 'papātikam 1, sūtrakṛidaṃgasya rājaprasānyam 2, sthānāṃgasya jīvābhigamaḥ 3, samavāyāṃgasya prajnapanā 4, bhagavatyāḥ sūryaprajnapatiḥ 5, jñātādharmakathāṃgasya jāmḇūdīpaprajnapatiḥ 6, upāsakadaśāṃgasya chāṃdraprajnapatiḥ 7, aṃtakṛiddaśāṃgādikānām dṛishṭivādaparyāntānām pañchānām apy aṃgānām nīrayāvalikāśrutaskāṃdhagatakālpikā-dipaṃchavargāḥ pañchō 'pāṃgāni, tathā hi: aṃtakṛiddaśāṃgasya kālpikā 8, anuttarōpapātika-

<sup>18</sup> jam vā vahassa mahaggabē duvāḷavahim saṃvachharīhim savvanakkhattamāṃdalam saṃchārī sē tam nakkhattasaṃvachharē.

<sup>19</sup> The date of its composition is Saṃvat 1651 (A. D. 1595); the work was, however, revised for Vijayasēna nine years later.



daśāṅgasya kalpāvatamsikā 9, praśnavyākaraṇasya pushpitā 10, vipākaśrutasya pushpachūlikā 11, dṛṣṭivādasya Vṛṣhṇidaśā 12, iti.

**XIX. The seventh upāṅgam, chaṁdapannatti.**

We have, before, frequently observed that a text of this name is twice cited in aṅga 3, and in conjunction with texts whose titles belong to upāṅgas 5, 6, or to a portion of up. 3; that the order of succession of the titles in aṅga 3 (7, 5, 6) does not agree with the present position of these texts, viz. the title of the chaṁdapannatti is there, and, in fact, in both the passages which concern this matter, placed before the others. The chaṁdapannatti is cited in the text of up. 6, as before remarked. [417] Taking these facts into consideration, it is in the highest degree remarkable that the existing text is almost completely identical with that of up. 5, differing from it, for example, in about the same way as the two schools of the white Yajus differ from each other. The introduction is, however, quite different. The beginning consists of 4 āryā strophes, of which 1 and 2 sing the praises of Vira etc.; v. 3 characterizes the work in the same words as are found in up. 4, introd. v. 3 and 5, i. e. as puvvasuyasāraṇisaṁdaṁ — see p. 394 — and v. 4 traces back the jōisarāyapannatti to the questions of Gōtama Īṁdabbūti. Then follow upon these four strophes the same 15 verses in an interrogatory tone, which in up. 5, too, state the contents of the 20 separate divisions (pāhuḍa) and subdivisions pāhuḍa-pāhuḍa. From this we can draw the conclusion that there is complete identity of subject and method of treatment. The legendary introduction, which refers the whole to a conversation between Mahāvira and Īṁdrabhūti, follows upon these 15 verses, and displays a few minor differences. From this point on, the text is similar to, and in fact, almost identical with, that of up. 5, with the exception of a few linguistic (e. g. rāi, night, for rayañi, ratañi, rajañi) and stylistic differences. Our text is, here and there, somewhat briefer, which is compensated for by references to up. 3 and 6, which are lacking in up. 5. An exact comparison of the text of each will doubtless disclose many matters of difference between the two. Nevertheless, the inter-relation of the two is a fact, the remarkable character of which [418] is enhanced when we consider that Malayagiri composed a special commentary on this upāṅga also, which was essentially the same as that composed by him on up. 5, and that in neither of his commentaries does he say anything in reference to the mutual relation of both texts and commentaries. (The statement just made appears to be correct, though I have not made here an examination of Malayagiri's com. *ad amussim*).

Until new facts come to light that will solve this mystery, we must be content to accept the present situation. In the passage in up. 6 in which up. 5 and 7 are cited — see above, p. 414 — the text reads as if the first had reference solely to the sun, the second solely to the moon. Our texts of up. 5 and 7, however, treat both uniformly and in a completely similar manner.

**XX. — XXIV. The eighth to the twelfth upāṅgas, nirayāvaliyāō, nirayāvalikās.**

Under this collective name are comprised five small texts of legendary contents (vaggas) in one "śrutaskandha." The first of these either has the special title of "śrutaskandha," or is called kappiyāō, kalpikās. The titles of the others are kappavaḍaṁsiyāō, pupphiyāō, pupphachūliyāō or °chūlāō, Vanhidasāō. Each of the first four has 10, the fifth 12 ajjhayanās.<sup>20</sup> In the introduction to the first, all these five texts are characterized — see 372, 373 — as uvaṅgāpaṁ pañcha vaggā. We have seen above that this epithet recurs in the interior of no other one of the texts held to be upāṅgas. [419] It must, therefore, be deemed a probable supposition, if we assert that this epithet at the time of the composition of these five texts was restricted to them alone in their totality since they belonged together from the very beginning. Their present position at the end of the 12 upāṅgas is to be explained by their legendary contents, which shows them to be perfectly adapted to serve as a pendant to the

<sup>20</sup> Āvi. and Svi. : aṁtagaḍaḍaḍāpāṁchapaṁchadhā aḍgāpaṁ nirayāvaliyā-saṁkkaṁdhā uvaṅgāṁ, tammi pañcha vaggā : kappiyāō kappavaḍaṁsiyāō pupphiyāō pupphachūliyāō vanhidasāō, chaḍḍu dāsa ajjhayanā, pañchamē bāraṇa.



legendary texts of aṅgas 7-11;<sup>21</sup> and tradition has — see pp. 373, 416 — brought them into connection with these aṅga texts and especially with 8-12. They share with these not merely the common form of legendary introduction; they are referred back to Sudharman and Jambū; they have the names ukkhēva and nikhēva, usual in the customary introductory and concluding formulæ; they shew the division of each into ten ajjhayaṇas, and lastly they have the same form of the citation of a text, i. e. the first ajjh. only is quoted entire, and the catch-words suffice for those that follow. We may well call them an appendix bound to aṅgas 7-11 by a very close tie. Their interconnection is, furthermore, attested by external evidence: — Their names are placed together in the enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha texts in the Nandī, though the order of succession varies somewhat, the series there being 20, 22, 21, 23, 24, while between 20 and 22, as a separate text, the kappiyāḥ are inserted, which in the Vidhiprapā, [420] as in Śāntichandra on up. 6, see p. 416, appear merely as the name of the first of these 5 upāṅgas. In the scholiast on the Nandī, however, and in the Nandī itself they are regarded as an independent text existing by the side of the other five: narakāvāsās tadgāminās chanarā yatra varṇyamāntē; kalpikāḥ saudharmādikalpavaktavyatāgocharā grāṁthapaddhatayaḥ; ēvaṁ kalpā-vatamsikā jñeyāḥ; yās tu grihavāsamukulana(!)tyāgēna jivāḥ saṁyamabbhāvapushpitā bhūṣhitā bhūyas tattyāgatō duḥkhāvāptimukulēna mukulitās tattyāgataḥ pushpitāḥ pratipādyamāntē tāḥ pushpitāḥ; tadviśeṣhapratipādikāḥ pushpachūḍāḥ; Aṁdhaka-Vṛṣṇidāsānām siddhigamanādila-kṣhāpānām pratipādikā grāṁthapaddhatayaḥ.

In the account of Rāj. Lāla Mitra, l. c. (above, p. 227), there is no mention of the Vaghidasāḥ, nirayāvalī and kappiyā are enumerated as two separate upāṅgas (8 and 9), and Kappavaḍimsayā, Pupphiyā, Pupphachūliyā as Nos. 10-12. In Kashinath Kunte's report the order is nirayāvalikā, Vanhidasā, Kappavaḍimsiyā, Pupphiyā, Pupphachūliyā.

It must, furthermore, be noticed that Abhayadēva on aṅga 3, 10 is of the opinion that several of the 10 ajjh. of the dīhadasā cited there are especially closely connected with the narakāvalīśrutaskandha — see pp. 273, 423<sup>a</sup>. If this is the case, it supports the probability that the contents is of ancient date, which is indeed great on other grounds. The relation of the five extant texts is as follows: —

XX. up. 8, *uvamāṅgaṇaṁ paḍhamē vaggē, the nirayāvaliyāḥ, or kappiyāḥ*, treats of the ultimate fortunes of the ten princes Kāla etc.,<sup>22</sup> sons [421] of the Aṅga king Sēṇiya of Chāmpū. These princes accompanied their half-brother Kūpiya<sup>23</sup> in his campaign against his grandfather, Chēḍaga of Vēsālī, the Vidēha king, who refused to deliver up the own brother of Kūpiya who had fled to his court. Kūpiya on this account had declared war against Chēḍaga, who, in order to meet the impending danger, summoned nine Mallati (Mallaki) and nine Lechhati (Lichchhavi) kings and all 48 Kāsi-Kōsalayā gaṇarāyāṇō (cf. Bhagav. 7, a, p. 301), and opposed 57,000 elephants, etc., to the 33,000 of the eleven princes (3,000 for each). The mothers<sup>24</sup> of the ten princes, Kālī, etc. (see aṅga 8, above, p. 321), each ask in turn of Mahāvira whether they are destined to behold their sons alive again. Mahāvira in reply not only informs Imḍabhūti into what hell each must descend after he has fallen in the battle — hence the title of the upāṅga — and his future fate, but also relates the antecedent history of king Kūpiya himself, beginning at that point when his mother was three months pregnant. The expulsion of his father Sēṇiya from the throne at his hands is then related and his father's death in prison. We possess in its complete form the text of the first ajjh. alone, the second being finished off in six, the remaining eight in two lines.

The reader is referred to Jacobi's introduction to the kalpas. p. 2 for Sēṇiya Bhimbhisāra,<sup>25</sup> i. e.

<sup>21</sup> As regards aṅga 10 I have mentioned on page 329 my conjecture that from the inter relation of up. 8-12 and aṅgas 7-11 we have additional testimony for the view that aṅga 10 too originally possessed a legendary character. See, however, p. 334 n.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Kālī, Sukālī, Mahākālī, Kaphē, Sukaphē, Mahākaphē, Virākaphē, Rāmākaphē, Piusākaphē, Mahāśākaphē.

<sup>23</sup> Son of Chellana, wife of Paṁdvāl.

<sup>24</sup> Stepmothers, chullamāṣ, of Kūpiya.

<sup>25</sup> See ajjh. 10 of the dāśārutaskandha.



Śrēṇika Bimbisāra, and his son Kūṇiya Bāmbhasāraputta,<sup>26</sup> i. e. Ajātasātro, [422] contemporaries of Buddha, and also in reference to the synchronistic conclusions which may be drawn in reference to Mahāvira. It is placed beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Bauddhas and the Jainas possess herein a common heritage, and that genuine historical traditions form the foundation of the recital. Whether it is necessary to separate Mahāvira from Buddha is another question — cf. Bhagav. 1, 441. The traditional connection of Mahāvira with Nātiputta, Buddha's opponent, can also be regarded as the result — cf. p. 240 — of an intentional variation caused by sectarian hatred. The Nirayāvali has been edited by S. Warren, Antwerp, 1879, on which see H. Jacobi in *Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc.* 34, 178 ff. There is a commentary by Chandrasūri.

The enumeration of the women of non-Āryan peoples,<sup>27</sup> distinguished in the text merely by vahūhiṃ khuyyāhiṃ jāva, is quoted by Chandrasūri in the same form which we meet with in Bhag. 9, 33 (see p. 302), etc. The citation jahā Chittō tti, points to up. (2), jahā Pabhāvatī to aṅga 5, 11.

XXI. up. 9. varga 2, kappāvaḍamsiāu, kalpāvatamsikāḥ, treats of the ten sons<sup>28</sup> of prince Kāla, etc., all of whom were converted to asceticism, as were their grandmothers Kālī etc., and who [423] reached their respective heavens.<sup>29</sup> The account consists almost entirely of mere catch-words or of references. Emphasis is often laid upon the study of the sāmāia-m-ādīāiṃ ekkārāsa aṅgāiṃ.

XXII. up. 10. varga 3, pupphāiāu, pushpikāḥ (or °tāḥ), treats, with reference to up. 2, of the ten gods or goddesses<sup>30</sup> who came from their heavenly worlds<sup>31</sup> to pay reverence to Mahāvira, who thereupon tells to Gōyama their previous history. They were in a former birth all turned or converted to the study of the sāmāia-m-ādīāiṃ ekkārāsa aṅgāiṃ, either by the arhant Pāsa or by the Ayya Suvvatā or by the thērā bhagavaṃtō (see up. 3). These former births, as māhapa, gāhāvati, satthavāhē etc., occurred in Sāvattthī, Vāṇḍarasi (!), Maṇivāiā, Veṇḍā-ṇaṇā, Mihilā, Hatthiṇapura, Kākāṇḍī. The enumeration of the Brāhmanical sciences here is similar to that in the Bhagavatī (above, p. 303); and their names are similarly explained by the scholiast.

XXIII. up. 11. varga 4, pupphachūlāō, pushpachūḍās,<sup>32</sup> ten other histories of a similar nature. We possess the first alone, the Bhātā nāmaṃ dāriā, former birth of the Siridēvi,<sup>33</sup> is brought by Pāsa to believe in the niggamthaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ. The other histories have entirely disappeared with the exception of the names, [424] which are found<sup>34</sup> in the gāhā in the introduction; the goddesses (not gods) who are here mentioned are for the most part mere personifications of ethical qualities.

XXIV. up. 12. varga 5, Vanhidasāō, Vṛishnidasās, in 12 ajjhayaṇas; 12 similar histories, of which we possess none but the first, the mere names by which the others were called having been

<sup>26</sup> See introduction to up. 2. More exact information in reference to his history is found in the scholiast on *Āraṇy.* 18, 144, cf. Bhag. 7, 9 (Leumann).

<sup>27</sup> kubjikābhīḥ vakrajaṅghābhīḥ, chīlātībhīḥ anāryadēśotpannābhīḥ, vāmanābhīḥ braevaśarirābhīḥ vadabhābhīḥ madahakosṭhābhīḥ, Varvarībhīḥ Varvaradēśasambhāvābhīḥ, Vakusīkābhīḥ Yōnakābhīḥ Paghavikābhīḥ Isinikābhīḥ Chārukinikābhīḥ Lāsikābhīḥ Dravidībhīḥ Sīnhalībhīḥ Āravibhīḥ Pakvaṇībhīḥ Vahallībhīḥ Murundībhīḥ Savarībhīḥ Pārasībhīḥ nānādēśābhīḥ vahuvidhānāryaprayadēśotpannābhīḥ; cf. p. 412.

<sup>28</sup> Pāumē, Mahāpāumē, Bhaddē, Subhaddē, Mahābhaddē, Pāumabhaddē, Pāumaseṇā, Pāumagummē, Nalipigummē, Apachdē, Nandapē (but this makes 11 names! Is one to be referred to a son of Kūṇiya?)

<sup>29</sup> Seated in the Kalpāvatānsaka Vimāna, Kashinath K.

<sup>30</sup> Chāṇḍēyūlīndā, Sūrā, Sukkē, mahāgahē (planet Venus), Bahuputtī, Punnabhaddē, Māpibhaddē, Dattē, Sivā, Balē, Anāghitē; four of these names, see p. 273, among those of the dīhadāsāu.

<sup>31</sup> Seated in the celestial chariot (Pushpaka), Kashinath.

<sup>32</sup> Contains an account of the female disciple of Mahāvira Svāmi, named Pushpachhūlā, and of her female attendant, Kashinath.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 273 n.

<sup>34</sup> siri, hiri, dhiti, kiṭṭhi, vuddhi, lajjā, ilā dēvi, surā dēvi, sarasā dēvi, gaindhadēvi; — The Siridēvi comes to honor Mahāvira . . , jahā Bahuputtī.



preserved.<sup>35</sup> The conversion of twelve princes of the race of Vṛishṇi is here treated of as having ensued through the influence of the arhan Aritṭhanēmi. The first history deals with Nisadha, son of Baladēva, nephew of king Kaṇha-Vāsudēva in Bāravati.<sup>36</sup> In his former birth he was converted or turned to the study of the sāmāia-m-ādiāi ekkārāsa aṁgāin by the Siddhatthā-nāmañ āyariyā. A prophecy in reference to his future birth is added to the above recital. At the end the five texts are again called the "uvaṁgāni" or the 5 vargas of one śrutaskandha: nirayāvaliāsutakkhaṁdhō samattō, samattāni a uvaṁgāni, nirayāvaliā-uvamgē pañ ēgō suakkhaṁdhō pañcha vaggā pañchasu divasēsu uddissamti.

This last statement in reference to the number of days which are necessary to teach or to recite them, is found [425] in exactly the same form in the corresponding aṅgas — see p. 280. The three sāmāyāris, contain detailed statements in reference to each.

The historical value of these legends is, apart from the traditions contained in up. 8, without doubt very slight indeed. The largest portion of their contents is as purely fictitious as was the case in aṅga 6 fg. (see p. 338). Nevertheless, since they contain information (e. g. in respect to the activity of Pāsa, which preceded that of Mahāvira), we may claim for them a value as regards our estimation of the relations under which we have to consider the life and works of Mahāvira.

We have seen above that the uniformity of the contents, and the homogeneous method of treating it in all the five texts, make for the conclusion that they originally formed but one text. Tradition calls them merely the five parts of one śrutaskandha. Their enumeration as five separate texts was caused by the desire to have the number of the uvaṁgas correspond to that of the aṅgas. The fact is that the special limitation of the number of the aṅgas to eleven, which is found in uv. 8-12, must be regarded as a strange contradiction of the desire to assimilate the number of the uvaṁgas to that of the aṅgas. The title vaggā belongs also to aṅgas 6 and 8, as an appendix or supplement to the latter of which two, these five texts may have come into existence. The history of the first vaggā here (uv. 8-12) is, to a certain extent, an elucidatory supplement to the last of the vaggas there, i. e. in aṅga 8.

### FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 11. — Francis and his Uncle.

There was an old woman who had an only son, called Francis.<sup>1</sup> They were in rather poor circumstances, and lived on what the old woman earned during the day. Francis had a maternal uncle, who was very rich and possessed much land and several bullocks and cows.

One day, when the boy was old enough, his maternal uncle called on his sister, and asked her to send the lad to take his cattle to graze, promising to give him something as pay. His sister told him that the boy was mischievous, and said he had better ask him himself to agree to the proposal. His uncle, therefore, called the boy, and said to him: — "Francis, will you come and take my cattle to graze every day? I will give you something in return."

"Yes, I will come," said Francis. "Will you give me a cow as pay, uncle?"

His uncle promised to give him a cow, and Francis went daily and took his uncle's cattle to graze. Every day Francis asked for his cow, but his uncle put him off, saying:—

"I will give you one to-morrow."

<sup>35</sup> Nisadhē, Mahānisadhē, Anigahē, Vēdē, Pagatī, Juttī, Dasarahē, Daḍbarahē, Mahādhapō, Sattadhapō, Dasadhapō, Sayadhapō.

<sup>36</sup> At the head of 10 Dasāra: Samuddavijaya etc., 5 Mahāvira: Baladēva etc., 16,000 kings: Uggasēpa etc., 34 kōṣi of kumāra: Payyunnā etc., 60,000 duddasita (P): Sambaya etc., 21,000 vira: Virasēna etc., 16,000 dēvi: Ruppipi, etc., and many thousand gapiā: Aṇaṁgaṣṭhā etc. The same court is found according to Leumann in aṅga 6, p. 526, 1231, and aṅga 8, 1.

<sup>1</sup> The original is Farāñña, a familiar local form of Francis.



After several days, the uncle, finding Francis importunate, one day said to him : — "There are a lot of cows here, you can choose one for yourself."

Upon this Francis chose a cow for himself, and every day fed her with half of his own rations, which made her grow plump and fat. Now his uncle observed that, while his own cattle remained as before, Francis' cow was growing fat and beat them all in beauty. He soon became jealous, and considered how he might deprive the lad of his cow.

So one evening he came and said to him : — "Well, Francis, my boy, I'll give you a holiday to-morrow, and I will look after the cattle myself."

But Francis said : — "No, uncle, I don't care for a holiday. I will be at my usual work."

His uncle, however, pressed him much, saying : — "Francis, you are yet a child, and you require some rest. So listen to me and take a holiday."

So Francis was at last persuaded to take a holiday, but he asked his uncle to take care of his cow, which, of course, his uncle promised to do.

In the morning the uncle took his cattle for grazing, as also Francis' cow. While his cattle were grazing he drove the cow up a high mountain and from there threw her into the river below, and the cow died at once, and the uncle was satisfied, and taking his own cattle he came home in the evening.

The following day, as soon as Francis arose, he went as usual to his daily work, but to his astonishment found his cow missing. He ran to his uncle and asked him where his cow was. His uncle said : — "Look in the stalls ; she must be somewhere among the other cattle."

Francis went to the stalls and searched among all the cattle, but in vain, and therefore suspected foul play. Instead of taking his uncle's cattle to graze, he left them in the stalls, and went all over the forests in quest of his own cow. He searched and searched, and, at last, found the carcass of his cow in the river. Poor Francis sat down by the poor cow and cried for hours and hours, but he made sure that the death of the cow was due to nothing else than his uncle's envy.

Seeing that crying would not bring his cow back to life, he made up his mind to skin the cow, so that the skin might some day be of use to him. So he at once set to work, and, dragging the carcass to the bank of the river, skinned it and dried it in the sun for several days.

When the skin was thoroughly dried, he asked his mother one day to bake him three or four hand-cakes, but she said : — "There is scarcely flour enough to make one cake ; and how am I to bake three or four for you ?"

Francis, however, bothered her so often that his mother went and begged some rice-flour, and baked four cakes, and gave them to him. Francis tied up the cakes in a kerchief, and, taking the cow's skin, went away. He walked on and on, uncertain where to go, or what to do, for a whole day, and when it was dusk he found himself in a large forest, and here he meant to pass the night ; but being afraid that some wild beast might see and devour him, he climbed up a high tree, not forgetting to take the skin also with him.

At dead of night it happened that some robbers, who had plundered a rich house, came and sat under that very tree, and, having thrown down their booty, began to divide it, and to quarrel between themselves.

Said one : — "I deserve the greatest share because I shewed you the house."

"No, no," said a second ; "I entered the house first, while you remained outside, and so the biggest share falls to my lot."

And so they went on quarrelling, till our hero got so frightened that he let fall the cow's hide from the tree, which made such a noise, and in its turn so frightened the robbers, that they left everything and took to their heels, thinking some evil spirits had seen them and were coming on them.



Our hero, when he saw the robbers had run away, came down, took all the treasure the robbers had left, and went home in high spirits. When he reached his hut, he told his mother to go to her brother's house, and ask for the loan of his *pharā ani dāṇḍā* (basket and spade). His mother told him to go himself; but Francis pleaded, saying: — "Go, go, mother, and ask for uncle's basket and spade."

His mother at last went to her brother's home, and asked for the loan of his basket and spade. Her brother said to her: — "Sister, why do you want the basket and spade? What are you going to do with them?"

She replied: — "Francis wants them. The boy is so mischievous. I don't know what he wants to do with them."

So his mother took the basket and the spade from her brother and brought them to Francis. Francis took them and measured all the treasure he had got, which made several baskets full. But on returning the basket and the spade, he let two rupees stick to the basket for his uncle to see, and when he saw the two rupees in the basket, he asked his sister how they came there. She told him that Francis had brought a heap of treasure, which he measured it with the basket. When the uncle heard this he immediately came to Francis and asked him how he got all the treasure, upon which Francis said: — "Oh uncle, what shall I tell you? Shall I say one, or shall I say two?"

His uncle then said: — "Go on, my boy, tell me where you got the treasure from."

Francis then replied: — "Why, uncle, you remember you killed my cow? I am so thankful to you for it. I skinned the cow, dried the hide, and cried it for sale: —

*"Jhiā chāmbraṇ, diā dhan; jhiā chāmbraṇ diā dhan."*

Take hides, give treasure; take hides, give treasure."

"There is such a demand for these hides, that for the hide of one cow I got all this treasure. O uncle, if I had half the number of cattle that you have, I should get a heap of treasure as large as your house."

His uncle was so fired with the desire of amassing treasure, that he went and slaughtered all his cattle, believing every word that his nephew had told him. In due time the cattle were skinned, and the hides having been thoroughly dried, he went from village to village and from country to country, crying out: —

*"Jhiā chāmbraṇ, diā dhan; jhiā chāmbraṇ diā dhan."*

Take hides, give treasure; take hides, give treasure."

But who ever heard of exchanging hides for treasure? The poor man wandered day and night for several weeks, and made himself the laughing-stock of every one. Quite fatigued and disheartened, he returned home. His wife asked him what success he had met with, but he only said: — "Oh, you don't understand these affairs; mind your own business."

He was so enraged at the trick, that he determined to ruin Francis, and with this determination one night set fire to the boy's hut. His poor mother ran about like one mad, calling the people to help in putting out the fire. Francis, on the contrary, brought more sticks and other combustibles, and put them on the flames, which helped to burn down the hut quickly and surely.

When the hut was entirely burnt down, Francis collected all the ashes in two bags. He then told his mother again to bake him a few cakes, which his mother did with some reluctance, saying: — "I can't understand, Francis, where you want to go, or what you are trying to do?"

But he bundled the cakes into a kerchief, and, having borrowed a bullock from one of his neighbours, put the two bags of ashes on it, and drove it away. This time, too, he was uncertain



what to do or where to go for a whole day, and at dusk he was again in a forest where he met a great merchant also driving a bullock with two bags on it. They asked each other who they were and where they were going and what they had. The merchant replied first: — "I am a merchant, and the bags you see on the bullock are full of gold mohars, which I have earned in my trade."

Francis turned this opportunity to his advantage, and said: — "Exactly like myself. I have amassed a large fortune in the shape of gold mohars in the bags which you see on my bullock, and I am now returning home after several months' business."

The merchant believed every word he said, and so they agreed to put up together for the night, and arranged between them to watch their property by turns. The merchant had to watch till midnight, and then go to sleep, after which it was Francis' turn to watch. Meanwhile they removed the bags from the bullocks to give them rest. Having partaken of their meals, Francis went to sleep while the merchant kept watch. About midnight the merchant awoke Francis and told him it was time for him to keep watch.

"Certainly," said Francis; "we must, however, put our bags on our respective bullocks, for, should any robbers come, what can I do alone? While if we have them ready on the bullocks, I can awake you and we can then escape with all haste."

The merchant thought the proposal reasonable, and so each put his bags on his bullock, and then the merchant fell fast asleep, being quite tired with the journey and the night-watch.

In a little while Francis changed the bags, and drove home in all haste, and when he got home again he asked his mother to go to her brother's house and borrow his *pharā ani dāḍā*. His mother at first refused to go, telling him to go himself; but at last she went, and said to her brother: — "Brother, brother, lend me your basket and spade."

"Why do you want the basket and spade?" asked her brother.

"The boy wants them," replied she. "I don't know what he is trying to do."

So Francis' uncle then gave her the basket and the spade, which she took home and gave to her son. Francis then measured all the gold mohars, which made several baskets full, and in returning the basket and the spade Francis purposely left two mohars in the basket. On seeing them his uncle came in all haste and asked Francis where he got the mohars from. Francis thought this a good opportunity for taking his revenge, and calmly said: — "Why, uncle, didn't you set fire to my hut? I gathered the ashes and sold them for several baskets full of gold mohars. Oh, if I only had a house like yours, what a lot of mohars it would fetch! You have only to say: —

*"Jhiā bhūrt, diā mōrt; jhiā bhūrt, diā mōrt."*

Take ashes, give mohars; take ashes, give mohars."

"Hundreds and thousands of people will flock to you bringing their mohars and taking your ashes."

His uncle was again duped, and went and set fire to his large house. His wife was, of course, alarmed at this action, but her husband said: — "Oh, you don't understand these affairs; you mind your own business."

The whole house was reduced to ashes, which he collected and put into several bags. As he had killed all his cattle, he was obliged to borrow bullocks from others for the conveyance of the ashes. Having put the bags on the bullocks, he drove them from village to village and from town to town, crying at the top of his voice: —

*"Jhiā bhūrt, diā mōrt; jhiā bhūrt, diā mōrt."*

Take ashes, give mohars; take ashes, give mohars."

Thus he cried and cried his ashes for days and weeks together, with the result, that he tired himself out and was hooted by all as a fool; for what folly is greater than to ask for mohars in



exchange for ashes? At last he went home quite sick and tired. His wife again asked him what success he had had, but he only said: — "Oh, you don't understand these affairs; you mind your own business."

He now thought of how to punish Francis for his mischief, and hit upon the following plan. He called him one day, bound his hands and feet, and tied him in a sack with the object of throwing him in the river. As he was going with the sack with Francis in it, he felt a pain in his stomach. Round about him were a lot of cow-herds, so putting the burden down, he went to a long distance to relieve his pain. In the meantime Francis pretended to be crying, and kept saying: — "Oh, I do not wish to be married! I am yet young, and the girl is so big! What a shame, my uncle wants me married by compulsion."

One of the cow-herds, who heard what Francis said, asked him to explain what it all meant. So he said: — "Look here, I am so young, and because I do not wish to be married, as the girl is too big for me, my uncle is taking me by force."

Upon this the cow-herd said: — "If that be the case let me take your place."

"Agreed," said our hero; and he was immediately let out of the sack, and was replaced by the cow-herd. Francis, once out of the bag, took the cattle belonging to the cow-herd, and drove them home in safety.

His uncle came after a time, and taking up the sack, marched straight to the mountain, and threw the bag headlong from a precipice into the river, highly elated at the thought that he had at last got rid of Francis. That day passed and on the following morning he saw Francis driving a large herd of cows and buffaloes. He was at his wits' ends to understand how Francis escaped, and how he got such a lot of cattle. He, therefore, said to him: — "Hallo, Francis, where did you get all the cattle from?"

Francis replied: — "Why, from the river into which you threw me. There are hundreds of thousands of them there. The only misfortune is that, being young, I could not manage more; so I contented myself with these. Oh, if I were as big and strong as you are, what a lot more I could have got."

The poor uncle for the third time believed what Francis told him, and so he asked him to bind his hands and feet and to throw him in the river. Francis, too glad of the opportunity offered him to get rid of his uncle, at once set to work. Having bound him well and put him in a sack, he carried him away. On the way, Francis now and then dropped his load on the ground, upon which his uncle would say: — "Oh, Francis, what are you trying to do? You will kill me at this rate."

But Francis would reply: — "No, no, uncle; you see I am so small, and you are so heavy! How can I help it?"

Thus Francis carried his uncle up the mountain and threw him into the river, where he immediately died. When Francis returned home, his aunt came and inquired of him what his uncle was doing. Francis replied: — "Uncle is selecting good cattle, and will not come home for a long time."

For a whole week his aunt came daily and asked Francis why her husband had not returned yet, and Francis always gave her the same reply; but at last he said to her: — "*Túmchá naurá atham évúchá náhin. Túmí válé ani pót kára, ani bángriá bíngriá phórd.* Your husband will never come now. Remove your *évlé* and *pót*, and break your bangles."<sup>2</sup>

Francis now had abundance of money, with which he purchased a large house, and plenty of landed property, and lived with his old mother happily and in undisturbed enjoyment of his wealth.

<sup>2</sup> *Válé* are anklets and *pót* is a necklet of gold which is given by the husband to the wife on their wedding day. The breaking of bangles is pre-eminently the sign of widowhood, as also are the removal of the *válé* and *pót*, which are called the *shimgár* of a married woman.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## OFFERINGS TO GODLINGS IN BENGAL.

At Rāniganj and Bardwān in Bengal I found small rude images of horses and elephants, used as offerings to Sattā Pīr by Musalmāns and to Bhoirōb (Bhairava) and Mānsā Dēvi by Hindus.

Images of horses are offered in a similar way

to Pīrs at Siālkōt in the Panjāb in token of vows fulfilled. It would be interesting to note how far the custom is spread in India among the more civilized peoples. Among the savage Chérōs of the Mirzāpur District such images of horses are common.

R. C. TEMPLE.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

THE VEDĀNTA-SIDDHĀNTAMUKTĀVALI OF PRAKĀSĀNANDA, with English translation and notes, by ARTHUR VENIS. Benares, 1890. Pp. vi, ii, 186, vi. (Reprint from the *Pandit*.)

According to the editor, Prakāśānanda, the author of this work "is wedged in between Nṛsiṃha-Āśrama and Appaya-Dīkshita," the former of whom converted the latter "from Śāiva heresy to the true Śāṅkara Vēdānta," and the latter "had reached a good old age in 1620 A. D." More precise information regarding this author is not available. Consequently his work has probably to be assigned to the last quarter of the 16th century. Prakāśānanda's Siddhāntamuktāvali belongs to a class of works which serve as appendages to the second Adhyāya of Śāṅkara's great *Bhāṣya*. The object of these works "consists in searching through all the so-called proofs of duality (*dvaita*) current in the schools (more particularly in that of the Nyāya), in order to expose them as just so many cases of "petitio principii (*ūlmaśraya*)." The conclusion at which the author arrives at the end of his inquiry is expressed in the following words of the *Smṛiti* :—

ब्रह्मात्मैकस्वविज्ञानं शब्दं वैशिकपूर्वकम् ।

बुद्धिपूर्वकत्वं पापं कृत्स्नं दहति बह्विधम् ॥

"The knowledge of self and Brahman as identical, gained through the Vēda and attendance on a Gurn, consumes like fire every evil deed (though) done intentionally."

Professor Venis has done invaluable service to the student of the Vēdānta Philosophy by adding an English paraphrase of the whole work, in which the perplexing terms of the Śāstra are rendered by corresponding ones chosen from European philosophy. The technicalities of the Tarkaśāstra make it a somewhat repulsive subject to those who have followed the close reasoning of the European school. But editions, like the present one, of Hindu philosophical works, published by scholars like Mr. Venis, who can sympathise with the spirit of Hindu metaphysics, go a great deal towards removing such repulsiveness. In the index, which is appended to this

edition, is given a clear explanation of some of the most difficult terms of Hindu Logic.

Under the superintendence of Professor Venis is published the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, the first number of which is edited by Mahāmahādhyāya Gaṅgādhara Śāstri Mānavallī and gives a fair indication of the scholar-like way in which the others will be done. It contains the Sanskrit text of the *Siddhāntalācā*, a work on the Vēdānta Philosophy written by Appaya-Dīkshita. The editor discusses, in the preface, at considerable length, the date of the author, and arrives at the conclusion that he was born about 1550 A. D. He further adds that Appaya-Dīkshita was, according to European scholars, the chief Paṇḍit at the court of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāja whose other name was Venkṭapāṭi and who was the son of Narasiṃha *alias* Narasadeva. It is clear from the following verse which is found at the end of the *Kuvalāyānanda*, another work of the same author, that he was a contemporary of king Venkṭapāṭi :—

अमुं कवलयानन्दमकरोद्वपदीक्षितः ।

नियोगाद्देहदुपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

From inscriptions and other trustworthy sources we learn that Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Narasa or Nṛsiṃha, was not called Venkṭapāṭi, and that he reigned from about Śaka 1430 to 1451 (= A.D. 1508 to 1529).<sup>1</sup> If the date that is established in the preface of the book under review for the birth of Appaya-Dīkshita is correct, the sovereign of whose court he was the chief Paṇḍit, must have been Venkṭa I. of Kariṇṭa, whose grants range from Śaka 1508 to 1535 (= A.D. 1586 to 1613).<sup>2</sup> The editor, being a stranger to Dravidian names of places, makes Tiruvālaṅḍu of Tiruvālaṅḍu ('the sacred banyan forest'), where some of the descendants of Appaya-Dīkshita are still supposed to live. Further, he attempts to Sanskritize such names as Tañjāvār, Kumbhaḡhōnam and Māyavaram from their Anglo-Indian forms. Strange irony of fact that these forms should gain permanence even in Sanskrit works in preference to the vernacular names!

V. V.

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 155.



## A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D.

[Reprinted with alterations and additions from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,  
Vol. LX, Part I, No. 2, 1891.]

THE Bower manuscript was exhibited to the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the two meetings in November, 1890 and April, 1891. I call it the "Bower MS." in order that Lieutenant Bower, to whose enterprise the learned world owes the preservation of the manuscript, may receive the honour due to him. Some account of the locality and circumstances of its finding will be found in the Society's *Proceedings* for November, 1890; and a preliminary account of the manuscript and its contents was published by me in the *Proceedings* for April, 1891. Since then I have spent a long summer vacation in carefully examining the whole manuscript, and, with the exception of a few leaves, I have read and transcribed the whole. I have now, moreover, the pleasure of announcing that the Governments of India and Bengal, with their usual liberality in such matters, have decided to publish a complete edition of the manuscript which I am now preparing.

This paper had been written (in Darjiling, in May), when I received (in July), through the kindness of Professor Bühler in Vienna, an advance copy of his notice<sup>1</sup> of the specimen pages of the Bower MS., which were published in the November *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was particularly gratifying to me to find that, reading the manuscript, he in Vienna and I in Calcutta, at about the same point of time, we independently arrived at essentially the same conclusions, both with regard to the age and the contents of the manuscript. Such a coincidence most distinctly makes for the truth of our conclusions.

The substance of the paper which I now publish on the age of the Bower MS., and which I promised in the April *Proceedings*, was originally intended by me to form a part of the introduction to my edition of the manuscript. But seeing the interest which the manuscript has already excited in Europe, I publish it now in anticipation, and hope similarly to publish portions of the manuscript, with translations, from time to time.<sup>2</sup>

I may state here briefly the results of my detailed examination of the manuscript. It consists of not less than five distinct portions.

The first portion consists of 31 leaves. It contains the medical work of which I have published the commencement in the April *Proceedings*, and two pages of which are figured in the upper parts of the two plates accompanying the November and April *Proceedings*. I shall designate it by the letter A.

The second portion, to be called B, which immediately follows the first portion, consists of five leaves, and forms a sort of collection of proverbial sayings. A specimen of it is figured in the lower part (No. II) of the plate in the April *Proceedings*.

The third portion, C, consisting of four leaves, contains the story of how a charm against snake-bite was given by Buddha to Ānanda while he was staying in Jētavana, the garden of Anāthapiṇḍa. A specimen of this portion is figured in the lower part of the plate in the November *Proceedings*.

The fourth portion, D, consists of six leaves. It is preserved in a rather unsatisfactory condition, and appears to contain a similar collection of proverbial sayings as the second portion, B.

The fifth portion, E, which also consists of five leaves, contains another medical treatise. It appears to be — so far as I can judge at present — the commencement of a larger work.

<sup>1</sup> It is now published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> The first instalment is published in No. III. of the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1891. It is the fifth portion (E) of the MS.



Besides these five connected portions, there appear to be a few detached leaves, quite unconnected with one another and with those larger portions.

Of the fourth and fifth portions no specimens have been published, but the fifth is written in the same style as the first portion. The fourth portion is written in an exceedingly slovenly and hurried hand, much resembling that of the third portion, but the writing is far more slovenly. It may possibly represent the handwriting of a fourth scribe; though, on the whole, I am disposed to believe that there are really only three distinct styles of writing represented in the entire manuscript. The first is that of the first and fifth portions (A and E); they are so nearly alike, that I believe them to be of the same scribe. The second is that of the second portion (B), which is a fine, ornamental writing. It must be ascribed to a distinct scribe. The third is that of the third and fourth portions (C and D), which seem to me to differ more in the manner than in the character of writing, and may not improbably be due to one scribe, though a different person from the scribes of A, E and B.

I come now to the question of the age of the MS. Here the first points to be settled are the locality and class, to which the characters of the MS. belong. Mr. Fleet has clearly shown, in his Volume III. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* on the Gupta Inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> that, irrespective of varieties, there existed, at the time of the Gupta period, two very distinct classes of the ancient Nāgarī alphabet, the North-Indian and the South-Indian (see Fleet, pp. 3, 4). The test letter for these two great classes is the character for *m*, which in the Southern alphabets retains its old form *ꣳ* resembling the figure 8, while in the Northern alphabets that old form has been displaced by a square cursive form *ꣳ*. Tried by this test, it is at once seen that the alphabet of our MS. belongs to the Northern class. Throughout the MS. the square form *ꣳ* is used exclusively. It is particularly distinct in the portions C and D; in A, B and E the left-hand curved line is drawn somewhat straighter.

The Northern class of alphabets, however, is again divided into two great sections, which, though their areas overlap to a certain extent, may be broadly, and for practical purposes sufficiently, distinguished as the Eastern and Western sections. The test letter in this case is the cerebral sibilant *sha*. In the North-Eastern alphabet its form is *ꣳ*, while in the North-Western alphabet its form is *ꣳ*.<sup>4</sup> Examples of the former alphabet we have in the posthumous Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, of about 400 A. D. (Fleet, pp. 1, 6), the Kāhām pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta, of 460 A. D. (Fleet, p. 65), and others in Mr. Fleet's volume.<sup>5</sup> The same alphabet is shown to perfection in the Nepalese inscriptions, Bhagwanlāl Indrajī's Nos. 1 to 10 and No. 12, published *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 163; also in the Nepalese inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2, in Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, pp. 72, 74. To this section also belongs a new copperplate of Dharmāditya (Samudra Gupta?), lately found in the Faridpur district in Eastern Bengal. On the other hand, the other Nepalese inscriptions, *ante*, Vol. IX., Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, and in Mr. Bendall's *Journey*, Nos. 3 to 6, exhibit the North-Western alphabet. The latter alphabet is also to be seen in all the Nepalese MSS., described in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, including the two oldest, Nos. 1049 and 1702.

Examples of the North-Western alphabet in Mr. Fleet's volume are the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumāra Gupta I., of 415 A. D., the Indōr plate of Skanda Gupta, of 465 A. D., and others.<sup>6</sup> Also the Tōramāṇa inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 238, the

<sup>3</sup> All subsequent references to "Fleet" refer to this work.

<sup>4</sup> At the same time the Indian N.-E. alphabet has the form *ꣳ* for the dental *sa*, the two forms of *sha* and *sa* being but slightly distinct from one another. The Indian N.-W. alphabet has *ꣳ* for *sa*, which is also used by the Nepalese variety of the N.-E. alphabet.

<sup>5</sup> The following Nos. in Mr. Fleet's volume belong to the N.-E. class: Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 32, 64, 65, 66, 68, 75; occasionally the Western form is used in conjuncts, such as *ksha*, *sha*.

<sup>6</sup> The following Nos. belong to this class: Nos. 4, 10, 13, 16, 19, 20-31, 33-37, 42, 43, 46-52, 57-59, 63, 67, 70-72, 74, 76, 80. See also the classificatory lists at the end of this paper.



Kumāra Gupta II. seal in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 88, and the Nepalese inscriptions above mentioned.

In both the North-Eastern and North-Western sections there are divisions into varieties, some of which Mr. Fleet has noticed. However, for my present purpose, there is no need to enter into any consideration of these. But the distinction of the two great sections is very marked, and can never be missed when once pointed out.

There is one point, worthy of notice, with regard to these two great Northern divisions. It is this, that in India proper the North-Eastern alphabet gradually came to be entirely displaced by the North-Western alphabet, in comparatively very early times. This displacement must have taken place about the beginning of the sixth century A. D. For about 525 A. D. we already find an inscription in Jaunpur (of Ísvara Varman, Fleet, p. 228) which shows an exclusive North-Western character; and there is not a single inscription known (so far as I am aware) after 500 A. D., which shows the distinctive marks of the old North-Eastern alphabet. Outside of India proper, that is in Nêpāl, the North-Eastern alphabet maintained its ground for about three centuries longer; for the inscription, No. 4, *ante*, Vol. IX., dated in 854 A. D., still shows the use of that alphabet. This survival is accounted for by the fact that the North-Western alphabet apparently made its way into Nêpāl about a century and a half later than into Eastern India proper. For the earliest known inscription in that alphabet is No. 11, *ante*, Vol. IX., which must be dated 655 A. D. For the purposes of manuscript writing, as distinguished from documentary inscription, the North-Western alphabet probably made its way into Nêpāl very much earlier, as shown by Mr. Bendall's old MS. No. 1049, if (as I think it may well be) it is dated in 252 of the Gupta era, that is, in 571 A. D.

Now the Bower MS. is distinctly written throughout in the North-Western alphabet. This is an important point and must be kept in view throughout the following enquiry. The age of our MS. must be judged solely by the facts as disclosed by the circumstances of the North-Western alphabet. No conclusion that can be drawn from circumstances connected with the South-Indian or the North-Eastern alphabets may be applied to the determination of the age of our MS.. For it stands to reason, that no scribe, who was habituated to write in the North-Western alphabet, would in any writing of his habitually introduce any peculiarity of the South-Indian or North-Eastern alphabets, with which he was not familiar.







Having premised this much, I proceed to the consideration of the points that appear to me to afford the means of determining approximately the date of the Bower MS.

Among the existing varieties of the North-Western alphabet, there is one which has most nearly retained its ancient character. This is the so-called Śāradā alphabet, which is still current in Kāśmīr and the adjacent Sub-Himalayan provinces, such as the Chambā and Kāngrā valleys. The most striking point of difference between the Śāradā alphabet and its more ancient parent, the original North-Western alphabet, is the sign for the letter *ya*. The Śāradā alphabet uses the modern cursive form *ya*, while the original North-Western alphabet employed the more ancient tridentate form *ya*. This is the test letter by which any inscription or manuscript written in the Śāradā characters may be at once distinguished from any inscription or manuscript written in the more ancient North-Western alphabet. The latter I shall, for the sake of convenience, briefly distinguish as the Gupta alphabet. The oldest MS. in the Śāradā characters of the existence of which we know, is the so-called Horinzi MS., of which Professor Bühler has published an account and illustrative plates, in Volume I. Part III. of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.<sup>†</sup> According to him, "it is certain that this MS. cannot date later than the first half of the sixth century A. D." (*ibid.*, p. 64). It employs throughout the modern cursive form of *ya*. On the other hand, the Bower MS., though showing in the writing of parts A and E, in many




<sup>†</sup> "Śāradā" is the name of a small group of alphabets, the varieties of which differ a little according to locality (Kāśmīr, Chambā, etc.) or period or material of writing, etc.; but the essential unity of the group is well known, and it is usual to call it Śāradā.



respects, a very decided resemblance to the Śāradā characters, employs in the portions B, C, D exclusively, in A, E almost exclusively, the older trident form of the letter *ya*. It follows, therefore, that the **Bower MS. is not written in the Śāradā alphabet, but in the more ancient Gupta alphabet.** The general similarity of its letters to the Śāradā probably shows that the locality of its writing was somewhere in the extreme North-West of India, but its use of the ancient trident form of *ya* shows that its date must be antecedent to the elaboration of the Śāradā form of the North-Western alphabet. When this event took place, I shall now attempt to show.

The old form (though not quite the oldest, which was ) of the letter *ya* was  or . It was made by two separate movements of the hand, one for drawing the left-hand perpendicular, the other for drawing the remaining portion of the letter. The next step was an attempt to draw the letter with one movement of the hand. This led to the contrivance of the form  by which the end of the left-hand crook or loop was brought forward to the point of junction of the perpendicular and horizontal portions of the letter. It was now possible to draw the letter with one stroke of the pen, beginning with the top of the left-hand perpendicular, downwards; then round the loop, from left to right, to the bottom of the perpendicular; then finishing with the right-hand crook or angle. This change was clearly due to the convenience of cursive writing. But the tendency of cursive writing to quickness and economy of effort very soon led to a further change, which produced the form , by severing the point of junction. This form, which was the final result of the process, is still essentially the modern cursive form. The intermediate form , as I shall presently show, only existed for a comparatively very short time, and is essentially a mere transitional form.

It is a well-accepted fact that cursive forms first make their appearance in manuscript writing, and may be, and generally are, in use in MS. writing some time before they are introduced in the inscribing of documents on stone, copper or other material. Such documents are of a conservative nature; they have a tendency to preserve old forms, after these have long disappeared from ordinary MS. writing. The common or exclusive use, in an ordinary MS., of a distinctly archaic form is, therefore, a safe means of determining its age.

The old form of the letter *ya* was once current in all the alphabets of India. In all of them it gradually became displaced by some cursive form. But this displacement did not take place in all of them at the same point of time. In the South-Indian alphabet it survived, at least in inscriptions, down to the twelfth century A. D.<sup>2</sup> The North-Eastern alphabet, as I have already remarked, was, in India proper, as early as the beginning of the sixth century, superseded by the North-Western alphabet; but in Nêpāl it survived about three centuries longer, and there, with it, the old form of *ya* survived, at least in inscriptions, down to the middle of the ninth century A. D. It should be noted, however, that the old form of *ya*, in the shape in which it survived in Nêpāl, is somewhat different from the old form in its original shape, as it was once current in the North-Indian alphabets. Its original shape is that of a sort of trident, of which the left-hand prong makes a curve or even a loop, thus  or . In the Nepalese shape, the curve or loop, is replaced by a ringlet which is poised on the top of the left-hand prong, thus .<sup>3</sup> The difference is marked, and the two shapes can be easily distinguished from each other.

The North-Western alphabet was the first to discard the use of the old form of *ya*. From it, as I shall presently show, the old form disappeared, even in inscriptions, as early as the end of the sixth century A. D.; and from cursive writing in that alphabet, according to the well-known rule, above stated, it must have disappeared much earlier. There is an obvious conclu-

<sup>2</sup> In the old Kanarese, where it much resembles the later Nepalese form with the ringlet attached to the left prong. See, e. g., the Eastern Chalukya inscription of 1134 A. D., *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 50, or the Kākatiya inscription of 1163 A. D., *ante*, Vol. XI., p. 9. It has now passed into the various modern cursive forms of the South-Indian alphabets.

<sup>3</sup> See, e. g., the inscription No. 8, *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 171.



sion, which is suggested by these facts; it is, that the invention, so to speak, of the cursive form of *ya* took place in the North-West of India, somewhere within the area in which the North-Western alphabet was current.

The first document known to us, from which the use of the old form has entirely disappeared is the long Bôdhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman of 588 A. D. (Fleet, p. 274). It uses exclusively the transitional form, with one or two exceptions, in which the modern form itself is used.<sup>10</sup> In another short Bôdhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman, of about the same date (Fleet, p. 278), the modern form is used exclusively. In fact, after 600 A. D., there is no inscription known, which shows any trace of the survival of the old form. In all of them the cursive form of *ya* is fully established in exclusive use; thus in the Mulhâ (Lakkha Mandala) inscription of about 600 A. D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 10),<sup>11</sup> the Madhuban inscription of Harsha, of 631 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 67), the Apsaṣṭ and Shâhpur inscriptions of Adityasena, of about 672 A. D. (Fleet, pp. 200, 208), the Dêu Baraṇārka inscription of Jivita Gupta, of about 725 A. D. (Fleet, p. 213), the Sârṇâth inscription of Prakatâditya of somewhere in the seventh century (Fleet, p. 284). To these may be added the evidence of those Nepalese inscriptions, which are not written in the North-Eastern or proper Nepalese alphabet, but in the North-Western characters; thus the Patan inscription of 687 A. D. (see Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, p. 77), the Jaisi (Katmandu) inscription of 750 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 79), the inscription of Siva Dêva, of 748 A. D., another of 750 A. D., and the inscription of Jayadêva, of 758 A. D. (see *ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 176-78). In all these inscriptions the modern cursive form is used exclusively.

Another piece of evidence, in the same direction, is the Tibetan tradition respecting the introduction of the Northern Indian alphabet into Tibet (see *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVII, pp. 41 ff.). It is said that these characters were introduced into Tibet by the sage Sambhōta, who brought them from Magadha, where he had resided from A. D. 630-650. These characters are known in Tibet as the "Warta" characters of Magadha; their forms, as traditionally preserved in Tibet, may be seen in Plate I of the *Journal (ibidem)*, and it will be seen that among these the letter *ya* has the cursive form. This shows that at the time of Sambhōta's visit to Magadha, in the second quarter of the seventh century A. D., the cursive form of *ya* was in current use in North-India.<sup>12</sup>

I am not aware of the existence of a single dated inscription in North-India, written in the North-Western alphabet, which indubitably proves any use, still less the exclusive, or almost exclusive, use of the old form of *ya*, after 600 A. D. It follows from this evidence that, since the old form of *ya* had entirely disappeared from inscriptions, from the end of the sixth century (say from about 580 A. D.), it must have disappeared from the cursive writing of ordinary manuscripts long before. Accordingly a manuscript, like the Bower MS., in which the old form is still used almost exclusively, must be placed long before the end of the sixth century, and much nearer the beginning of it.

This conclusion is fully supported by the evidence of all the ancient dated (or practically dated) MSS. that are, as yet, known to exist. The oldest is the Horinzi MS. The date of its writing has been shown by Professor Bühler to be somewhere in the middle of the sixth century, that is, between 520 and 577 A. D. (see *Ann. Oxon.*, p. 63 ff.). It exhibits throughout the exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya*, thus showing that this cursive form was fully

<sup>10</sup> The transitional form is here used in a somewhat modified and more ornate shape.

<sup>11</sup> The transitional form occurs twice in this inscription, in *yāna*, ll. 6 and 11, curiously enough, with the vowel *ā*, on which see page 35.

<sup>12</sup> The "Warta" characters exhibit in all test points the characteristics of the North-Western alphabet. This shows, what I have already observed (*ante*, p. 31), that the North-Eastern alphabet, which was once current in Magadha, was there in very early times displaced by the North-Western alphabet. It is said, however, that Sambhōta only "partly" adopted the "Warta" characters for his Tibetan alphabet (*Journal, ibid.* p. 41). This explains the fact that the "Warta" or cursive form of *ya* does not appear in that alphabet. For the letter *ya* that sage appears to have drawn on the North-Eastern alphabet, which he must have known from Nêpâl, where (as I have shown) it maintained its ground about three centuries longer than in Magadha.



established for MS. writing in the middle of the sixth century A. D. The next oldest MSS. are two, described as Nos. 1049 and 1702 by Mr. Bendall in his *Catalogue of Buddhist MSS. in the Cambridge Library*, p. xxxix. One of them is dated Samvat 252, which Mr. Bendall takes to be in terms of the Harsha era and to be equal to 857 A. D. For my part, I can see no valid objection, on palæographic grounds, to understanding the date in terms of the Gupta era, and as equal to 571 A. D. I do not notice any such material difference between the writing of the Horiuzi MS. and the two Cambridge MSS., as to account for a supposed interval of three centuries. Anyhow, both Cambridge MSS. exhibit the exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya*.

The conclusion appears to me inevitable, that any MS. which shows, as the Bower MS. does, the exclusive use of the old form, or which shows an uniform absence of the use of the cursive form, cannot be possibly placed later than 550 A. D., and in all probability is very much older. The only question is, whether there are any indications in the Bower MS. that render it possible to fix its date somewhat more definitely.

Here the following facts are to be observed. The first appearance of the modern cursive form of *ya* in any inscription is met with in the Bijayagaḍh inscription of Vishṇu Vardhana, of 371 A. D. (Fleet, p. 252), in *śréyō*, line 4 (if the plate can be trusted); and it is to be noted that it is used in junction with the vowel *ō*. The old form, however, is more usual, as in *nāmadhē-yēna*, l. 3, and *abhivṛiddhayē*, l. 4, in both cases with the vowel *ē*. The first appearance of the transitional cursive form is met with about thirty years later (see below), but there can be no doubt that, though in the existing inscriptions, the first appearance of the modern form happens to be earlier, that form, as compared with the transitional form of the letter, is of later development.<sup>13</sup> Probably there was no great interval between the development of the two forms. In any case, the invention (so to speak) of the transitional form and, with it, the first beginnings of the modern form of *ya* may, thus far, be placed at about 350 A. D.

The actual first appearance of the transitional form is found in the Tusām inscription (Fleet, p. 269). It occurs in the word *yōgachāryya*, l. 3, again with the vowel *ō*, and side by side with the old form in *upayōjyam*.<sup>14</sup> This is a very clear instance; but, unfortunately, the inscription is not dated, though on palæographic grounds it may be referred to about 400 A. D. The first occurrence of the transitional form in a dated inscription is in the Indr copper-plate of Skanda Gupta, of 465 A. D. (Fleet, p. 68), in the words *abhivṛiddhayē*, l. 4, and *upayōjyam*, l. 7, in both cases with the vowels *ē* and *ō*. Side by side, the old form occurs in *yōgam*, l. 9, *yō*, l. 11, *abhivṛiddhayē*, l. 8. Other instances occur in the Kāritālī inscription of Jayanātha, of 493 A. D. (Fleet, p. 117), in *abhivṛiddhayē*, l. 7, and *chhṛéyō*, l. 15, here also with the vowels *ē* and *ō*; and side by side with the old form in *yē*, l. 10, *lēpayēt*, l. 12, *prāyēna*, l. 16, *yō*, l. 20. Another instance occurs in the Khōh inscription of Jayanātha, of 496 A. D. (Fleet, p. 121), in the word *abhivṛiddhayē*, l. 8, again with the vowel *ē*, and side by side with the older form in *pratyāyōpanayan*, l. 11, and *prāyēna*, l. 17. A very clear instance occurs in the Jaunpur inscription of Śivaravarman, of about 525 A. D. (Fleet, p. 228), in *anuvāyē*, l. 2, again with the vowel *ē*. So again in the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman of about 530 A. D. (Fleet, p. 149), in *yō*, l. 4, again with the vowel *ō*, and side by side with the old form in *pādayōr*, l. 5. Similarly in the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman as Vishṇuwardhana, of 533 A. D. (Fleet, p. 150), in *yēna*, l. 8, again with the vowel *ē*, and side by side with the old form in *bhūrayō*, l. 8,<sup>15</sup> *yēna*, l. 8, 13, *yo*, l. 17, 18. Likewise in the Khōh inscription of Sarvanātha, of 533 A. D. (Fleet, p. 135), in *nyāyēna*, l. 13, l. *yē*, 16, and *pra-*

<sup>13</sup> A similar case, with regard to the development of the letter *m*, is noted by Mr. Fleet in his volume on the Gupta inscriptions, p. 3, footnote.

<sup>14</sup> This instance was also noticed by Mr. Fleet (p. 270, footnote 4). It is the identical form that occurs in the Bower MS.

<sup>15</sup> This is a very good instance for comparison, because in *bhūrayō yēna* the two forms stand in immediate juxtaposition.



*tyāyōtpannaka*, l. 9, again with the vowels *ē* and *ō*, and side by side with the old form in *lōpayēt*, l. 18, *grāmayōr*, l. 27, *yō*, l. 25, *yē*, l. 27, etc. These are all the instances of the occurrence of the transitional form that I have been able to discover among the 35 inscriptions in the North-Western (Gupta) alphabet, published by Mr. Fleet.

Contemporary with them are the following instances of the use of the modern cursive form. In the Majhgawām inscription of Hastin, of 510 A.D. (Fleet, p. 106), it occurs in the words *chhrēyō*, l. 14, *yō*, l. 16, *pāniyēshu*, l. 17, *yē*, l. 18, again with the vowels, *ē* and *ō*, and side by side with the old form in the words *anvayōpabhōgyas*, l. 10, *yō*, l. 11, *ahayō*, l. 18.<sup>16</sup> The transitional form also occurs in the word *abhivṛiddhayē*, l. 7.

Now as to the conclusions that follow from the above statistics, note, in the first place, the extreme rarity of the transitional and modern cursive forms, as well as the peculiar circumstances under which alone they occur. And here mark the following four points:—

(1) They occur only in a small proportion of inscriptions. Of course, the only inscriptions with which we are here concerned are those that use more or less exclusively the old form. Those that already use the transitional or modern cursive forms exclusively are outside the question; so are, of course, all those that are not written in some variety or other of the North-Western alphabet. Now there are 35 inscriptions of the former description in Mr. Fleet's Volume III. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. To these may be added a few others, such as the Tōramāṇa inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 238, and the Kumāra Gupta seal in the *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVIII, p. 88. Among these there are only ten inscriptions, a little more than one-fourth, that exhibit the occasional use of the transitional and modern cursive forms at all. The rest use exclusively the old form.

(2) The transitional and modern cursive forms occur, in that one-fourth of inscriptions, exclusively in connection with the vowels *ē* or *ō*.<sup>17</sup> With all other vowels, i. e., in every other case, the old form is used.

(3) Even in connection with the vowels *ē* and *ō*, the transitional and modern cursive forms are not obligatory, but optional. In fact, even with those vowels, the old form is used more commonly than the transitional and modern cursive forms. On the whole the former is used twice as often as the latter.

(4) Of the two cursive forms, the transitional and the modern, the former is used much more frequently than the latter (viz., transitional : modern = 13 : 4).

In the second place, note that the period during which the sporadic use of the transitional and modern cursive forms occurs, is a comparatively well defined one. Its termini, so far as the evidence of the available inscriptions goes, are from 371 A. D. to 533 A. D., or in round numbers from 370 to 540 A. D., i. e., 170 years. Or, if we omit the very early case of the Bijayagadh inscription, of 371 A. D., as perhaps of a doubtful character, the transition period extends from about 400 to 540 A. D., that is, 140 years. Antecedent to this period, we find the old form of *ya* in undisputed possession of the field, and subsequent to it, the cursive form of *ya* is in equally undisputed possession.<sup>18</sup>

Now it appears to me that from these facts there is but one conclusion, to which one is irresistibly driven. It is this, that there is here disclosed to us evidence of the actual point in time, when the invention, so to speak, of the cursive form of *ya* was made, or, to speak more precisely, the application of it to the non-conjunct *ya*. For to suit the case of the conjunct or under-written *ya*, the cursive form had been long before invented and exclusively employed. But to the non-conjunct *ya*, it only began to be applied about 400 A. D. At first it was only

<sup>16</sup> In these cases the peculiarity of the form is also noted by Mr. Fleet, p. 106.

<sup>17</sup> Probably it would also be used with the vowels *ai* and *au*; though no instance happens to occur in the existing inscriptions.

<sup>18</sup> The single exception is the Asirgaḍh seal, of about 565 A. D.; and here there are probably peculiar reasons to account for it.



applied tentatively and hesitatingly in those cases in which the non-conjunct *ya* carried the vowels *é* or *ô* (or *ai* or *au*). But the convenience of the cursive form gradually carried everything before it, and displaced the old form entirely about 540 A. D. In all probability this process commenced, in the case of manuscript writing, earlier than in that of documentary inscription, perhaps already about 350 A. D., and terminated proportionately earlier, perhaps about 500 A. D. On the other hand, in documentary inscription the process began later and ended later. Here the use of the old form may have lingered on to about 600 A. D.; but from that date, as already shown from the evidence of existing dated inscriptions, the use of the cursive form of *ya* enjoyed an undisputed possession of the field.

Accordingly, for practical purposes, the rule may be laid down, that any inscription in the North-Western Indian Alphabet which shows the more or less exclusive use of the old form of *ya* must date from before 600 A. D.

With regard to manuscripts the same rule must hold good, with this modification, that the termini must be put back by about 50 (or it may be 100) years; that is, a MS. showing the exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya* must date from after 550 or 500 A. D., while a MS. showing the more or less exclusive use of the old form of *ya* must date from before 550 or 500 A. D., and may date back as far as 350 A. D.

That this rule, as deduced from the above collected facts, is correct is proved by the Horiāzi MS. This MS. uses the cursive form of *ya* exclusively, and, as shown by Professor Bühler, it certainly dates from some time between 520 and 577 A. D.

This rule further proves that the elaboration of the so-called Śāradā alphabet may be placed about 500 A. D. For it possesses the cursive form of *ya*. Hence it follows that any manuscript and a fortiori any inscription, written in the Śāradā characters must certainly be later than 500 A. D.; though as the Śāradā characters, with slight modifications, are used up to the present day in Kāśmīr and the adjacent regions, a mere consideration of the form of the cursive *ya* is insufficient to fix with any approximation the date of such a manuscript or inscription in any particular year after that epoch.

Now let us see the bearing of the results of the above enquiry on the question of the age of the Bower MS. It is to be noticed that,

(1) The old form of *ya* is used almost exclusively throughout the MS. Indeed, in the second, third and fourth portions it is used exclusively, and it is only in the first and fifth portions, that the cursive (transitional or modern) form occasionally occurs.

(2) This cursive (transitional or modern) form is never used, except when carrying the vowels *é* or *ai* or *ô* or *au*.

(3) Even with those vowels, the use of the cursive (transitional or modern) form is optional; though on the whole, it is more usual than that of the old form.

(4) Of the two forms of the cursive *ya*, the transitional and the modern, the former is used almost exclusively; the modern cursive form occurring only in a few isolated cases.

The following examples are all taken from the two published plates: and I have only to remark, that the pages, figured on the two plates, are very fair specimens of the whole manuscript.

The transitional cursive form is to be seen on Plate I, No. I,<sup>19</sup> in *yôga* 1. 1, *yôga* 1. 2 twice *yôgānau* 1. 3, *trayôdaśam* 1. 5, *kalpayēt* 1. 9,; again on Plate III, upper page, in *jīvanīyô* 1. 2, *payô* 1. 4, *jīvanīyāiś-cha* 1. 4, *lēpayēt* 1. 4, *vimīśrayēt* 1. 6, *prayôjayēt* 1. 6, *avagāhayēt* 1. 6, *yô*... 1. 6, *lēhayēt* 1. 8, *prayôjayēt* 1. 11. Note that it is always used with the vowels *é* or *ai* or *ô*.

<sup>19</sup> Plate I is in the April Proceedings 1891, and Plate III in the November Proceedings, 1890.



There is only one instance of the modern cursive form; it occurs in the akshara *yēt* of *prayōjayēt* in Plate III, upper page, in line 11. Here we have the transitional and the modern cursive forms side by side in one word, the former form being used in the akshara *yō*, the latter in the akshara *yēt*. A similar instructive example of the use, side by side, of the old and the transitional forms, we have *ibidem* in *prayōjayēt*, in line 6, where the old form is seen in the akshara *yēt*, while the transitional form occurs in the akshara *yō*.

Of the old form there are the following instances. On Plate I, No I, we have it in *chūrṇṇayēt* l. 10, and on Plate III, upper page, in *upakalpayēt* l. 2, \* \* *yēt* l. 3, *prayōjayēt* l. 6, *lēhayēt* l. 8, *pāyayēt* l. 9. Note here again, that all these instances are with the vowel *ē*. Of the old form with the vowel *ō* there is no instance in the figured pages; but I have noticed a few cases in other parts of the manuscript. Of course, I exclude here, as being beside the precise point in question, all instances of the use of the old form in combination with any other vowel, only remarking, that it is used uniformly with all other vowels.

To sum up, the examination of the two specimen pages shows: *ad* Nos. 1 and 2, that the old form is used exclusively, except with the vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au*<sup>20</sup>; *ad* No. 3, that out of 23 instances, in which the letter *y* is combined with the vowels *ē* or *ai* or *ō*, the cursive (transitional and modern) form is used in 17, while the old form is used in 6; that is, the former is used about three times as often as the latter; *ad* No. 4, that out of 17 instances of the use of the transitional and modern cursive forms, the former is used 16 times, while the latter occurs only once; i. e., that the transitional form is used almost exclusively.

Now comparing the case of the Bower MS. with that of the Gupta inscriptions, the result is this, that the two cases, while fully agreeing in the main points, differ only in one particular, namely, that the cursive (transitional or modern) form is used in the manuscript rather more frequently than the old form (*viz.*, cursive: old = 3: 1), while in the inscriptions the old form is used rather more frequently than the cursive form (*viz.*, cursive: old = 1: 2). This, however, is nothing more than may be expected, if we consider that on the one side we have a case of ordinary manuscript writing, on the other one of documentary inscription, and remember that (as Professor Bühler says, in *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 68) "everywhere in India the epigraphic alphabets are in many details retrograde and lag behind the literary ones."

One thing, however, is clearly brought out by the evidence above set out, that the writing of the Bower MS. must be placed within that period, which, as we have seen, is marked out by that evidence as the period of transition from the use of the old rigid form of *ya* to the use of the (still existing) cursive form; that is, for manuscript writing, within the period from about 350 to 500 A. D.

It is true that in the second, third and fourth portions of the Bower MS., the old form is used exclusively. There is no trace whatsoever of either the transitional or the modern cursive forms. Judging by this circumstance only, we should have to place the MS. still earlier, somewhere before the fifth century A. D. But this would certainly seem to be wrong with regard to the second portion. For the fact, that this portion was written after the first, seems to be clearly proved by the circumstance that it commences on the reverse of a leaf, on the obverse of which we have the ending of the first portion. Properly considered, however, that circumstance only tends to confirm the conclusion that the main portion (A, B, E) of the Bower MS. was written during the transitional period. For it is only natural to suppose that during that period, some scribes had already more or less adopted the new fashion of cursive writing, while others, more conservative, adhered to the older fashion. On the whole, therefore, considering that the portions A and E of the MS. appear to manifest a decided tendency to a free use of the transitional form, it will probably be safer to place the date of the main portion of the MS. nearer to the end than the beginning of the transition period, that

<sup>20</sup> Of *au* there is no instance in the figured pages, but I have met with a few in other pages of the manuscript.



is to say, in the middle of the fifth century (say, about 450 A. D.). The portions C and D, however, may be referred to an earlier part of that period (say 400 A. D.).

This result will probably be startling to most of my readers. There exists — and I admit, hitherto not without reason — a general disposition to discredit any claim to great age on the part of any Indian manuscript. I used to incline to the same opinion, and the present result was an unexpected one to myself. But I do not see how the force of the evidence can be gainsaid.

Let us see what the objections are. In the first place it is said, that the material of the MS. — birch bark — is of a nature too weak and flimsy to permit us to believe that it could endure for such a length of time. This argument has been already well answered by Mr. Bendall in his *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, p. XVII. ff., and by Professor Bühler in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, part III, p. 63ff. No *à priori* rule will apply; all depends on the circumstances under which a MS. may have been preserved; and the argument, from the nature of the material, will not stand for one moment against positive arguments from epigraphic history. According to Lieut. Bower's account, the MS. "had been dug out of the foot of one of the curious old erections just outside a subterranean city near Kuchar." These erections are described as being generally about 50 or 60 feet high, in shape like a huge cottage loaf; built solid of sun-dried bricks with layers of beams now crumbling away." I suppose it cannot be doubted that these erections are Buddhist *stūpas*. Such *stūpas* often contain a chamber enclosing relics and other objects; these chambers are generally near the level of the ground or "at the foot" (as it is said) of the erection, and they are often dug into by persons who search for hidden treasures. In this way the MS. was probably dug out, perhaps not long before it was made over to Lieut. Bower. In such a practically air-tight chamber there is no reason why a birch bark MS. should not endure for any length of time.

Another objection is that the characters used in a MS. are no guide to its age. It is said that "characters of the Gupta type have been used in very late times, and indeed are in use to the present day all along the region from which the Bower MS. comes." The characters which are here meant are those used in the Kāśmīr, Chambā and Kāngrā valleys. They are those which are commonly known by the name "Śāradā characters." These, as already remarked, are a variety of the North-Western alphabet, and are that variety which has, more than any other, preserved the shapes of its ancient parent, the North Western Gupta alphabet. Now it is not quite correct to say, that the Śāradā alphabet has not changed; it is quite possible to distinguish the modern form of the Śāradā from its more ancient form. But what is really important is this, that the Śāradā alphabet, so far as we have any dated evidence, never possessed, at any period of its existence, the old (Gupta) form of the consonant *ya*. It always possessed exclusively the modern cursive form of that letter. I maintain, that there exists not a single dated MS. or inscription, written in any variety of the Śāradā alphabet, which does not show the exclusive use of the cursive form. This being so, it follows that any conclusions, drawn from facts connected with the Śāradā alphabet, have no application to a MS. which shows the almost exclusive use of the old (Gupta) form of *ya*, and which, therefore, is not written in the Śāradā characters. Now, what conclusions can be drawn from the facts connected with the Śāradā alphabet? Its exclusive use of the cursive *ya* shows that its elaboration is to be dated on this side of 500 A. D. But as it has but little changed the shape of its letters since the date of its inception, it follows, that any undated MS. or inscription written in the Śāradā alphabet must be placed after 500 A. D., but may be placed almost at any time after that epoch. That is really all that can be intended by the principle that the Śāradā characters are no guide as to age. More the principle will not bear, and it clearly is not applicable to a MS. which is not written in the Śāradā characters, but in a form of alphabet more archaic and very possibly the parent of the Śāradā. With the proviso, now explained, I fully agree with Professor Kielhorn's remark, made with reference to a Chambā Grant (*ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 7) that "it would be impossible to determine the age, even approximately, from its characters,"



these characters being, as Professor Kielhorn explains, the well-known Śāradā. Judging from these characters, all that one could say would be that the grant may date from any time after 500 A. D., which, of course, would be a futile proposition.

The main argument for the age of the Bower MS. is the preservation in it of the old form of *ya*. No objection can be raised on the ground that the old form was preserved much longer in the South-Indian and the North-Eastern Indian (Nepalese) alphabets. As these alphabets differ from the North-Western Indian, which is used in our MS., any conclusions, drawn from the circumstances of those alphabets, have no applicability to our MS. It stands to reason that no scribe, used to his own North-Western Indian alphabet, would, in writing a MS., think of introducing the old form of a letter, which did not exist any more in his own alphabet, from another alphabet, unfamiliar to him, in which it did still exist.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing most of the above remarks I have, as already stated, read and transcribed nearly the whole of the manuscript. I have carefully noted every occurrence of the akshara *yē*, *yō*, *yai*, and *yau*.

In the portions B, C, D, I have found the cursive form (either transitional or modern) used not once. The aksharas *yai* and *yau* never occur; the akshara *yē* occurs 19 times (B 4, C 13, D 2), always with the old form of *ya*. The akshara *yō* occurs 9 times (B 7, D 2), again always with the old form.

In the portions A and E, the case stands thus: there are altogether 333 cases of the occurrence of those aksharas, viz., 202 of *yē*, 125 of *yō*, 4 of *yai* and 2 of *yau*. In every case of *yai* and *yau* the transitional form  $\mathcal{J}$  is used. With *yē* and *yō* the transitional form is used 227 times, and the modern form  $\mathcal{M}$ , 16 times. The transitional form occurs 117 times with *yē*, 110 times with *yō*, 4 times with *yai*, and twice with *yau*. The modern form occurs 12 times with *yē*, and 4 times with *yō*. Altogether the cursive form occurs 249 times. The old form occurs 73 times with *yē* and 11 times with *yō*. The following table exhibits this:—

Aksharas:					Totals.
Old .....	<i>yē</i> 73	<i>yō</i> 11	<i>yai</i> 0	<i>yau</i> 0	84
Transitional .....	„ 117	„ 110	„ 4	„ 2	233
Modern .....	„ 12	„ 4	„ 0	„ 0	16
					249
Total ...	<i>yē</i> 202	<i>yō</i> 125	<i>yai</i> 4	<i>yau</i> 2	333

Now with regard to point No. 3 (see p. 35), there being 249 cursive forms to 84 old ones among a total of 333 cases, the proportion of cursive to old forms is as 3 to 1. With regard to the point No. 4, there being 233 transitional to 16 modern forms among a total of 249 cases, the proportion of transitional to modern forms is as (about) 15 to 1. In both cases, it will be seen, the evidence of the entire manuscript most accurately bears out the evidence of the specimen pages (see p. 37) and thus confirms my conclusions based on the latter. I may add with regard to the points Nos. 1 and 2, that in the portions A and E, the cursive (transitional or modern) form never occurs in any other akshara but those four: *yē*, *yō*, *yai*, *yau*. With the aksharas *ya*, *yā*, *yi*, *yī*, *yu*, *yū*, in every case, without any exception, the old form  $\mathcal{J}$ , is used. The occurrence of these six aksharas, especially of *ya* and *yā* is very frequent, and this fact all the more accentuates the striking circumstance that the cursive form is only employed with the vowels *ē*, *ō*, *ai*, and *au*. There must have been some reason for this peculiarity, — perhaps one of mere convenience of writing, though I cannot suggest any satisfactory one. I should note, that the vowels *ē*, *ō*, *ai*, and *au* are drawn, both with the old and the cursive forms, in every possible variety: entirely side-marked, marked half on side and half on top, and entirely top-



marked. The cause of the peculiarity, therefore, cannot well have had any connection with the form of the vowels.

I would suggest that similar statistical enquiries should be made with reference to some other leading letters; e. g., *m*, *sh*, the sub-scribed *y*, the super-scribed *r*; also with regard to the numeral symbols. I have little doubt but that from such statistics may result some further useful land-marks for the determination of dates of writing. I hope to pursue the enquiry myself, so far as leisure from official duties will permit me.

#### ADDENDUM.

Since the publication of the foregoing paper in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I have drawn up a sketch map of the distribution, and classificatory lists, of the inscriptions on which my conclusions are based. As they may be found useful, I add them here.

I classify (following herein Mr. Fleet) the early Indian alphabets into the South-Indian and the North-Indian, distinguished by their forms of the letter *m*. Inscriptions which show the form *ṃ* are South-Indian; those which have *ṁ* are North-Indian.

The North-Indian alphabet I divide into the North-Eastern and North-Western varieties distinguished by their forms of the letter *sh* (cerebral sibilant). Inscriptions which show the form (bi-partite square) *ṣ* are North-Western, while those which have the form (looped square) *ṣ̣* are North-Eastern.

In the North-Western alphabet I distinguish the earlier Gupta and the later Post-Gupta varieties, which are distinguished by their forms of the letter *y*. Inscriptions which show the form *य* are written in the Gupta, those which have *यः* are written in the Post-Gupta alphabet.

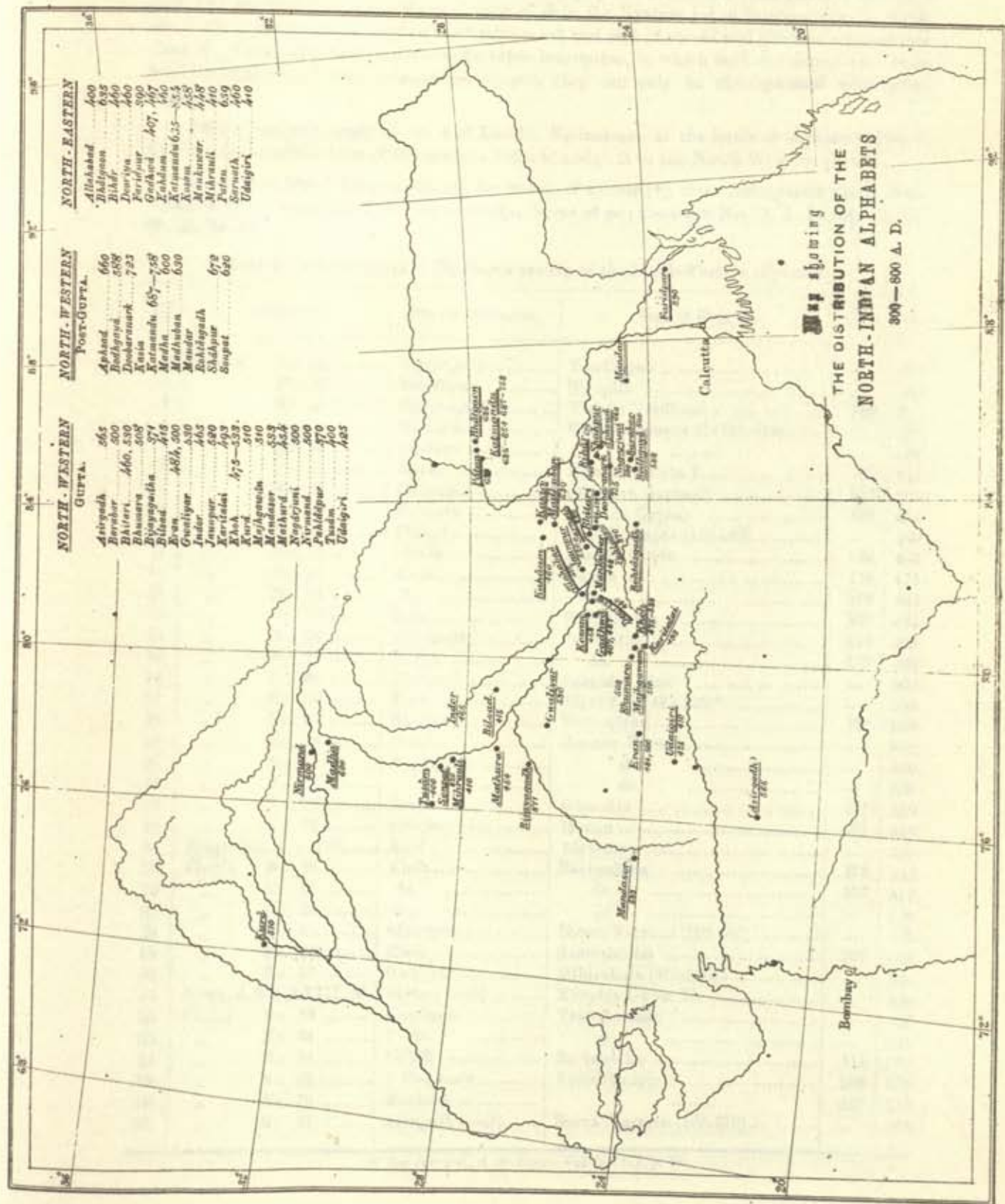
In India proper the North-Western alphabet displaced the North-Eastern about the end of the fifth century. The year 500 A.D. may be taken as a convenient epoch of this occurrence.

Not long afterwards the Post-Gupta began to displace the Gupta variety of the North-Western alphabet in India proper. The year 600 A.D. may be taken as a convenient epoch of the final displacement of the Gupta variety. Any inscription showing the old Gupta form of *y* may be placed before that date.

In the following lists the inscriptions are arranged in chronological order. Where the exact date is not known, an average date has been assigned, i. e., some year within the reign of the king named in the inscription. For these reigns I have used my synchronistic table, published in the *Journal, As. Soc., Bengal*, Vol. LVIII. The average dates may be easily recognised by their having no equivalents in the column of Indian dates. In a few cases, viz., Nos. 5, 16, 19, 20, 21 in List I, No. 11 in List II., and Nos. 11, 12 in List III., there is nothing, at present, available to fix their dates, except the test-letters themselves. These inscriptions, therefore, do not help to support my argument, and I have only included them in the lists for the sake of completeness, and moreover distinguished them by italic type. At the same time, seeing that the lists without them amply sustain my argument, they add some weight to the latter *post factum*.

With regard to Nos. 10, 11, 12 in List III. (marked by asterisks) I should explain, that in No. 10 (Kōsam inscription) no instance of the letter *sh* occurs. So far, therefore, the test fails. But it should be noted, that in the North-Eastern alphabet, the dental and the cerebral sibilants are formed very nearly alike, with a looped square; see, e. g., No. 13 (Kāhām inscription). This looped or ringleted form of the dental *s* occurs frequently in the Kōsam inscription. Accordingly, I have classified it with the North-Eastern list. For the same reason, I have included in that list the two Nos. 11 and 12; for though these inscriptions exhibit one or two cases of the cerebral *sh*, these are, in the first place, not very distinct, and in the second place, they all occur in ligatures. The latter are not trustworthy tests, for the North-Eastern form of











*sh* is not always used in them. Thus in the thoroughly North-Eastern inscription of Kahāum (No. 13), we have the North-Western form of *sh* in the ligature *ksh* of *kshitiṭa* (line 3), while the North-Eastern form is used in the ligatures *rsh* and *shṭh* of *varshē* and *jyēshṭha* respectively (line 4). I may add, that in the new Farīdpur inscription, in which both the dental and cerebral sibilants are of very frequent occurrence, they can only be distinguished with great difficulty.

Similar remarks apply to No. 4 of List I. No instance of the letter *sh* is preserved in it, but the characteristic form of the dental *s* helps to assign it to the North-Western variety.

In the first List I have indicated, by means of a cross (+), those inscriptions which shew instances of the transitional or modern cursive forms of *ya*; these are Nos. 3, 5, 10, 14, 15, 23, 28, 33, 34, 35.

LIST I. — *Inscriptions in the Gupta variety of the North-Western Alphabet.*

Serial No.	Publication.	Name of Inscription.	Name of King, etc.	Saṁv.	A. D.
1	Fleet's No. 58	Bijayagaḍh	Yaundhēyas	...	370
2	" No. 57	Pahlādpur	Śiśupāla	...	370
3	" No. 59	+Bijayagaḍh	Vishṇu Vardhana	428	371
4	" No. 4	Mathurā	Chandra Gupta II (395-414)	...	400
5	" No. 67	+Tusām	...	...	400
6	" No. 10	Bilsad	Kumāra Gupta I	96	415
7	" No. 61	Udayagiri	(Kumāra Gupta I)	106	425
8	" No. 63	Mathurā	(Skanda Gupta)	135	454
9	" No. 13	Bhitari	Skanda Gupta (455-468)	...	460
10	" No. 16	+Indōr	Skanda Gupta	146	465
11	" No. 21	Khōh	Hastin	156	475
12	" No. 22	do.	do.	163	482
13	" No. 19	Ēran	Budhagnpta	165	484
14	" No. 26	+Kāratālāi	Jayanātha	174	493
15	" No. 27	+Khōh	do.	177	496
16	" No. 80	Nirmand	Samudra Sēna	...	500
17	" No. 36	Ēran	Tōramāna (494-510) <sup>21</sup>	...	500
18	" No. 24	Bhumarā	Sarvanātha	189	508
19	" No. 48	Barābar	Ananta Varman	...	510
20	" No. 49	Nagārijunī	do.	...	510
21	" No. 50	do.	do.	...	510
22	" No. 20	Ēran	Gōparāja	191	510
23	" No. 23	+Majbgawām	Hastin	191	510
24	Epigr. Ind. I, p. 238	Kurā	Tōramāna	...	510
25	Fleet's No. 28	Khōh	Sarvanātha	193	512
26	" No. 30	do.	do.	197	516
27	" No. 29	do.	do.	...	516
28	" No. 51	+Jaunpur	Śvara Varman (520-540)	...	525
29	" No. 25	Khōh	Samkshōbha	209	528
30	" No. 37	Gwāliyār	Mihirakula (515-540)	...	530
31	Journ. A. S. B., LVIII., 88.	Bhitari (seal)	Kumāra Gupta II.	...	530
32	Fleet's No. 33	Mandasōr	Yasōdharman	...	530
33	" No. 34	+ do.	do.	...	530
34	" No. 31	+Khōh	Sarvanātha	214	531
35	" No. 35	+ Mandasōr	Yasōdharman	589	533
36	" No. 70	Mathurā	...	230	549
37	" No. 47	Asirgaḍh (seal)	Sarva Varman (565-570)	...	565

<sup>21</sup> See *Journal, A. S. Beng.*, Vol. LVIII. p. 98.



None of the above inscriptions goes beyond the year 600 A. D.; hardly beyond the middle of the sixth century. The year 600 may, therefore, be taken as the extreme final limit of the use of the Gupta alphabet.

LIST II. — *Inscriptions in the Post-Gupta variety of the North-Western alphabet.*

Serial No.	Publication.	Name of Inscription.	Name of King, etc.	Sahr.	A.D.
1	Fleet's No. 71 .....	Bôdhgayâ .....	Mahânâman .....	269	588
2	" No. 72 .....	do. ....	do. ....	...	588
3	" No. 76 .....	do. ....	.....	...	590
4	Epigr. Ind., I, p. 10 .....	Madhâ .....	.....	...	600
5	Fleet's No. 52 .....	Sômpat (seal) .....	Harsha Vardhana (606-648) .....	...	610
6	Epigr. Ind., I, p. 67 .....	Madhuban .....	do. ....	25	631
7	Bhagwanlâl's No. 11 .....	Katmandu .....	Jishnu Gupta .....	...	655
8	Fleet's No. 42 .....	Aphsad. ....	Adityasêna (640-675) .....	...	660
9	" No. 43 .....	Shâhpur .....	do. ....	66	672
10	Bendall's No. 3 .....	Patan .....	(Udayadêva) .....	82	687
11	Fleet's No. 79 .....	Sârndth .....	Prakâdâditya .....	...	690
12	" No. 46 .....	Dôôbaranârka .....	Jivita Gupta II. ....	...	725
13	Bhagwanlâl's No. 13 .....	Katmandu .....	Sivadêva II. ....	143	748
14	" No. 14 .....	do. ....	(Jayadêva II.) .....	145	750
15	Bendall's No. 4 .....	do. ....	.....	151	756
16	Bhagwanlâl's No. 15 .....	do. ....	Jayadêva II. ....	153	758
..	Add.....	Horiuzi MS. ....	.....	...	530
...	Add.....	Cambridge MS., No. 1049.	.....	252	571

None of the above inscriptions goes back much beyond the year 600 A. D.; the earliest is of 588 A. D. The year 550, may, therefore, be taken as the extreme initial limit of the Post-Gupta alphabet. The latest inscription of the Gupta variety is of about 565 A.D. This shows that in the middle of the sixth century the Gupta and Post-Gupta alphabets were used simultaneously, the Post-Gupta coming into fashion, the Gupta going out of fashion. The process of displacement of the Gupta alphabet was going on through the sixth century. Although, therefore, an inscription, showing the Gupta variety, may not be placed after 600 A. D., one showing the Post-Gupta variety need not necessarily be placed after that date, but it may not be placed before 550 A. D.

To these remarks there is a double proviso. Firstly, they only apply to inscriptions; for manuscript writing the two limits should be placed probably about 100 years earlier. This is shown by the Horiuzi MS. which is written in a Post-Gupta variety and dates from about 530 A. D. Secondly, they only apply to India proper, not to Nêpâl.

With regard to India proper, the following list shows that the North-Eastern alphabet ceases to occur towards the end of the fifth century; the latest inscription is of 467 A. D. (No. 15). At the same time, List I. shows the occurrence of the North-Western alphabet within the North-Eastern area in the early part of the sixth century; the earliest is the Jaunpur inscription of about 525 A. D. (No. 28).<sup>22</sup> The year 500 A. D., therefore, may be taken as the epoch of the displacement of the North-Eastern alphabet in India proper. It was the Gupta variety of the North-Western alphabet that displaced it. Soon afterwards, however, about the middle of the sixth century (cf. No. 28 of List I. with Nos. 1, 2, 3 of List II.) the Gupta variety itself was displaced by the Post-Gupta variety. This shows that there never was a Post-Gupta variety

<sup>22</sup> The Bhitari inscription of about 460 A. D. (No. 9, List I.) would be a still earlier instance, but it is too badly preserved to be safely used.



of the North-Eastern alphabet; and as a matter of fact, no inscription has ever been discovered in India proper exhibiting both the North-Eastern form of *sh* ञ and the Post-Gupta form of *y* य.

LIST III. — *Inscriptions in the North-Eastern alphabet (only Gupta variety).*

Serial No.	Publication.	Name of Inscription.	Name of King, etc.	Sahr.	A. D.
1	.....	Faridpur .....	Dharmāditya .....	...	390
2	Fleet's No. 1 .....	Allahabad .....	Chandra Gupta II (395-414) .....	...	400
3	" No. 7 .....	Gaḍhwā .....	do. ....	88	407
4	" No. 6 .....	Udayagiri .....	do. ....	...	410
5	" No. 32 .....	Mihrauli .....	do. ....	...	410
6	" No. 9 .....	Gaḍhwā .....	Kumāra Gupta I (414-454) .....	98	417
7	" No. 8 .....	Gaḍhwā .....	do. ....	...	417
8	" No. 64 .....	Gaḍhwā .....	do. ....	...	420
9	" No. 11 .....	Mankuwar .....	do. ....	129	448
10	" No. 65 .....	*Kōsam .....	Bhīma Varman .....	139	458
11	" No. 68 .....	*Dēriyā .....	.....	...	460
12	" No. 75 .....	*Sārndh .....	.....	...	460
13	" No. 15 .....	Kahāmh .....	Skanda Gupta (455-468) .....	141	460
14	" No. 12 .....	Bihār .....	do. ....	...	460
15	" No. 66 .....	Gaḍhwā .....	do. ....	148	467
16	Bendall's No. 1 .....	Bhātgaon .....	Śivadēva I .....	316	635
17	Bhagwanlāl's No. 5 .....	Katmandu .....	do. ....	...	635
18	Bendall's No. 2 .....	Patan .....	Aṃsuvarman .....	34	639
19	Bhagwanlāl's No. 6 .....	Katmandu .....	do. ....	34	639
20	" No. 7 .....	do. ....	do. ....	39	644
21	" No. 8 .....	do. ....	do. ....	44	649
22	" No. 9 .....	do. ....	Jishṇu Gupta .....	48	653
23	" No. 10 .....	do. ....	do. ....	...	653
24	" No. 1 .....	do. ....	Mānadēva .....	386	705
25	" No. 12 .....	do. ....	Śivadēva II .....	119	725
26	" No. 2 .....	do. ....	Mānadēva .....	413	732
27	" No. 3 .....	do. ....	Vasantasēna .....	435	754
28	" No. 4 .....	do. ....	.....	535	854

With regard to Nēpāl, List III. shows that the North-Eastern alphabet survived down to the middle of the ninth century; the latest inscription is dated 854 A. D. At the same time it also shows that the North-Western alphabet in the Post-Gupta variety was introduced in the middle of the seventh century. Its first appearance is in the Jishṇu Gupta inscription of about 655 A. D. (No. 7 in List II.). This is an instructive instance. Of Jishṇu Gupta we have three inscriptions, viz., Bhagwanlāl's Nos. 9, 10 and 11. Of these Nos. 9 and 10 (see Nos. 22, 23 in List III.) are exclusively in the North-Eastern characters; moreover, No. 9 is dated in 653 A. D. This fixes very approximately the date of No. 11. But this No. 11, exhibits the curious fact of a mixture of North-Western Post-Gupta and North-Eastern forms. In line 2 (*kshōbhayitvā*) and l. 16 (*parshadī*) we have the North-Western form of *sh*; moreover, throughout the inscription we find the Post-Gupta form of *y*. But in line 9 (*jishṇu*) there is used the North-Eastern form of *sh*. It seems to me, that we have here an indication of the exact time when the North-Western Post-Gupta alphabet was first introduced into Nēpāl. It must have been during the reign of Jishṇu Gupta, in the middle of the seventh century. This alphabet did not, however, at once entirely supersede the older North-Eastern variety. The latter continued to exist by the side of the newer N.-W. Post-Gupta variety, for about two centuries



longer, being used by the Lichchhavi family in their inscriptions, while the Thākuri family adopted the newer variety.

The sketch-map of the distribution of the two Northern varieties throws some further light on the subject. It will be observed that, with two exceptions, all the inscriptions in the North-Eastern alphabet lie from Kōsam or Allahabad east-ward. Those in the North-Western variety lie to the West and South-West of the North-Eastern area. This is the case up to about the year 500 A. D. After this date (as will be seen by the dates noted with the place-names) the North-Western inscriptions spread over the whole of the North-Eastern area. The only exception is the Pahlādpur inscription, with its very early date of about 370 A. D. (No. 2 in List I.).

Another noteworthy point is, that the North-Eastern inscriptions are nearly all crowded together, just south of Nêpāl, and in (what I may call) the home-provinces of the Gupta empire. Add to this, that, in India proper at least, they are confined entirely to the period of the height of the Gupta rule, i. e., to the reigns of Chandra Gupta II, Kumara Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta. The earliest is the Allahabad inscription under Chandra Gupta II, about 400 A. D., the latest is the Gadhwā inscription, under Skanda Gupta, in 467 A. D. (see List III). Their period is just about a hundred years, from the end of the 4th to the end of the 5th century. The Pahlādpur inscription certainly falls before that period; for it shows the very ancient Indo-scythic angular form of *m*. The exact epoch when this angular form of *m* was superseded by the square form  $\mathfrak{M}$  is not yet known; and it is very desirable that this point should be statistically worked out. But the Bijayagaḍh inscriptions of the year 371 A. D. shows the same angular *m*, and the gold coins of Chandra Gupta I and Samudra Gupta already show the first beginnings of the use of the square form of *m*. The Pahlādpur inscription may, therefore, safely be placed about 370 A. D. or earlier, that is, in the reign of Chandra Gupta I. It seems clear from this fact, that the North-Eastern alphabet has some peculiar connection with the imperial Gupta family. If we remember that this alphabet was also current in Nêpāl and that the Guptas entertained intimate relations with the ruling Lichchhavi family of Nêpāl, it becomes probable that the North-Eastern alphabet was introduced into India proper under the Lichchhavi influence. Chandra Gupta I married a Lichchhavi princess and founded the Gupta empire. Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II gave it its widest extension, and they left their landmarks in the Farīdpur inscription in the east, and the Mihrauli and Udaigiri inscriptions in the West and South-West (Nos. 1, 4, 5, in list III). As the Lichchhavis themselves originally came from North-Eastern India (Pataliputra = Patna), their alphabet possibly may, after all, claim an indigenous Indian origin.

I see that Professor Bühler suggests, that the dates of Dr. Bhagwanlāl's Nos. 1—3 are not to be interpreted (as done by Mr. Fleet and myself) as Gupta, but as Vikrama dates (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V. p. 219). If this suggestion should prove correct, some of the details in the foregoing observations will require re-adjustment; but the main points of my argument are not affected by this question. Nor, so far as I can see, does it affect Prof. Bühler's own view regarding the origin of the Gupta era. That view does seem to me probably true. We must await Prof. Bühler's promised full statement of his objections to Mr. Fleet's interpretation of the dates. In the meantime the probabilities seem to me greatly in favour of the latter. It seems difficult to understand how the Mālaya era — for that is really the Vikrama era — should have got into Nêpāl at so early a period.

With regard to the Farīdpur inscription, referred to several times in the foregoing remarks, I may give the following preliminary information. It was found, not long ago, in the Farīdpur district of Eastern Bengal. It is written in the early Gupta characters of the North-Eastern class. It shows throughout the old form  $\mathfrak{N}$  of *y*; the transitional  $\mathfrak{N}$  and modern  $\mathfrak{N}$  forms never occur. It further shows throughout the North-Eastern form  $\mathfrak{H}$  of *sh*, which is very difficult to distinguish from the dental *s*. The inscription refers itself to the reign of



a king Dharmāditya, but is not dated. It records the gift of a piece of land to a Brāhman Sōmasvāmin of the Lauhitya *gōtra* and the Vājasinēya *śākhā*, by a person called Vasu-dēva Svāmin, apparently for the erection of a *dharmasālā*. The inscription commences as follows : —

*Seasty = asyām = prithivyām = apratirathē = Nriga-Naghusha - Yayāty - Ambartsha - samadhrita - Mahārājādhirāja - Srī - Dharmāditya - bhāṭāraka - rājyē tad - anumōdan - ālabdh - āspadē (nadhya ?) Kāśikāyām mahāpratihār - ōparika - Nāgadēvasy = ādhyāsana-kālē.*

This commencement strikingly resembles that in the well-known Gupta inscriptions. The term *apratiratha*, moreover, is one peculiar to **Samudra Gupta** (see Fleet, p. 14, footnote 4); and there are other indications, pointing to him as being referred to here as the **Dharmāditya**. All the great Gupta rulers, Chandragupta II., Kumara Gupta I., Skanda Gupta, have honorific titles formed with *āditya* (Vikramāditya, Mahēndrāditya, Kramāditya, respectively). In all probability, Samudra Gupta, who was the first great ruler of the family, also had such a title; and I would suggest, that Dharmāditya was his title. Soldered on to the plate is a seal, showing in the upper portion the standing figure of Lakshmi, entwined by lotus stalks and flowers, and on each side a very small elephant besprinkling her with water. The scene shews a very close resemblance to one represented on a tympanum in the Ananta cave, and figured in Fergusson and Burgess's *Cave Temples of India*, plate I, fig. 1. Similar, though not quite so closely resembling, is the representation on the back of the uppermost beam of the southern gateway of the Sanchi *stūpa*, figured in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate VIII; also that on the Raypur copper-plate seal, figured in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVII. In the lower compartment, almost effaced, there seems to be the legend *Srī-Mahārājādhirāja-Dharmādityasya*. This, no doubt, is not the usual seal of the Guptas; but there is nothing to show, when the more usual Garuḍa seal was adopted. However, the question of the ascription of the plate may better be reserved till I shall be in a position to publish the whole inscription. Unfortunately the plate has suffered in some places so much from corrosion and inexperienced cleaning that I have not yet succeeded in fully reading it.

## FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

### No. 12. — *The Fortune-teller's Daughter.*

Once upon a time there was a woman whose vocation was to tell the fortunes of people. She was one day invited by the *pāṭēl* of her village to tell the fortune of his new-born child. The *pāṭēl* had also invited the prince of that village<sup>1</sup> to witness the ceremony.

Late in the evening the fortune-teller went to the *pāṭēl's* house, but as she was entering the house she was stopped by the prince, who told her to see him on her way home. She promised to do so and entered the house, the prince remaining outside as a sentry to prevent any stranger entering the house during the fortune-telling. The fortune-teller, having performed many ceremonies and read out of many books, told the *pāṭēl* what would be the fate of his child.

After she had finished her business and received her dues, and was going away, she was again stopped by the prince who asked her what was in the fortune of the *pāṭēl's* child.

The fortune-teller replied : — "What the child's fortune is I have told the *pāṭēl*; why do you want to know?"

But the prince alternately begged and threatened, and said he would not let her go till she had told him the child's fortune. So at last she told him what it was. The prince next

<sup>1</sup> [This is interesting as shewing what ideas the words "king, prince, queen, princess," &c., convey to the minds of the "folk." The prose rendering of "king" should no doubt be "local magnate." — Ed.]



asked her to tell him his own fate. She was at first reluctant to do so, but after much pressure, she said :—

"Your fate, O prince, is this. To whatever age you may attain; whenever you may die, — now or a hundred years hence, — it is written in your luck, that your head will be pounded by a strange queen! This, O prince, is in store for you!"

When the prince heard this, he thought to himself :— "Surely not! I will not wait to be killed by a strange queen, or have my head pounded."

Thus thinking, he drew his sword and cut off his own head, which flew off and fell into a jar, at close by!

Now it happened that the king of a neighbouring country passed that way on the following morning, and seeing the head of the prince, took it up, carefully wrapped it in a handkerchief, and, carrying it home, put it in a drawer. Every day, before he left the house and as soon as he came home, the king used to open the drawer and look at it. The key of this drawer he kept in his own pocket, while the rest of the keys were in the custody of the queen, who was never told a word about the head. The fact of giving her all the keys but one aroused the curiosity of the queen. So one day she slyly took the key from the king's pocket, and when he was gone, she opened the drawer, and there saw the head. The face being beardless, it looked like that of a woman. She suspected, therefore, that the head must be that of a concubine of the king; and thought that the concubine having died, and the king being very much attached to her, he must have brought home her head and kept it *in memoriam*, that he might at least have the satisfaction of looking at her head! This naturally aroused a spirit of jealousy in her breast; so she took the head, and putting it in a mortar, pounded it into fine powder with a rice-pounder. Thus was fulfilled what was told by the fortune-teller to the prince!

When the fortune-teller got home it was later than she expected, for she had had to tell the fortunes of two persons. Her daughter asked her why she was so late, and she replied she was late because she had had to find out and tell the fortunes of two persons, the *pútāl's* child and the prince. The girl then asked her mother to tell her her own fate, and after much entreaty and pressure, the old woman said :— "In your fortune, daughter, it is written that you will marry a *Māṅg*,<sup>2</sup> by whom you will have a son, and later on you will marry your own son. So it is written in your fortune!"

"Surely not," thought the daughter to herself. "I marry a *Māṅg*! That will never do. I would rather go to a desert and lead a solitary life than remain here and eventually marry a *Māṅg*!"

So saying, she left the house then and there, and went into a desert, where she lived on what leaves and fruit she could get. She lived in this state for some time, when one day she saw a person coming towards her on horse-back. The cavalier asked her who she was, and what she was doing there. She told him that she was a person living in retirement. He, too, said he was also living in retirement, and asked her if she would accompany him and live with him. Not knowing who the speaker was, and thinking he was a great personage, the fortune-teller's daughter willingly agreed to go with him. Now this man's house was several days' journey from there, and on the way she ate and drank with him.<sup>3</sup> When they reached his house, the fortune-teller's daughter found in it the flesh of dead cattle and date-palm brooms, which are the sure signs of a *Māṅg*. She cursed herself for agreeing to accompany the man; but she was reminded of what her mother had told her, and which had proved true, despite her living in retirement! She left the *Māṅg's* house immediately, and again took to the desert, but this time to another one. She, however, became pregnant, and in due time brought forth a son. She took the child, tore a piece of her own *sārī*, and, wrapping

<sup>2</sup> A *Māṅg* is a low caste person; he is considered even lower than a *Māhār*. <sup>3</sup> Euphemism for sexual intercourse.



the child up in it, threw it in a bush, and went to a strange country, where she took employment in the king's house as a washer-woman. The child was picked up by the king of another country, who had happened to pass through the forest, and taken home and well cared for. As the king had no children of his own, he adopted this child as a son, and it was everywhere known as the prince of that country. One day this prince (for so we must call him), when he had grown up, happened, in company of a friend, to pass through the country where his mother was, and saw her at the tank washing clothes. He was so enamoured of her beauty that he asked her whence she came. She told him that she was a servant to the king of that country. He then went home and said to his foster-father:—

"Father, there is a young woman at the palace of a certain king, and unless you get me married to her, I will never rest satisfied, and starve myself to death."

The king, who loved him exceedingly, did not like to refuse his request, and at once wrote to the other king and made arrangements for the marriage. Both parties made preparations on a grand scale to celebrate the occasion with befitting pomp, and in due time, on an appointed day, the son was married to his mother unawares. The wedding over, the bride was taken to the bridegroom's house. In the evening when they retired to bed, the bride chanced to see a rag hanging on the bedstead. On close examination she found it to be the very same rag, which she had torn from her *sārī*, and in which she had wrapped her child before throwing it in the bush. She at once concluded that she had married her own son! But, there being no help for it, she lived with him happily as his wife! She was, however, convinced of the truth of what her mother had told her; and had learnt that no one can ever escape from the fate that is written on the forehead.<sup>4</sup>

### MISCELLANEA.

#### MISCELLANEOUS DATES FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND MSS.

1.—Mr. Fleet's examinations of Hindu dates have led to the conclusion<sup>1</sup> that "even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the *amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not coupled with the Saka years until a comparatively late period," in fact, not before A. D. 804. Compared with this, it may be interesting to learn from some dates in M. A. Barth's *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, that, in Cambodia, the *amānta* scheme was used in connection with the Saka era at least as early as A. D. 826.

On p. 41 of M. Barth's volume is a date of a stone inscription from Vat Chakret, the chief items of which are<sup>2</sup>—

Piṇḍibhūtē śak-ābdē vasu-jaladhi-śarair-  
vvasarē Mādhav-ādau . . . . . kumudavana-

patau Tāvurē Kṛittikāyam; i.e., in the Saka year 548, on the first day of Vaiśākha, the moon being in (the sign) Taurus (and) in (the *nakṣatra*) Kṛittikā.

This date does not furnish sufficient particulars for exact identification, but the fact that the moon is stated to have been in the *nakṣatra* Kṛittikā (No. 3) proves all the same that the first of Vaiśākha spoken of was the first of the bright half, and the month therefore the *amānta* Vaiśākha. For had it been the first of the dark half, or, in other words, the first of the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, which follows immediately upon the full-moon day of Chaitra, the moon would have been in Chitrā (No. 14) or Svāti (No. 15). And the possible equivalents of Vaiśākha-śudi 1, i.e., the first of the *amānta* Vaiśākha, actually are:—

for Saka 548 current, the 13th April, A. D. 625, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h.

<sup>4</sup> [This story is interesting for three reasons. It introduces us to a novel and very quaint version of our old friend Blue Beard. It gives us an insight into a queer state of morality, in which it is a more dreadful thing for a woman to marry into a caste beneath her than to marry her own son. It is to be observed that the heroine calmly endures the latter evil, but cannot bear the former. And the moral of the tale apparently is that it is no sin to follow your fate, whatever it may be. This is a tale among Christians, be it observed. — Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 79, note 2; and *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141 and 142.

<sup>2</sup> I quote the words, as corrected by the Editor.



18 m., and the moon was in *Kṛittikā* up to about 23h. after mean sunrise; and —

for Śaka 548 expired, the 3rd April, A. D. 626, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 45 m., and the moon entered *Kṛittikā* about 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

In a short inscription from Vat Prey Vier, on p. 74 of the same volume, we find an even more interesting date, of which it will be sufficient to quote the words —

Yātē kālē Śakānām nava-tann-vishayair =  
Mmādhavē śhōḍas-āhē Jivas-chāpē=ja-sūryyō  
i. e., when the Śaka year 589 had expired, on the  
sixteenth day of Vaiśākha, Jupiter being in (the  
sign) Chāpa (or Dhanuḥ), the sun in Mēsha,  
and the moon in (the *nakshatra*) Anurādhā.

Here again the Vaiśākha of the date was clearly the *amānta* Vaiśākha, and the 16th day, spoken of, was Vaiśākha-badi 1, and the true equivalent of the date undoubtedly is the 15th April, A.D. 667, as may be seen from the following data. The new-moon which introduced the bright half of Vaiśākha of Śaka 589 expired was 9 h. after mean sunrise of the 30th March, A.D. 667. Counted from that day, the 16th day was the 15th April, A.D. 667, when the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amānta* Vaiśākha) ended 4 h. 28 m., and when the moon was in Anurādhā up to about 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. On the same 15th April the sun was in the sign Mēsha, which it had entered on the 20th March; and Jupiter, as required, was in Dhanuḥ, having entered that sign, by the *Sūryasiddhānta* rule without *bjā*, on the 20th January, A.D. 667, and remaining in it till the 16th January, A.D. 668.

The statement that Jupiter was in (the 9th sign) Dhanuḥ in this case is really equivalent to saying that the current Jovian year was Krōdhana, the  $(12 + 12 + 9 = )$  33rd year, counted from Vijaya as the first; and the special interest of this date lies in this that, while the scheme of its lunar month is the *amānta*, so-called southern scheme, the system followed in regard to the Jovian year is the northern mean-sign system.

On p. 68 of M. Barth's volume the 10th day of Vaiśākha of the same Śaka year 589 is mentioned with, amongst others, the remark that the moon had reached the middle of the sign Simha. This date would correspond to the 9th April, A. D.

667, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended about 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise, and when, at sunrise, the moon was in the eleventh degree of Simha.

2. — On p. 54 of the late Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palæography* we find the remark that the Javanese Śaka era begins in A. D. 74; and this remark has *ante*, Vol. X. p. 214, note 7, been quoted by another distinguished scholar, apparently in support of the statement that "in ancient times the initial dates from which the different Indian eras were counted were subject to fluctuations of several years." Whatever may be the practice of quite modern times, it is certain that down to nearly the end of the 14th century A. D. the Śaka reckoning in Java did not differ from the customary Indian reckoning. This may be seen from the following Javanese Śaka dates, which all work out properly with the ordinary epoch A. D. 77-78.

Professor Kern has published<sup>2</sup> a Sanskrit inscription from Java of the Śaka year 654, the date of which he reads thus: —

Śākēndrē-tigatē śrut-indriya-rasair = aṅgi-  
(nki)kṛitē vatsarē

vār = ēndau dhavala-trayōdaśi-tithau Bha-  
drōttarē Kārttikē; i. e., in the Śaka year 654, expired, on Monday, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika, the moon being in (the *nakshatra*) Uttarabhadrapadā. — The corresponding day, for Śaka 654 expired, and with the ordinary epoch of the Śaka era, is Monday, the 6th October, A. D. 732, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 17 m., and the moon was in Uttarabhadrapadā up to about 15 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

And in a paper<sup>3</sup> of Professor Kern's "over een Oudjavaansche Oorkonde van Śaka 782" there are two other Javanese dates, one of which is —

Śakavarshatita 782, Kārttikamāsa, tithi trayō-  
daśi śuklapaksha, . . . Vri-vāra, . . . Aśvinī  
nakshatra, . . . Vyatipātayōga, . . .  
Taithilakarana; i. e., Śaka 782, Bṛihaspati-vāra  
or Thursday, the 13th lunar day of the bright  
half of Kārttika, the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, the *yōga*  
Vyatipāta, and the *karana* Taitila; and the  
other —

Śakavarshatita 1295, Aśujimāsa, tithi trayōdaś  
kṛishnapaksha, . . . Bu-vāra . . .; i. e.,  
Śaka 1295, Sukra-vāra or Friday, the 13th lunar  
day of the dark half of Āśvina.

<sup>2</sup> From the copy which I owe to the kindness of Professor Kern I see that the inscription was originally edited by him in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Folkkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4e volgr. Dl. X.

<sup>3</sup> In *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde*, 2 R., 10 D., Amsterdam 1881, pp. 94 and 102.



Here the proper equivalents, with the ordinary epoch of the Saka era, are:—for the first date, and Saka 782 expired, Thursday, the 31st October, A. D. 860, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karana* Taitila ended 10 h. 29 m., and when the *nakshatra* was Asvinī up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yōga* Vyatipāta up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and for the second date, and the *amānta* Āsvina of Saka 1295 expired, Friday, the 14th October, A. D. 1373, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162, and Vol. XIX. pp. 129 and 426, Mr. Fleet has treated of some Saka dates which, instead of quoting a lunar month, give us the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be on the day intended by the date. An early Vikrama date, which is very similar to Mr. Fleet's Saka date in Vol. XIX. p. 129, occurs in line 32 of the Shékhavati (or Harsha) stone inscription of the reign of the Chāhamāna Vigharāja, first published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV. pp. 370-384. According to the rubbings and impressions supplied to me by Mr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess, the date, which is given incorrectly in the published version, runs really thus:—

Jātē=vdā(bdā)nān sahasrē triguṇa-nava-yutē  
Sīmha-rāsau gatē=rkkē

śuklā y=āsīt=trī[ti\*][yā] Subha-Kara-sahitā  
Sōma-vārēna tasyām;

i. e., when 1027 years were completed, and when the sun was in the sign Sīmha, on the third bright lunar day which was attended by (the *nakshatra*) Kara (or Hasta) and (the *yōga*) Subha, on a Monday.—In northern V. 1027 expired the sun entered the sign Sīmha 9 h. 49.8 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th July, A. D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada. The third of the following bright half of the same Bhādrapada was Monday, the 8th August, A. D. 970, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m., and when the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the *yōga* Subha up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

Dates of this kind are common enough in Bengāl MSS.\* And some of these dates again are peculiar in specifying the degree in which the sun happened to be on the day of the date. Thus, according to the late Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. VI. p. 238, a MS. of the *Samskṛta-paddhati-rahasya*, which is written in Bengāl characters, is dated —

Sākē vāṇ-āchala-tithi-mitē bhāskarē Karkāṭa-  
sthē

viṃsaty-amsē Vidhusuta-dinē śukla-pakṣhē  
cha shashṭhyām;

i. e., in Saka 1575, when the sun was in the sign Karkāṭa, in the 20th degree, on Wednesday, the sixth lunar day of the bright half. — In Saka 1575 expired the Karkāṭa-samkrānti took place 16 h. 5.2 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th June, A. D. 1653; and the sun entered the 20th degree of the sign some time on Wednesday, the 20th July, A. D. 1653. This Wednesday was the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvṇa, for the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended on it, about 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

These are clearly luni-solar dates. But in some Bengāl MSS. we also find purely solar dates. Thus, according to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 211, a MS. of the *Sarasvatī Prakriyā* is dated —

Sākō sapta-dvi-sapt-aika-samkhyē Mēsham-itē  
ravau

Tritiyē=hnī Ravēr=vārē lipyā pūrtim=agād=  
iyam || Sāk=ābdāḥ 1727 ||;

i. e., in Saka 1727, when the sun had entered the sign Mēsha, on the third day, a Sunday.—The Mēsha-samkrānti at the end of Saka 1727 current took place 1 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 11th April, A. D. 1805; and the day of the date is clearly Sunday, the 14th April, A. D. 1805, which by the lunar calendar was the first of the dark half of the *amānta* Chaitra.

And according to the same *Catalogue*, p. 35, a Bengāl MS. of Surēśvarāchārya's *Bṛihadāraṇyaka-bhāṣyavārttika* is dated—

navanavaty-adbika-chaturdaśa-śata-mita-śakābdē  
Chaitrasya dvādas-amsē Su(su)kravārē;

i. e., in the Saka year 1499, in the 12th degree of Chaitra, on Friday.—By the result of my calculations the year of this date is the current solar year Saka 1499. In that year, the solar month Chaitra commenced 17 h. 25.6 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 25th February, A. D. 1577, and the sun was in the 12th degree from some time on Friday, the 8th March, A. D. 1577, which was the 4th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra of Saka 1499, current.

4.—Dates are sometimes recorded in days of the Kaliyuga. A very interesting date of this description is contained in the following

\* Compare e.g. Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. II. p. 310; Vol. III. p. 171; etc.



verses of Shadgurusishya's *Védārthadīpikā*,<sup>6</sup> in which the author tells us that he completed his work, when the number of days of the Kaliyuga was 1 565 132:—

Kha-gô-tyā-nmê-shu-mâ-y=êti<sup>7</sup> Kaly-ahar-  
gaṇanê sati |

Sarvânukramaṇi-vrittir=jâtâ Védārthadīpikâ ||  
Lakshâṇi pañchadaśa vai pañchashashṭi-  
sahasrakam |

Sa-dvâtrimśach-chhataṁ ch=êti. dina-vâky-  
ārtha iritaḥ ||

Expressed in the days of the Julian period, the epoch of the Kaliyuga is—

588 465.75 days;  
+ 1565 132 days;

sum 2153 597.75 days of the Julian period  
= the 24th March, A. D. 1184, 18 h. after mean sunrise.

Accordingly, the day actually given us by Shadgurusishya would correspond to the 24th March, A. D. 1184. But since this is the day of the *Mêsha-saṁkrânti*<sup>8</sup> at the end of the solar year Kaliyuga 4285 = Śaka 1106 current, it appears highly probable that, what Shadgurusishya meant to intimate, is merely, that he finished his work in Kaliyuga 4285 = Śaka 1106 expired, and that he has simply copied the number of days, given by him, from the calendar.

That the day put down in the date was the day of the *Mêsha-saṁkrânti*, Shadgurusishya indeed has plainly suggested himself. For there can be no doubt whatever that the true reading of the first half of the first of the above verses is—

Kha-gô=ntyân=Mêsham=ap=êti<sup>9</sup> kaly-ahar-  
gaṇanê sati. — i. e., 'when the number of days of the Kaliyuga was the number denoted by *kha-gô=ntyân=Mêsham=âpa* "the sun passed from the last sign on to the sign *Mêsha*;" (kh=2, g=3, y=1, m=5, sh=6, m=5, and p=1).

5.—In the Verāval inscription of the reign of the Vāghêla Arjunadêva, the Mahāmāda saṁvat or Hijra year 662 is put down along with the Vikrama, Valabhi, and Simha years to which the day of the date belonged. And in MSS. I have sometimes found Hijra years quoted by the side of the corresponding Śaka years. The Hijra year, described as the Yāvana year,

is quoted alone in the following date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta*, written in Maithili characters (apparently) in Oudh:<sup>10</sup>—

Turaga-nava-himāṁśu-kshm-āṅkitê Yāvanê=  
bdê

charama - Suchi - chaturthyām kṛishṇa-  
pakshê=hni Jaivê |;

i. e., in the Yāvana or Hijra year 1197, on the fourth lunar day of the dark half of the second summer-month (*Āshāḍha*), on Thursday. — As the Hijra year 1197 commenced on the 7th December, A. D. 1782, the date should fall in A. D. 1783 or Śaka 1705 expired. And for Śaka 1705 expired the 4th of the dark half of the *amānta* *Āshāḍha* corresponds to Thursday, the 17th July, A. D. 1783, when the fourth *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 6, I have attempted to prove that the Lakshmanasēna era commenced in A. D. 1119, and I have shown that, assuming my epoch to be correct, the difference between a year of that era and the corresponding expired Śaka year must always be 1040, or 1041, or 1042. In support of my views, I would now draw attention to two dates in the late Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, which I had formerly overlooked.

According to Vol. VII. p. 169, a MS. of Bhavadatta's commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha* is dated La-saṁ 512 | Sakābdah 1552 |. Here the difference between the two years is 1040; and, in accordance with what I have previously stated, the Lakshmanasēna year must have been the current year 512, and the date written in one of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna.

According to Vol. V. p. 84 a MS. of Madhusūdan's *Kaṇṭakōddhara* which is written in Maithili characters, contains the lines —

chakrê Rāmakanīyasô Svanipatêḥ śītāmśu.  
nand-āmbudhāv=

āṅkê Phālguna-saptamī-Ravidinê Gaṅgā.  
Gaṇêś-ārchakāḥ,—

which give us for calculation the (Lakshmanasēna) year 491, and the seventh lunar day (of either the bright or the dark half) of Phālguna, joined with a Sunday. Here, the month being Phālguna, the date should fall either in Śaka (491 + 1040 = ) 1531 expired, or in Śaka (491 + 1041 = ) 1532 expired; but calculations for Śaka 1531 yield no

<sup>6</sup> See Professor Macdonell's Edition, p. 168; *Indische Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 160; and Professor Aufrecht's *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 378.

<sup>7</sup> Such is the reading of the published texts, but it tells no sense. I shall show presently what I consider to be the right reading.

<sup>8</sup> It took place 8 h. 58.6 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>9</sup> Three of Professor Macdonell's MSS. actually read *m'sham* (not *mêsham*), and they have the sign of anusvara above the *akshara* preceding *tyā*.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. V. p. 119.



satisfactory result. In Saka 1532 expired, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna ended about 18 h. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 9th February, A.D. 1611, which also does not suit the requirements of the case. On the other hand, in the dark half of the *amānta* Phālguna of Saka 1532 expired —

the 6th *tithi* ended 1 h. 38 m. before mean sunrise of Saturday, 23 February, A.D. 1611;

the 7th *tithi* ended 0 h. 17 m. before mean sunrise of Sunday, 24 February, A.D. 1611; and

the 8th *tithi* ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 25 February, A.D. 1611.

It is true that by this result no *tithi* would have ended on the Sunday, and that the Sunday would have been put down in the calendar, like the Monday, as the 8th. But the *tithis* have here been calculated according to Ujjain time, and considering that the date undoubtedly was written far to the east of Ujjain, the seventh *tithi* would for the writer of the date really have ended some time after sunrise of the Sunday;<sup>11</sup> and Sunday, the 24th February A.D. 1611, therefore is the proper equivalent of the date, — deduced from the epoch of the Lakshmanasēna era A.D. 1118-19.

7. — A date of the *Āshādhādi Vikrama* year 1574, which does not admit of verification, is given in Professor Macdonell's edition of Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*, preface, p. xiii. And another *Āshādhādi* date, according to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 409, occurs in a MS. of part of Hēmadri's *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, written in Western India, and is worded thus:—

Sāmvat 15 *Āshādhādi* 81 varshē 5 Srāvaṇa-  
sūdi pañchamī aparaṁ shashthī Budhē.

As might have been expected, the date falls in the northern Vikrama year 1581, expired, and the corresponding date, for that year, is Wednesday, the 6th July, A.D. 1524, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

In addition to quoting the 5th *tithi* which ended on the Wednesday, and from which the Wednesday received its number 5, this date also quotes the following sixth *tithi*, and it is in this respect similar<sup>12</sup> to No. 49 of my Vikrama dates, ante, Vol. XIX. p. 33; but what makes this *Āshādhādi* date more interesting, is the fact that the 6th *tithi* also ended on the Wednesday, 1 h. 17 m.

<sup>11</sup> I now find that by Prof. Jacobi's Special Tables for the *Sūryasiddhānta* with *bīja*, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Pt. VIII., the seventh *tithi*, even at Ujjain, ended 3 *ghāṭikas* after mean sunrise of this Sunday.

<sup>12</sup> Another date of this description occurs in a MS.

before sunrise of the Thursday, and was therefore, in fact, a *kshaya-tithi*.

8. — In dates like the preceding the ordinals *pañchamī*, *shashthī*, etc., clearly denote the time occupied by the *tithi* itself, not the civil day on which the *tithi* ended; and those dates thus help to explain other dates in which the writers undoubtedly have quoted actually current *tithis*, with the week days on which they commenced.

According to my *Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81*, p. 22, a palm-leaf MS. of Amarasūthra's *Nāmalinganūśāsana* is dated:—

Srīmad-Rāmachandradēva - vijayarājyē  
Kumkuga-vishayē gata-Kali 4398  
Hēmalambba-samvatsarē Jyēshthā-vadi  
ashtamyāyām<sup>13</sup> Vṛhaspati-dinē ।

By the southern luni-solar system the year Hēmalamba corresponds to Kaliyuga 4398 expired, and the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Jyēshthā of that year commenced on Thursday, the 13th June, A.D. 1297, 1 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise, and ended at mean sunrise of the following day. Here the Thursday, quoted in the date, was civilly *badi* 7, and the 8th *tithi* was either a *kshaya-tithi* or ended after true sunrise of the Friday. And the meaning of the date clearly is, that the writing was finished on the Thursday, during the 8th *tithi*.

In Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Report for 1883-84*, p. 357, the date of the composition of Mahēśvara's commentary on Purushōttama's *Vishṇubhakti-kalpatalā* is given thus:—

Srīmad-bhūvalayānuranjana-lasat-kīrtē =  
nṛpād-Vikramāj =  
jātē=śch(śv)-āmbudhi-rāga-bhāmi-gaṇitē =  
bdē Mārgaśīrahē=rjunē ।  
pakshē mukhyajaya-tithau Suraguru-  
(rōr)=vārē Virōpāksha-bhūr =  
nirmāti sma Mahēśvarū guru-kṛipash =  
ṭikām=imām suṇḍarām ॥

Here, again, the third (or *mukhyajaya*) *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha of V. 1647 expired commenced on Thursday, the 19th November, A.D. 1590, 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

And according to Professor Bendall's *Catalogue*,

of the *Saptapādārthi*, of which a page is photographed in Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. II.: *Sāmvat* 1458 varshē Māgha-vadi 6 anashṭara[śh] saptamyārth tithau Gu[rū]dinē; corresponding, for the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha of V. 1458, current, to Thursday, the 6th January, A.D. 1401.

<sup>13</sup> Read *ashtamyāyām*.



p. 32, a palm-leaf MS. of Chandragômin's *Sishyalékha-dharmakāvya* is dated : —

Samvat 200 . 4. Vaisākha-śukl-āṣṭamyam | Sôma-diné.

And here, again, the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha of the expired Nêwâr year 204 commenced on Monday, the 15th April,

A. D. 1084, 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 9 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of the following day;<sup>14</sup> and I here, too, take the meaning of the date to be, that the writer finished his work on the Monday, after the commencement of the 8th *tithi*.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN ENGLISH INSCRIPTION AT MAULMAIN.

At Maulmain, on the platform of the chief pagoda, is a large bell of the usual Burmese type with a quaint inscription cut in English thereon, which is worth preserving : —

"He who destroyed to this bell they must be in

the great heell and unable to coming out. This bell is made by Koonā Līngahyah the Priest and weight 600 viss.<sup>1</sup> No one body design to destroy this bell. Maulmain, March 30th, 1855."

R. C. TEMPLE.

### BOOK-NOTICE.

THE PRACHINA GUJARATI SAHITYA RATNAMALA, OR Garland of Gems of Old Gujarātī Literature. The First Gem, the MUGDHAVABODHAMAUPTIKA, OR A Grammar for Beginners, of the Gujarātī Language (V.-S. 1450). Edited by H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B. Printed and published at the Subōdha-Prakāśh Press, Bombay. 1889. Pp. vii., 23, 55.

This work, edited by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B., is one of a series proposed by him to be issued with a view to rescue the old vernacular literature of India from the oblivion in which it is at present lying. Evidently Mr. Dhruva believes this work to be a grammar of the Gujarātī language of the time to which it belongs (V.-S. 1450 = A. D. 1394). I shall presently examine how far this assumption on his part is based on a correct appreciation of the subject-matter of the work. But I propose first to point out some of the many mistakes and errors which have resulted from the evidently superficial manner in which Mr. Dhruva has studied the work, and the very careless way in which it has been edited.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Dhruva has based his edition on a single manuscript, — the one belonging to the Gujarāt Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad. I have had the advantage of a look at this manuscript, and I shall point out some of the results of Mr. Dhruva's hurry and carelessness, by instances of disagreement between his manuscript and his edition.

At the end of page 4 of Mr. Dhruva's edition we find the expression *गुरुन वन्दयित्वा*. The original

manuscript has *वन्दित्वा* and not *वन्दयित्वा*, and the correct form here is of course *वन्दित्वा*. The causal form would be meaningless or absurd in this instance.

At the end of page 10 Mr. Dhruva gives some *Kārikās* on *Samāsa*. In the last verse of the 1st *Kārikā* Mr. Dhruva gives *कर्मधारय*, while the manuscript has *कर्मधारये*. This wrong grammar may be the result of a mere misprint; but being only one of many such instances, it indicates careless editing. The 3rd verse of the 2nd *Kārikā* has the expletive *हि* inserted superfluously. It does not exist in the original, and it makes the verse scan wrongly.

These are some of the minor errors into which the editor has run. There are, however, instances in which the results of hurry and want of careful study have been more serious. To cite some of these : —

Page 16, col. 1. — About the beginning of the vocabulary Mr. Dhruva has — *जइ। यदि। तइ। तहि*. The original manuscript has here *तइ* and not *तइ*, and the similarity in sound of *जइ* has betrayed the editor into putting *तइ* where the real word is *तइ*. This point owes its importance to the facts that *तइ* is the intermediate form from which the modern Gujarātī word *तो* is derived, and that the broad pronunciation of *ओ* in this *तो* (as in "awe") is attributable to the pre-existent *अइ* in *तइ*.<sup>2</sup>

at the end of the work; while three lines above there is again "Auktika." As the title-page declares this book to be "*prathamam mauktikam*," the real name seems to be *Mugdhāvabōdhamauktika*. — EDITOR.]

<sup>2</sup> It would be well to indicate here that in Gujarātī *ए* and *ओ* have each of them two distinct pronunciations, broad and narrow, or short and long; broad or short

<sup>14</sup> Compare No. 168 of my Vikrama dates, ante, Vol. XIX. p. 361.

<sup>1</sup> One viss = 160 tickals = 3·65 lbs. avoirdupois.

<sup>2</sup> [A curious instance of this carelessness stares one in the face on the very title-page, where the name of the work is given in Roman characters as "*Mugdhāvabōdha Auktika*," but in Devanāgarī characters as "*Mugdhāvabōdhamauktika*." The latter form occurs also



At page 6 and also page 7 Mr. Dhruva has कर्ता उक्ति and कर्म उक्ति for what is rightly given in the original instance as कर्ता उक्ति and कर्म उक्ति. The *anusāra* is not trifling or superfluous. It represents the locative case, कर्ता कर्म being the forms for कर्तरि, कर्मणि. These may be mere misprints, but as such they are none the less the results of great carelessness.

But a still more serious blunder appears at page 7, col. 1, when Mr. Dhruva puts:—अनङ् जिहां कर्ता कर्मणङ् बोलाइ ते कर्मकर्ता उक्ति कहियइ। [Mr. Dhruva's edition has कर्ता कर्मणङ् separated wrongly into कर्ता कर्मणङ् which makes no sense. This by the way.] Here the blunder consists in inverting the order of the words कर्म and कर्ता in the expression कर्ता कर्मणङ्. The original has कर्म कर्ताणङ्. The sense is अन्यत् यच्च कर्म कर्तृत्वेन उच्यते सा कर्मकर्तरि उक्तिः कथ्यते;—"this division of उक्ति (voice) represents cases in which the कर्म is used as the कर्ता." Mr. Dhruva's reading would make it "कर्ता is used as कर्म," which is not intended. See the instance given ए प्रथं सुखिइ पडाइ। अयं प्रथः सुखेन पठ्यते. Here प्रथ, which is the कर्म, is used as the कर्ता. The object in sense is used as the subject in form. The name given to this उक्ति is कर्मकर्ता and not कर्ताकर्मा. This also indicates the sense above described.

In the opening portion of his edition Mr. Dhruva gives what he calls an analysis of the work. Here he has:—

"(5) Cases—seven," and then adds the remark "votive not given." Here Mr. Dhruva forgets that the vocative is not known to Sanskrit grammar as a separate case by itself. It is only the nominative case used when addressing another person. This very work, at page 14, col. 1, under the chapter of the Cases, says आमन्त्रणे \* \* \* प्रथमा, "the nominative is used in addressing another." Mr. Dhruva seems to have been misled by the facts that in English grammars, as also in Gujarāṭi grammars, the vocative is regarded as a separate case, and that the Sanskrit *Rūpāvali* gives vocative forms after the locative. But the

as in "care" and "awe," and narrow or long as in "ache" and "boat." When a Gujarāṭi word having ए or ओ has in its antecedent Prākṛit or Dēśya form or intermediate stage अइ or अय, or अउ or अव, the pronunciation of the ए or ओ in the Gujarāṭi word is broad. When the antecedent Prākṛit (or Dēśya) form or intermediate stage has ए and ओ, the pronunciation (in the Gujarāṭi word) of ए or ओ is narrow; e. g. Dēśya

main cause of this error of his is his theory that this work is a grammar of the vernacular of the period,—a theory which I shall explode below.

Then the Analysis gives—" (19) Rules of Syntax." This appears to refer to the *Kārikas*, beginning from the end of page 17 to very nearly the end of page 20 in the body of the work. A glance at these will shew that they give no rules of "Syntax." The only rules in these *Kārikas* which may present an appearance of rules of Syntax, are those which deal with several *Kārikas*, viz., कर्ता, कर्म, करण, संप्रदान, अपादान, अधिकरण, and the संबन्ध sense of the Genitive. But these meanings or significations of the *Vibhaktis* (Cases) cannot, in strict propriety, be regarded as falling within the scope of "Syntax."

The Analysis is then concluded with "(21) Prepositions" [more correctly, he should have said 'Prefixes']—"twenty." But Mr. Dhruva strangely omits to notice the concluding chapter of the book which gives a few rules of Prosody. His Analysis should have concluded:—" (22) Rudiments of Prosody."

I hope I have cited a sufficient number of instances to shew how superficially the work has been studied, and how carelessly it has been edited by Mr. Dhruva. But the superficiality of this study (if it can be called by the name of study) comes out boldly and strongly in his fundamentally erroneous theory about the nature of the work, which he has sadly failed to apprehend. He seems to regard this work as a Grammar of the Gujarāṭi language of the period (A. D. 1394). It is nothing of the kind at all, as will appear from a little careful examination of the text, which clearly shews that it is merely a मार्गोपदेशिका, a hand-book for the help of the beginner (मुग्ध), to teach Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of the vernacular of the period. Along with hurry and superficial observation, this error may be attributed to the feeling of overflowing patriotism which seems to have taken possession of Mr. Dhruva's mind, and has led him to imagine that so far back as 500 years ago his mother-tongue had a grammar of its own.

In examining Mr. Dhruva's theory I shall first point out the errors and wrong conclusions

बड़ो = बलं Guj.; Sanskrit मलिनं = महलं Prāk., भलं Guj.; Sans. रजनी, Prāk. रजनी, Guj. रँ. Sans. चतुष्क, Prāk. चउक्क, Guj. चोंक. Prāk. कवण (for Sans. क); Guj. कोंण; while Sans. कदली, Prāk. केली, Guj. केळ; Sans. बदर, Prāk. बोर, Guj. बोर. Instances might be multiplied. ~ and ˘ are used to show the broad ए and ओ.



into which he has fallen in consequence of holding that theory, and then state our grounds for holding that the work is merely a hand-book of Sanskrit Grammar.

First, then,—in his Analysis Mr. Dhruva says, “Vocative not given.” This remark, as has been already hinted above, proceeds from an assumption that this is a Gujarāṭi Grammar, and the fact that Gujarāṭi Grammars regard the Vocative as a separate case.

In his ‘Analysis’ Mr. Dhruva says:—

“(9) Kridanta forms like करी, करवा, करीने, करनार, करतो, &c.” Looking at the corresponding chapter in the book we find that this refers to the forms करी, करणहार, करतउ, used incidentally to explain the Sanskrit participial and other forms ending in तुम्, वच्, and शद्. But even supposing for a moment that this work is a grammar of the vernacular of the period, Mr. Dhruva should have given the forms करी, करणहार, करतउ (the forms of the vernacular of the period), and not करीने, करनार, करतो (the forms of modern Gujarāṭi). He has in this instance been run away with by his patriotic hobby, so far as to unconsciously represent modern Gujarāṭi forms as treated of in the text.

Finally, Mr. Dhruva is forced to resort to a rather amusing shift in order to support his tottering theory, whenever at every turn it meets with some shock or other. The work gives क् and other non-Prākṛit vowels; this, Mr. Dhruva explains away, as a “Sanskritism.” There are three numbers given (Prākṛit has only two, having no dual); this Mr. Dhruva says, is a Sanskritism. The case-terminations given are Sanskrit and not Prākṛit; this again, says Mr. Dhruva, is a Sanskritism. The rules of Sandhi (which are unknown to Prākṛit) are again a Sanskritism, according to Mr. Dhruva. Samās giving forms confined to Sanskrit Grammar, the mention of *Ātmanépada* forms of verbs (as Prākṛit has only *Parasmaipada* forms even in the Passive Voice), the Sanskrit terminations for roots,—all these are “Sanskritisms.” For Mr. Dhruva must maintain his theory at any cost. Where, then, we ask, is the Prākṛitism of the work to be found? Is it in the incidentally used Prākṛit terminations which Mr. Dhruva parades in all the importance of a bold black capital type? Mr. Dhruva is in the amusing position of a man who, looking at a peacock, would persistently swear it was a dog, and asked, whence the deep blue colour, whence the thick mass of rainbow-coloured feathers, whence the crest, the wings, the beak?, would reply “Oh! that much only is a peculiarity of the

peacock”! The fact of the matter is that Mr. Dhruva has started on a wrong line from the outset, with also a wrong foundation, and is therefore compelled to put up a prop here and a prop there to support the tottering superstructure.

I shall now proceed to indicate the grounds on which I base my contention that the work is a hand-book of Sanskrit Grammar and not of Gujarāṭi Grammar.

To begin, the very *Meṅgalācharaṇa* (the opening verse) shews the purport of the work:—

अहं प्रणम्य मुग्धानां बोधहेतोर्विधीयते ।

प्रायः प्राकृत उक्तीनां किञ्चिदग्न्यायसंग्रहः ॥

“After bowing to the Arhat, I proceed to make, for the instruction of beginners, a collection of some of the rules of grammar, mostly in the Prākṛit (i. e. using for the greater part the Prākṛit language in the treatment of my subject).” The author uses the word प्रायः (mostly), because in the latter part of the text he has occasionally treated the whole subject in Sanskrit and not in Prākṛit. प्राकृत उक्तीनां is प्राकृते + उक्तीनां (संग्रहः), and hence it cannot mean “a collection of Prākṛit Uktis.” प्राकृते is connected with क्रियते and not with उक्तीनाम्. Even if the locative form is allowed, by a strain, to represent the genitive sense, it would conflict with the word प्रायः, which will not then give a satisfactory meaning. The author must, therefore, be taken, even from this passage, to propose a collection of rules of Sanskrit Grammar, treated through the medium of Prākṛit.

The facts that the work gives letters like क्, &c., peculiar to Sanskrit only, the dual number, Sanskrit case-terminations, Sanskrit *Pratipadikas*, the rules of *Sandhi* and *Samāsa* peculiar to Sanskrit, and *Ātmanépada* forms, clearly indicates that the book treats of Sanskrit Grammar and not of Prākṛit Grammar. It is very easy, but not safe, to explain all these facts away by calling them “Sanskritisms.” But it involves on the face of it a circumlocutory and inverted way of arguing. It has never struck Mr. Dhruva as peculiar, that so large a fund of peculiarities of Sanskrit Grammar should have crept into a Gujarāṭi Grammar with propriety, and without jarring on the sense of proportion. The author, probably holding that the title of *Vyākaraṇa* can be claimed only by an exhaustive work treated in Sanskrit, gave his work a far more modest name.

Mr. Dhruva may possibly have been misled by the facts that the whole treatment in the large portion of the work is carried on in Prākṛit, that the Sanskrit terminations are first preceded by the mention of Prākṛit terminations, and that Sanskrit instances are preceded by the citation



of instances in Prākṛit. But the whole tenor of the treatment shews that the Prākṛit terminations and instances are intended only to afford facility of understanding by the citation of things familiar for the teaching of things unfamiliar.

To cite an instance or two:—At page 4, col. 2 — (*kṛidantas*) we find the following:—  
करी लेई देई इत्यादि बोझिबई एक उक्तिनाहि पुष्टिली  
क्रिया आगलि ईकार मिहां कहीई तिहां सवा प्रत्यय स्वा  
इसिउ आवइ । — “in using such words as करी  
(doing), लेई (taking) देई (giving), where in one  
sentence ई appears at the end of the first verb,  
the termination सवा, i. e. 'वा, should be applied.”  
What does this shew? The author, in order to  
shew where and how a Sanskrit termination is to  
be applied, shews it by appealing in a practical way  
to an instance in the familiar Prākṛit, and points  
out the corresponding place of the termination.  
Thus the Prākṛit terminations, &c., being only  
a means to an end, sink into a secondary place,  
and prominence is clearly given to the Sanskrit  
terminations and forms. Yet Mr. Dhruva prints  
the ई in large type and puts सवा and स्वा in  
small type. But we are consoled by the thought  
that the mere printing of big or small type will  
not affect the inherent tenor of the text.

The author goes on:—अव्यय सवानइ कर्मि  
द्वितीया । शिष्य शास्त्र पढी अर्थ पूछइ । पूछइ इसी क्रिया  
। कउण पूछइ शिष्य । उ पूछइ स कर्ता तिहां प्रथमा ।  
किं पूछइ अर्थ जे पूछइ तं कर्म तिहां द्वितीया । किं करी  
पूछइ पढी तिहां सवा प्रत्यय । किं पढी शास्त्र तिहां  
सवानइ कर्मि द्वितीया । शिष्यः शास्त्रं पठित्वा अर्थं  
पृच्छति । — “The indeclinable सवा takes (governs)  
द्वितीया in the कर्म sense. [Then a Prākṛit sentence  
is given by way of instance]. शिष्य शास्त्र पढी अर्थ  
पूछइ,— ‘the pupil, after reading the Śāstra, asks  
its sense.’ पूछइ is the क्रिया. Who asks? शिष्य.  
He who asks is the कर्ता. There put the nomi-  
native (termination). What does he ask?;  
अर्थ. What he asks is the कर्म. There put the  
accusative (termination). After doing what, does  
he ask? After reading (the शास्त्र). There put the  
accusative termination in the कर्म sense. (Thus  
you have) शिष्यः शास्त्रं पठित्वा अर्थं पृच्छति.” This  
process indicates the steps through which the  
treatment passes. A Prākṛit sentence is given  
for a basis to start with, then each word is  
examined in its relation, and the terminations  
are shewn, which are to be put on according to the  
rules, till at length the final structure is built up  
in the resulting Sanskrit sentence. This is the  
synthetic manner, in which the author teaches up to  
the final instances.

This exposition of the mode of the author's  
treatment should shew clearly that he is simply  
teaching Sanskrit Grammar through his vernacu-  
lar. The same method of treatment has been  
observed by the author almost throughout this  
work. And in some places (as in the case of the  
तुम् termination, at p. 5) only Sanskrit instances  
are given. What does this shew? If the work  
were a Prākṛit Grammar, what need was there  
to give Sanskrit instances at all, along with the  
Prākṛit instances? And certainly, Prākṛit in-  
stances could not be properly altogether omitted  
(as they are occasionally), and only Sanskrit  
instances given, if this was a Prākṛit Grammar.  
The author has thrown Prākṛit into the back-  
ground to such an extent that, as the work proceeds,  
the treatment in Prākṛit is abandoned in a great  
measure, as in the *Samdā* chapter, and finally  
altogether, as in the *Kārikās* on *Kāraka*. Could  
this ever be a feature of a Prākṛit Grammar?  
After the beginner has gradually acquired familiar-  
ity with Sanskrit by the Prākṛit treatment in  
the first portion of the book, the author pre-  
sumes the learner to be able to give up Prākṛit  
and understand the treatment in Sanskrit itself.  
This is undoubtably the explanation of the change  
in the language of treatment. In fact the  
author has put the qualifying word प्रायः in his  
very opening verse.

I think I may, after all this explanation, hope that  
it will be regarded as clear that this work is a Sans-  
krit Grammar taught through the vernacular;  
and that it will be hardly necessary to point out  
that the Prākṛit and Sanskrit equivalent words at  
pages 16, 17 are but a vocabulary teaching Sanskrit  
words, and that the *Kārikās* at pages 17-20, the  
*Gaṇas* and *Anubandhas* of roots at page 20, the  
*Padas* of roots at page 21, and such other  
features, go entirely against the hasty theory of  
Mr. Dhruva, and support my contention about  
the nature of the work.

The only part of the work which would lend  
plausible support to Mr. Dhruva's theory is the  
chapter on उक्ति (Voices) at pages 6, 7. पाथरी  
(Straight, Direct) and बांकुडी (Crooked, Indirect)  
Voices are names unknown to Sanskrit Grammar.  
The author also refrains from giving the corre-  
sponding Sanskrit names for the several Voices,  
कर्ता कर्म भावि. कर्मकर्ता उक्ति is quite a  
novel division. And immediately after that, the  
author gives some forms peculiar to Prākṛit.  
These facts might for a moment lead one to sup-  
pose this work to be a Prākṛit treatise, and not  
one on Sanskrit Grammar. But against this  
single short chapter are to be put all the other  
parts of the book which, as shewn above, clearly



indicate the work to be a Sanskrit Grammar. The probable explanation of this chapter may be that the author took the liberty of allotting a separate chapter to the Voices, which is not done in Sanskrit Grammars, and, therefore, he did not give Sanskrit names at all for the divisions of the *Uktis*; and, having for once spoken in this manner, he incidentally, by way of a note as it were, gave some peculiarities of the Prākṛit language. This view is strengthened by the fact that in giving these peculiarities the author expressly uses the words प्राकृतवार्ता, "in the Prākṛit language," which he would not have done were this not an exceptional case in a work which, for the rest, is a Sanskrit Grammar. Further support is to be found in the fact that the author states in this very chapter that in the कर्तरि उक्ति verbs take the *Parasmaipada* terminations ordinarily (प्राहि, i. e. प्रावः), from which it is to be implied that *Ātmanēpada* roots will take *Ātmanēpada* terminations; and also in the fact that the author states that in the कर्मणि and भावे *Uktis* the verbs take *Ātmanēpada* terminations, — a feature confined to Sanskrit, for in Prākṛit there is no such thing as *Ātmanēpada*, verbs taking *Parasmaipada* terminations even in the कर्मणि and भावे forms. This is a very strong point, and we must conclude that this chapter, although giving the original divisions and names of the *Uktis*, has after all for its main subject-matter the rules of Sanskrit Grammar and nothing else, and is, therefore, in general harmony with the other portions of the work.

I have now surveyed the whole scope of the book, and shewn how and where Mr. Dhruva has allowed himself to run into error. It is clear this has been the result of, among other causes, an undue haste, which is unaccountable and surprising. Mr. Dhruva has not had the patience to wait till he could secure more than one Manuscript for his work. The collation of Manuscripts is out of question in that case. Mr. Dhruva himself speaks of another copy in the Jain Bhāṇḍār at Ahmedābād, which he did not succeed in securing. But he can have had only his own impatience to thank for this. What hurry was there? What reason was there for him to rush this work through the Press before he returned from the International Congress of Orientalists, to which he had proceeded as a delegate of H. H. the Gaikwar? Could he not have waited till he had returned and had had time enough amidst "the arduous and multifarious work of an

office" he "now occupies" to examine the work with care, diligence, and patience? He could then have secured several Manuscripts and have collated them; — a course the propriety of which ought to have suggested itself, for, although he speaks at one place of the Manuscript he secured as "correct throughout with rare exceptions," he himself at another place<sup>4</sup> complains of the mislections in which some parts of the work abound.

It is to be hoped that, when Mr. Dhruva brings out the second edition of the work which he has promised at the end of his Preface, he will exercise greater care, eliminate all errors, minor and fundamental, give up his untenable theory, and present the work in a creditable form. Till then, his publication can hardly succeed in commanding any perceptible circulation or patronage.

NARSINGRAO BH. DIVATIA.

Bijāpur District, 10th May 1891.

P.S. — I subjoin a few additional points for consideration by Mr. Dhruva when he takes the second edition in hand:—

(1) At page 5, col. 1, l. 2, the word उत्तर seems to be misplaced for पूर्व. The Gujarāt Vernacular Society Manuscript also has उत्तर. But it conflicts with the sense. Hence the difficulty. For तुम् is applied in a sentence to the preceding, and not to the succeeding verb. कुम्भकारः घटं घटयितुं वृत्तिकां आनयति; in this instance, given by the author, घटयितुं is a verb precedent to आनयति. Mr. Dhruva will see the necessity here of collating several Manuscripts.

(2) Page 12, col. 1. Among the instances of बह्व्रीहिसमास the author gives आरुहो वानरो यः स आरुहवानरो वृक्षः This is a curious and evidently ungrammatical instance of dissolving a Bahuvrīhi. यत्र for यः would have been correct. But the author seems to give instances of बह्व्रीहि in all the inflections, even including the nominative (which is surely ungrammatical). This requires careful consideration.

(3) In the chapter on वक्तिभेद (Voices), कर्मकर्ता उक्ति is a puzzling and peculiar division. अयं घंयः सुखेन पठ्यते; here, merely because the object, घंयः, is in the nominative case and the subject (कर्ता, the doer of पठ्) is not intended to be expressed, how does the nature of the कर्मणि form disappear? This requires more light.

N. BH. D.

<sup>2</sup> See Preface, p. vi. col. 2, para. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote at page 20. — Mr. Dhruva should know, or, will perhaps recognise now, that a single

Manuscript cannot be safely rushed through the Press, even if he could rightly call a single Manuscript "MS.", as he too often amusingly does.



## THREE FURTHER PATTĀVALIS OF THE DIGAMBARAS.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

SOME months ago (see *ante*, Vol. XX. page 341 ff.) I published two pattāvalis of the Digambaras, which were kindly made over to me by Mr. Cecil Bendall for publication. I now publish three more pattāvalis of the same Jain section, which I owe to the kindness of Pandit Hari Dās Shāstrī, who has now been for several years in Jaipur as Director of Public Instruction in that Principality. The originals of these three pattāvalis I have been obliged to return to their owners. My account of them is prepared from copies which I got made for me. For reasons of convenience I shall designate them by the letters C, D, E; while the two pattāvalis published previously I shall refer to as A and B, and Peterson's pattāvāl as P.

The main interest of these new pattāvalis is that they seem clearly to show that there exist two distinct traditions as to the exact course of pontifical succession, differing not inconsiderably from one another. It is true that the pattāvāl E is so slovenly written as to raise one's suspicions as to its trustworthiness. Thus, in the introduction (see below), among the Ten-Pūrvins, Prōsthila is omitted; but that this is a mere clerical error is shown by the total number 9, at the end of the 3rd paragraph. Again in the Vāmsavālī proper (see below) three names are omitted between Yasāḥkirtti and Guṇanandin; *viz.*, No. 9 Yasōnandin, No. 10 Dēvanandin, No. 11 Jayanandin. Here, too, the fact of its being a mere clerical error is shown by the remark<sup>1</sup> after the entry of Sāntikirtti (No. 21 of the MS., but really No. 25), that till then there had been 26 pontiffs, thus clearly counting the omitted numbers. But these and other similar marks of error are not sufficient to account for the remarkable difference of pontifical succession, disclosed in the introductory portion of E as compared with A and C.

The first point of difference is, that while both traditions agree in making the length of the introductory period to be 683 years (after Vira), they entirely disagree as to the sub-divisions of that period and the number and identity of the persons composing them. There is no disagreement with respect to the two first sub-divisions; both give the same 3 Kēvalins for 62 years and the same 5 Śrutakēvalins for 100 years. But while A and E enumerate 11 Ten-Pūrvins for 183 years, E allows only 9 Ten-Pūrvins, also for 183 years. The names are the same, but E closes the Śrutakēvalins with the ninth on the list of A and C, Buddhilinga, whom it calls Bahudhūli; and it transfers the tenth and eleventh of the list of A and C, to the next sub-division of Eleven-Angins. In the latter sub-division A and C enumerate 5 members with a total of 123 years, while E has in it 6 members with a total of 220 years. The list of names also differs greatly. Further A and C have a sub-division of 4 Minor-Angins for 97 years, and another of 5 One-Angins for 118 years; but E allows no Minor-Angins at all, and has only one sub-division of 6 One-Angins for 118 years. The list of names again differs entirely: in fact, the Minor-Angins of A and C are identical with the One-Angins of E, with the addition of one new name, quite unknown to A and C. On the other hand, all the names of the One-Angins of A and C are unknown to E. The subjoined table will best exhibit these differences.

Tradition in A and C.			Tradition in E.	
62 years, 3 Kēvalins	{	1 Gôtama	1	{ 3 Kēvalins for 62 years.
		2 Sudharman	2	
		3 Jambū	3	
100 years, 5 Śrutakēvalins.	{	1 Vishṇunandin	1	{ 5 Śrutakēvalins, 100 years.
		2 Nandimitra	2	
		3 Aparājita	3	
		4 Gōvardhana	4	
		5 Bhadrabhāhu I.	5	

<sup>1</sup> There is here another piece of slovenliness. The remark is misplaced; it should really come after No. 26 (or No. 22 of the MS.) Mērukirtti.



Tradition in A and C				Tradition in E.	
183 years, 11 Ten-Pûrvins	{	1	Viśākha	1	9 Ten-Pûrvins, 183 years.
		2	Prôsthîla	2	
		3	Kshatriya	3	
		4	Jayasêna	4	
		5	Nâgasêna	5	
		6	Siddhârtha	6	
		7	Dhritisêna	7	
		8	Vijayasêna	8	
123 years	{	9 Baddhifinga = Bahudhûli		9	6 Eleven-Angins, 220 years.
		10 Dêva = Gaṅgâdêva		1	
		11	Dharmasêna	2	
		1	Nakshatra	3	
		2	Jayapâla	4	
		3	Pâṇḍava	5	
		4	Dhruvasêna	6	
		5	Kaṁsa	1	
		1	Subhadra	2	
		2	Yasôbhadra	3	
97 years	{	3	Bhadrabâhu II.	4	6 One-Angins, 118 years.
		4	Lôhachârya	5	
		Vinayadhara		6	
		1	Arhadbalin		
118 years, 5 One-Angins	{	2	Mâghanandin		
		3	Dharasêna		
		4	Pushpadanta		
		5	Bhûtavali		

683 years.

Total 683 years.

The new name is Vinayadhara, the last of the One-Angins according to E, which makes the initial period of 683 years to close with him. A and C know him not; on the other hand, E knows nothing of the five last names of the list of A and C.

But there is still another point of difference. Both traditions agree in making the pattâvali proper commence with a Bhadrabâhu. Who is this Bhadrabâhu? From the dates assigned to him by A and C it is quite clear that, for them, he is identical with Bhadrabâhu II., who is mentioned as one of the Minor-Angins (or as one of the One-Angins in E) in the introduction and as having ascended the pontifical chair in 492 (or 490) A. V. and 4 Sâmvat. In E, however, he is said to have ascended the chair exactly 100 years later, *i. e.*, in 104 Sâmvat. Three distinct names, *viz.*, Sri-Dattasêna, Sivadatta and Aradatta, are interposed between him and Vinayadhara, the last of the One-Angins, and he is expressly enumerated as the 30th from Mahāvira (counting the latter as the first of the series), while Bhadrabâhu, the One-Angin, is placed as the 25th. Undoubtedly their numbers are wrong; the MS. is very carelessly written: they should be the 27th and 33rd respectively; but anyhow they must occupy different places. It is clear, therefore, that in E there are three Bhadrabâhus, and that in it Bhadrabâhu III. is the beginner of the pattâvali proper. I may here add, that the difference of 100 years is carried on in pattâvali E down to its No. 7, Yasahkirtti. With its No. 8, Guṇananda, that difference has disappeared. But between its Nos. 7 and 8, three names are wanting, which (as I have already



pointed out) should really be in it, for they are counted later on among the 26 pontiffs, who resided in Málwā (see No. 25, or its own No. 21). Now it is a pity that these three names should be missing; for they would show how that difference of 100 years was recovered. One cannot help suspecting, that there must have been some design in the omission; the object may have been to evade the difficulty of making up the difference.

I believe the difference, in this particular point, between the two traditions may be accounted for. It will be noticed, that if the beginner of the *paṭṭāvali* proper of the *Sārasvatī Gachchha* is, as A and C will have it, Bhadrabāhu II., that *Gachchha* is only a branch of the main-line that began with Mahāvira. The main-line runs on for, at least, 6 further members, through Lohāchārya, Ahivalli, Māghanandin, Dharasēna, Pushpadanta to Bhūtavali, with whom it appears (according to the representation of A and C) to have become extinct. Now it is quite possible to identify Ahivalli with Arhadbalin or Guptigupta of No. 2 of the *paṭṭāvali*, and Māghanandin with Māghanandin of No. 3 of the *paṭṭāvali*; and we may assume that Bhadrabāhu II. was first succeeded by his disciple Lohāchārya, and afterwards by his other disciple Ahivalli. Guptigupta (Arhadbalin), who in his turn was succeeded by Māghanandin. But this supposition does not remove the difficulty; for Māghanandin, the One-Angin, was succeeded by Dharasēna in the main-line; while Māghanandin, No. 3 of the *paṭṭāvali*, was succeeded by Jinachandra in the *paṭṭāvali*. The difficulty still remains, that the *Sārasvatī Gachchha*, after all, is only a side-branch of the main-line, which became extinct with Bhūtavali. This difficulty, it seems to me, cannot help having been felt as derogatory to the dignity and claims of the Digambaras; and the object of the tradition, represented in E, appears to have been to meet the difficulty. By that tradition the main-line is carried on from Bhadrabāhu II., through Lohāchārya, Vinayadhara, Śrīdatta, Sivadatta and Aradatta (the last four taking the place of the five One-Angins of A and C) to Bhadrabāhu III., who then founds the *Sārasvatī Gachchha*. The latter is thus shown to be the direct continuation of the main-line.<sup>2</sup>

And yet, in all probability, the tradition preserved in A and C is the genuine one, that the *Sārasvatī Gachchha*, as well as the three other *Gachchhas* of the Digambaras, are merely side-branches of the main-line. There is a curious short notice in *paṭṭāvali* E, which quite undesignedly supports this view. After noticing Bhadrabāhu, the founder of the *Gachchha*, E adds that "from him the *Svêtāmbaras* separated and initiated a *paṭṭāvali* of their own." This shows, at all events, that according to E, the Digambaras and *Svêtāmbaras* separated from the time of Bhadrabāhu. Now, if it appeared that the Digambaras were not the main-line but a branch, the presumption would naturally be that it was they who were the schismatics or heretics. Hence the necessity to show that they were the main-line, and therefore that the *Svêtāmbaras* were a branch and schismatics. Hence the fiction of a Bhadrabāhu III. But if the tradition of A and C is the genuine one, and the *Sārasvatī Gachchha*, *i. e.*, the Digambaras, was founded by Bhadrabāhu II., and if, as tradition E says, the *Svêtāmbaras* separated in his time, it follows that the *Svêtāmbaras* were the main-line, while the Digambaras were the branch or seceders. It follows further that that famous separation took place between 490 and 513 A. V. (or 61 and 38 B. C., adjusted, see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 360), the period of Bhadrabāhu's pontificate.

And this leads on to another point. All *paṭṭāvalis* agree in representing Māghanandin as the actual founder of the *Sārasvatī Gachchha*, whence it is also called the *Amnāya*, or Line of Nandin. At the same time they also all agree in making the *paṭṭāvali* proper of the *Gachchha* to begin with Bhadrabāhu, two steps before Māghanandin. This, it appears to me, can have but one meaning: before Bhadrabāhu the Jain community was undivided; with him the Digambaras separated from the *Svêtāmbaras*, but remained united themselves; with Māghanandin the Digambaras themselves separated into four divisions, the most important

<sup>2</sup> I may here note, that Guptigupta, the successor of Bhadrabāhu III and No. 2 of the *paṭṭāvali*, is not really omitted in E, for he is counted among the 26 pontiffs, who resided in Málwā. His omission, in his proper place, is only another of the many errors of the MS.



of which would seem to have been that named after Māghanandin. This view is distinctly borne out by that curious notice in E, that the Svētāmbaras separated from the time of Bhadrabāhu. It is also indirectly borne out by the notice of paṭṭāvalī C (in §16, see below), that "the Sitapāṣa or white-robed Sangha arose from the Mūlasangha." For whether the Mūlasangha be taken to mean the undivided Jains or only the undivided Digambaras, in any case the notice refers the origin of the Svētāmbaras to a time prior to the Digambara division under Māghanandin.

Now, it is well-known that the Digambaras place the great separation of themselves and the Svētāmbaras in Saṃ. 136 (or A. D. 79).<sup>3</sup> This tradition of theirs is not borne out by their own paṭṭāvalis, as represented in A, B, C, D. For they place Bhadrabāhu in Saṃ. 4 (or B. C. 53), and even Māghanandin is placed in Saṃ. 36 (or B. C. 21).<sup>4</sup> Therefore one of two things: either the tradition about the separation in Saṃ. 136 is false, or the separation took place long after Māghanandin. In the latter case, the Svētāmbaras separated not from the Mūlasangha (or the undivided Digambaras), but only from one of its subdivisional Gachchhas. This latter case is negatived, as already pointed out, by the statements of the paṭṭāvalis themselves. It follows that the paṭṭāvalis, such as A, B, C, D, contradict the tradition of the great separation in Saṃ. 136. Now, it seems to me, that the object of paṭṭāvalī E is to harmonise the two traditions: that the great separation took place under Bhadrabāhu, or at least under Māghanandin, and that it took place in Saṃ. 136. It was apparently thought that this could be done most easily by simply adding one hundred years to Māghanandin's usual traditional date. According to A, B, C, D he succeeded in Saṃ. 36; paṭṭāvalī E turns the year into Saṃ. 136. It is a clumsy expedient; for, in the first place, it necessitated other changes and even interpolations to account for the additional century: hence the fiction of a Bhadrabāhu III. In the second place, it was only a half-measure; for it placed the great separation under Māghanandin, whereas the paṭṭāvalis really required it to be placed under Bhadrabāhu II. But to have altered the latter's date from Saṃ. 4 to Saṃ. 136 would seem to have been considered too violent a measure.

We have undoubtedly here two contradictory traditions of the Digambaras disclosed to us; that of their paṭṭāvalis places the great separation considerably earlier than Saṃ. 136, in the time of Bhadrabāhu. The question is who this Bhadrabāhu was. The Svētāmbaras paṭṭāvalis know only one Bhadrabāhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the Svētāmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabāhu I. of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, the probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabāhu I, who died 162 A. V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A. V. according to the Svētāmbaras. The final and definite schism may then have occurred later in Saṃ. 136 or, according to the Svētāmbaras, Saṃ. 139.

Further, there is another divergence of tradition disclosed in the five paṭṭāvalis, now published. This refers not to the succession so much as to the residences or migrations of the pontiffs, and, therefore, of the Digambara sect. On this point, the paṭṭāvalis A, B, D altogether agree; paṭṭāvalī E also agrees in the main; but paṭṭāvalī C presents a considerably different tradition. This may be seen at a glance from the subjoined table. One point of general agreement comes out clearly and is noteworthy, namely, the general direction of the Digambara migration. It was from the South to the North, from Bhadrapur to Dilli and Jaipur. This agrees with the opinion that the Digambara separation originally took place as a result of the migration southwards under Bhadrabāhu in consequence of a severe famine in Bihār, the original home of the undivided Jaina community.<sup>5</sup> I have not been a

<sup>3</sup> The Svētāmbaras place it three years later, in 82 A. D. See my edition of the *Uṇṣagadāsō* (Bibliotheca Indica) Vol. II. p. IX.

<sup>4</sup> Or with the adjustment of 8 years (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 360), 61 B. C. and 44 B. C. respectively.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction to my edition of the *Uṇṣagadāsō* (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II. p. viii.



to identify Bhaddalpur. It is variously spelt. E spells it with the cerebral *d* (भाडलपुर), but the others with the dental *d*, either single (भदलपुर) or double (भदलपुरी). C places it in Southern India (Dakhiṇa), but the others in Central India (Mālava).

Table of Pontifical Residences.

Period.	Paṭṭāvalis A, B, D.	Paṭṭāvali E.	Paṭṭāvali C.
I	Bhaddalpur (in Mālava) 26 pont., Nos. 1-26	Bhāḍalpur (in Mālava) 26 pont., No. 1-26	Bhaddalpurī (in Dakhiṇa) 26 pont.; No. 1-26
II	Ujjain 25 pont., Nos. 27-51	II and III. Vārā (Vadōdā) 37 pont., Nos. 27-63	Ujjainī 18 p., Nos. 27-44 Chandēri 4 p., Nos. 45-48 Bhēl 3 p., Nos. 49-51 Kuṇḍalpur 1 pont., Nos. 52
III	Vārā (or Vārō) 12 pont., Nos. 52-63		Vārā. 12 pont., Nos. 53-64
IV	Gvālēr 14 pont., Nos. 64-77	Gvālēr 15 pont., Nos. 64-78	IVa Chītōr 10 pont., Nos. 65-74 IVb Vāghēr 4 pont., Nos. 75-78.
V	Ajmēr 6 pont., Nos. 78-83	Ajmēr 5 pont., Nos. 79-83	Ajmēr <sup>e</sup> 5 pont., Nos. 79-83
VI	Dillī 3 pont., Nos. 84-86		Vāgvar (in Gujarāt) 3 pont., Nos. 84-86
VII	Chītōr, No. 87	Chītōr, No. 89	
VIII	(D) Smērskir (?), No. 90.		
IX	(D) Chāṭasū, No. 91	Sāgānēr No. 91	
X	a (D) Sāgānēr, No. 92 b (D) Avēr 3 pont., Nos. 93-95	Avairi 4 pont., Nos. 92-95	
XI	(D) Dillī, No. 96	Dillī, No. 96	
XII	(D) Jaipur 4 pont., Nos. 97-100	Jaipur 4 pont., Nos. 97-100	

<sup>e</sup> MS. C reads 6 pont., but gives only 5 names.



There is still a third point of interest in the three new paṭṭāvalis, now published. They shew that the Digambara tradition of the pontifical succession exists in two different recensions. The two recensions differ, in the main, in a certain number of names and dates. From this point of view the whole of the paṭṭāvalis, hitherto published, distribute themselves thus: A, B, D represent one recension (I) and C, E, P represent the other (II). The following two tables exhibit the differences:—

1. Table of Differences in Names.

Serial Number.	I. Recension A, B, D.	II. Recension C, E, P.
11	Pūjyapāda.....	Jayanandin.
19	Harinandin .....	Simhanandin (E, P). Nayanandin (C).
22	Ratnakīrtti .....	Ratnanandin.
23	Mānikanandin (also E) ...	Mānikyanandin (C, P).
30	Śrichandra (also C).....	Śilachandra (E, P).
31	Nandikīrtti .....	Śrinandin.
35	Virachandra .....	Vidyānandin.
46	Guṇanandin .....	Guṇakīrtti.
53	Vṛishabhanandin .....	Brahmanandin.
54	Śivanandin .....	Dēvanandin (C, E).
55	Vasuchandra .....	Viśvachandra (C, P). Siyachandra (? E).
56	Sishanandin (B, D)..... Saṅghanandin (A) .....	Harinandin.
62	Jñānakīrtti .....	Jñānanandin (C, P). Guṇāyanandin (? E).
66	Sundarakīrtti .....	Chārunandin.
67	Nēmichandra .....	Nēminandin.
72	Varaddhachandra .....	Vardhamāna.
80	Śāntikīrtti.....	Viśālakīrtti.

As the full particulars of the dates are given only in the paṭṭāvalis A, D and E, the second table will stand thus:—

2. Table of Differences in Dates.

Serial Number.	I. Recension A, D.	II. Recension C.
5	pontificate 51-10-10, total 95-10-15	pontificate 41-10-10, total 85-10-15
20	" 6- 2-22, " 46- 3- 1	" 6- 7-22, " 46- 8- 1
25	intercalary 20, " 32- 1-15	intercalary 25, " 32- 1-20
26	pontificate 44- 3-16, " 63- 3-29	pontificate 44- 3-13, " 63- 3-26
27	monkhood 12- 0- 0, " 35-11-20	monkhood 22- 0- 0, " 45- 0- 0
28	intercalary 15, " 42- 4-15	intercalary 31, " 42- 5- 1
33	" 5, " 43-10- 0	" 10, " 43-10- 5
35	" 8, " 70- 0-12	" 4, " 70- 0- 8
41	householder 8- 0- 0, " 26- 9-20	householder 9- 0- 0, " 27- 9-20
42	intercalary 8, " 49- 1-16	intercalary 9, " 49- 1-17
43	pontificate 16- 6- 0, " 41- 5- 6	pontificate 16- 0- 0, " 40-11- 5



Serial Number.	I. Recension A, D.				II. Recension C.			
45	householder	11- 0- 0,	Total	50- 4-14	householder	21- 0- 0,	Total	60- 4-14
50	monkhood	25- 0- 0,	"	58- 0- 0	monkhood	15- 0- 0,	"	48- 0- 0
53	pontificate	3- 4- 1,	"	47- 4- 5	pontificate	2- 4- 1,	"	46- 4- 5
54	householder	39- 0- 0, etc.	"	55- 7- 1	householder	7- 0- 0,	"	23- 6-24
55	monkhood	40- 0- 0,	"	51- 8- 1	monkhood	24- 0- 0,	"	35- 8- 1
59	pontificate	5- 5- 5, etc.	"	57- 5- 9	pontificate	5- 4-29, etc.	"	49- 5- 9
60	householder	10- 0- 0,	"	53- 2- 1	householder	14- 0- 0,	"	57- 2- 1
61	pontificate	4- 1-16, etc.	"	50- 6-21	pontificate	4- 1- 0, etc.	"	34- 8- 7
64	monkhood	37- 0- 0,	"	47- 3- 1	monkhood	27- 0- 0,	"	37- 3- 1
67	intercalary	9,	"	35- 9- 8	intercalary	7,	"	35- 9- 6
70	monkhood	25- 0- 0,	"	38- 4- 1	monkhood	22- 0- 0,	"	35- 4- 1
72	pontificate	2-11-28,	"	26- 0- 1	pontificate	2-11- 8,	"	25-11-21
75	intercalary	6,	"	45- 6-21	intercalary	5,	"	45- 6-20
76	householder	13- 0- 0,	"	47- 3- 9	householder	12- 0- 0,	"	46- 3- 9
78	monkhood	20- 0- 0,	"	33- 5- 0	monkhood	2- 0- 0,	"	15- 5- 0
79	pontificate	2-13-19,	"	28- 3-23	pontificate	2- 3-16,	"	28- 3-20
85	monkhood	24- 0- 0,	"	96- 3-15	monkhood	14- 0- 0,	"	86- 3-15

To the above tables I may add that both P and E insert an additional name between Nos. 47 and 48; viz., Vāsavachandra (E) or Vāsavēndu (P). In this point C agrees with the other recension (of A, B, D), which omits that name. Further E omits No. 79 Prakshāntikīrtti (or as B, D have it Prakshātakīrtti), so that its total number of pontiffs is the same as that in the other lists. This pontiff is also omitted in P, for the "prakhyātakīrtti" of the latter is not a name, but a title of No. 78, Vasantakīrtti. In this point, too, C agrees with A, B, D. Though I suspect that E, P are correct, as against A, B, C, D, I am unable to account for the divergence. There is a similar discrepancy between the paṭṭāvalī C and all others (see below) with respect to the successor of No. 85, Subhachandra.

One further point I may note. Paṭṭāvalī A is the only one which gives what I have called the Nāgôr section. All others, B, D, E, P, give the Chitôr section. The two sections separated after No. 87. Paṭṭāvalī C only goes down to No. 85 (or rather No. 86), and stops short just before the schism. From the remark in paṭṭāvalī D (see below), referring to this schism, it would seem that the two sections took up their residences in Gwāler and Nāgôr respectively. But paṭṭāvalī E mentions No. 89, Lalitakīrtti, as still resident in Chitôr, and with this the passage on the schism in paṭṭāvalī A agrees. See the passages which are quoted below. This matter of the schism still requires further clearing up.<sup>7</sup>

I now proceed to describe the three paṭṭāvalis separately.

#### PATṬĀVALĪ C.

This paṭṭāvalī is drawn up on the plan of paṭṭāvalī A, i.e. it begins with an introduction detailing the antecedent history of the Gachchha, after which it gives the list of pontiffs, with all the dates of each life in addition to the year of accession. A peculiar feature are the concluding remarks after the introduction (see below §§ 16-19) as well as after the paṭṭāvalī proper (§§ 23-26), which give some curious information regarding the three other orthodox Sanghas, viz., the Dēva, Simha and Sēna, as well as regarding some (apparently five) heretical or

<sup>7</sup> In his Jainamata Vriksha, or Genealogical Table of the Jains, Muni Ātmārāmji makes the following remark: 'In Sam. 1572 Rūpa Chand Sōrānā, of his own accord, put on the monk's garb and originated the Nāgōri Lumpaka sect.' This appears to refer to the above-mentioned schism, though the name of the founder differs.



schismatic Sanghas, viz., the Sitapaṭṭa or Svetāmbara, the Kāshṭha, the Drāviḍa, the Yāpūḷya or Yapaniṇa, and the Kēkīpichchha or Nihpichchha. Paragraphs 16 and 17 appear to me a little confused; it is not clear whether the same or different sects are spoken of; the names are so similar, that the former seems the more probable view.

Another peculiarity of paṭṭāvali C are the numerous extracts it quotes in support of its statements. Some of them are identical with those quoted also in paṭṭāvali A, and these, it now appears, are quoted from the *Vikrama Prabandha*, a work which I see is mentioned in the Deccan College collection, No. 172.\* The other extracts are taken from the Nītisāra, a work ascribed to Indranandin, a copy of which (No. 371) also exists in the Deccan College collection (see its *Catalogue*, p. 145). To judge from the name of its author, he should be a member of the Sārasvatī Gachchha, to which the surname Nandin is peculiar; but it does not occur, at least, among the names of the pontiffs.

In the Gāthās, giving the dates of Vikrama's life (see below § 15), there again occurs the puzzling word *rasapaṇa*. In my previous paper (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 360) I have suggested that it should be read *paṇarasa*, 'fifteen.' From the comment on the gāthā in paṭṭāvali C, however, it is clear that the reading *rasapaṇa* is, at least, so far genuine that it already existed for the writer of the paṭṭāvali. For he interprets it as meaning "fifty-six." He, evidently, must have taken it as a compound of the two nouns *rasa* and *paṇa*. The former, *rasa*, is the well-known symbolical expression for 6, while the latter would seem to be a name for 5, though I am not aware of the fact. According to the usual rule of interpreting such symbolic names inversely, the word *rasapaṇa* would mean 56. It is also to be noted that in paṭṭāvali C the line, in which *rasapaṇa* occurs, reads *rajjan kuṇanti* "he reigned," instead of the *jajjan kuṇanti* "he performed sacrifices" of paṭṭāvali A. If the periods are taken to be consecutive — as one would naturally do —, the verses, as interpreted in paṭṭāvali C, would give king Vikrama a life of 118 years (i. e., 6 + 16 + 56 + 40)! But possibly 56 years are understood to be the total period of his reign, during the latter portion of which, comprising 40 years, Vikrama was a Jain. If so, there would be a curious coincidence in the fact, that the suggested reading *paṇarasa* 'fifteen' would give him a reign of 55 years (i. e., 15 + 40). The line in question would then have to be translated: "for 56 years he carried on his rule being at first attached to heretical doctrines." Here, however, the most significant words "at first" would have to be supplied, not being expressed in any way by the verse itself.

I may also note, that instead of the terms *viraha* or *antara*, paṭṭāvali C occasionally uses the synonymous term *antarālā*; see, e. g., No. 62.

The list of pontiffs in this paṭṭāvali closes with Subhachandra, who reigned up to Sam. 150, or A.D. 1440, some time before the separation into the Chītōr and Nāgōr lines took place. In the concluding remarks of the paṭṭāvali (see § 23) it is stated that Subhachandra was followed by Sakalakirtti, and from the form of the remark it would seem that he must have been the reigning pontiff, at the time the paṭṭāvali was written. This would give it a date somewhere about 1450 A. D., and would make it the oldest at present known; the next oldest being the paṭṭāvali P, the date of which must be about 1650 A.D., as it comes down to the pontiff Narēndrakirtti (of the Chītōr line, see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 355). There is a difficulty, however, in the names. Instead of Sakalakirtti, all the other paṭṭāvalis (A, B, D, E) give either Jinachandra or Prabhāchandra as the successor of Subhachandra. Moreover paṭṭāvali C gives Vāgvar in Gujarāt as the residence of Sakalakirtti as well as of Padmanandin and Subhachandra, while the other paṭṭāvalis (A, B, D, E) give Dillī as the residence of the two last mentioned pontiffs, as well as of Subhachandra's successor (see the list above). I am unable to clear up this difficulty; but it may be noted that there are in paṭṭāvali C itself indications that a pontiff may have borne two quite distinct names. In the same § 23, there is mentioned a pontiff Narēn-

\* *Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College*, by Prof. Bhandarkar, p. 50, (Bombay 1888).



drakirtti, who, from the connection in which his name appears, must have been the immediate successor of Jñānakirtti, Māghachandra and Sūrachandra (i. e., Nos. 60, 61, 62). Accordingly he must be No. 63, who in the nominal list of C, no less than in all others, is known as Gaṅgākirtti. Similarly, we have in § 23 a Kanakakirtti and a Prōshhīlakirtti, who would clearly seem to be identical with Nos. 65 Hēmakirtti and No. 79 Prakshāntikirtti. There is, however, another difficulty in the account given in § 23, which I am unable to solve. That account of the pontifical succession does not agree with the paṭṭāvali which precedes it. The four pontiffs Sūrachandra, Māghachandra, Jñānakirtti, and Narēndrakirtti are made to follow Vasantakirtti, whereas in the paṭṭāvali they preceded him by a long interval. Again in § 23 Vasantakirtti is made to be the 9th after Kanakakirtti, whereas in the paṭṭāvali (if Kanaka is the same as Hēma, No. 65) he is the 13th after him. The table of residences, however, should be compared.

The introductory and concluding portions I again give *in extenso*, but the paṭṭāvali proper, as before, in abstract tabular form. The bracketed remarks in the last column of the tables are again my own.

### TEXT.

#### Introduction of Paṭṭāvali C.

(1) ओं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ अवार पञ्चमा काल विधौ श्रीमहावीर स्वामी के मुक्ति हुए पीछे वा की हीनता काल-सोप ते भई है ॥ जा ते या के पार गिणती के आचार्य भए है, सो अनुक्रम से प्रसङ्ग करि किञ्चित् वर्णन करिये है।

(2) अन्त के तीर्थङ्कर महावीर स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति भए पीछे बासति ६२ वर्ष तोई केवलज्ञान रखा, सो कहिये है ॥ जब श्रीवर्द्धमान स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति भई, तिस पीछे श्रीगौतम गणधर कूँ केवलज्ञान उपज्या। सो बारह वर्ष १२ पर्यन्त रखा ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे सुधर्म स्वामी कूँ केवलज्ञान उपज्या। सो भी बारह वर्ष तोई केवल रखा ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे जम्बू स्वामी कूँ केवलज्ञान उत्पन्न भया। सो वर्ष ३८ अडतीस तोई रखा ॥ ऐसे बासति वर्ष तोई केवल-ज्ञानी तीन पञ्चम काल विधौ प्रवर्त्या ॥

(3) वहरि ता के पीछे ग्यारह अङ्ग चउदह पूर्व के धारक अनुक्रम से पाँच श्रुतज्ञान के पाठी श्रुतकेवली हवा ॥ ता मै प्रथम विष्णुकुमार वर्ष १४ चउदह। वहरि नन्दिमित्र वर्ष १६ सोलह। वहरि अपराजित वर्ष २१। वहरि गोवर्द्धन वर्ष १९ उगर्णास। वहरि भद्रबाह वर्ष २९ गुणतीस ॥ ऐसे १०० एक सौ वर्ष पर्यन्त या का काल अनुक्रम ते रखा ॥ इहाँ तोई श्रीमहावीर स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति गये एक सौ बासति १६२ वर्ष जानना ॥

(4) वहरि ता के पीछे ग्यारह अङ्ग दश पूर्व के धारक ग्यारह मुनि भया। ता को काल वर्ष १८३ एक सौ तिरासी को अनुक्रम ते है। ता मै विद्याखाचार्य वर्ष दश १०, प्रोष्ठिलाचार्य वर्ष १५ पन्द्रह, नक्षत्राचार्य वर्ष १७ सतरह, नागसेनाचार्य वर्ष १८ अठारह, जयसेनाचार्य वर्ष इकवीस २१, सिद्धार्थाचार्य वर्ष १७ सप्तदश, धृतिसेनाचार्य वर्ष १८, विजयाचार्य वर्ष तेरह १३, बुद्धिलिङ्गाचार्य वर्ष २०, देवाचार्य वर्ष १४ चउदह, धर्मसेनाचार्य वर्ष सोलह १६ ॥ ऐसे या का १ एक सौ तिरासी वर्ष का अनुक्रम ते काल का वर्त्तमान है ॥ इहाँ तोई श्रीमहावीर कूँ मुक्ति गये वर्ष ३४५ तीन सौ पैंतालीस भए जानना ॥

(5) वहरि ता के पीछे ग्यारह अङ्ग के पाठी पाँच मुनि भए ॥ ता मै नक्षत्राचार्य ती श्रीमहावीर ते तीन सौ पैंतालीस वर्ष पीछे हवा, वर्ष १८ अठारह तोई रखा ॥ वहरि महावीर ते तीन सौ तरेसति वर्ष पीछे जयपाल नाम आचार्य भया। तिन का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष बीस २० का है ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे तथा श्रीमहावीर नाथ ते तीन सौ तिरासी वर्ष ३८३ पीछे पाण्डवाचार्य भया। ता का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष गुणतालीस ३९ का रखा ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे तथा श्रीवर्द्धमान तीर्थङ्कर ते ४२२ च्यार सौ बाईस वर्ष पीछे भुवसेनाचार्य हवा। ता का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष चउदह का है ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे श्रीसन्मति पीछे ४३६ च्यार सौ छतीस वर्ष गये कंसाचार्य भए। ता का वर्त्तमान वर्ष वर्त्नीस ३२ का है ॥ ऐसे पाँच आचार्यनि का अनुक्रम से वर्ष एक सौ तेईस १२३ जानना ॥ ए सर्व केवल एकादशाङ्गुधारी है ॥

(6) वहरि श्रीमहावीर स्वामी पीछे च्यार सौ अडसति ४६८ वर्ष गये सुभद्राचार्य भए। ता का वर्त्तमान काल के वर्ष छह ६ ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे तथा श्रीमहावीर स्वामी पीछे च्यार सौ चहौत्तर ४०४ वर्ष गये यशोभद्राचार्य भए। ता का वर्त्तमान काल के वर्ष १८ अठारह है ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे तथा श्रीवीर नाथ कूँ मुक्ति हवा पीछे ४९२ च्यार सौ बाणवै वर्ष गये दूसरा भद्रबाह नाम आचार्य भए। या का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष २३ तेईस का है ॥ वहरि ता के



पीछे तथा श्री स्वामी पीछे ५१५ पाँच से पन्द्रह वर्ष गये लोहाचार्य भये । ता का वर्त्तमान काल पचास वर्ष का है ॥  
ऐसे च्याऊँ ही आचार्य का वर्ष सत्र्यानवै ९७ का है ॥ यह च्याऊँ ही आचार्य अनुक्रम से एक एक अङ्ग के घाटि  
पाठी हुये है । इस-नव-आठ-सातमो अङ्ग के पाठी तोई हुये ॥

( 7 ) बहुरि ता के पीछे एक अङ्ग के पाठी पाँच मुनिवर होते भए ॥ ता का विस्तार ॥ श्रीवर्द्धमान स्वामी कुं  
मुक्ति हुये पीछे पाँच से पैसठि ५६५ वर्ष गये अहंहुलि आचार्य भए । ता का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष २८ अष्टाविंशति का  
है ॥ बहुरि ता के पीछे तथा श्री जिनेश्वर पीछे पाँच से तिराणवै ५९३ वर्ष गए माघनन्दि आचार्य भये । ता का वर्त्तमान  
वर्ष २१ इक्कीस का है ॥ बहुरि ता के पीछे तथा श्रीसनमति नाथ पीछे छह से चौदह ६१४ वर्ष गये धरसेनाचार्य  
भये । ता का वर्त्तमान काल गुनीस वर्ष का है ॥ बहुरि ता के पीछे तथा श्रीवीर भगवान कुं निर्वाण भये पीछे छह से  
तेतीस ६३३ वर्ष मुक्त पुष्पदन्ताचार्य भये । ता का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष ३० तीस का भया ॥ बहुरि ता के पीछे तथा श्री-  
महावीर पीछे छह से तिरैसठि ६६३ गये भुतवल्याचार्य भये । ता का वर्त्तमान काल २० बीस वर्ष का भया ॥ ऐसे  
अनुक्रम ते भये ॥ बहुरि श्रीमहावीर स्वामी कुं मुक्ति गये पीछे छह से तीयासी ६८३ वर्ष ताई पूर्व अङ्ग की परिपाठी  
चली । फिर अनुक्रम करि घटती रही ॥ और पूर्वोक्त अहंहुल्याचार्यादि पाँच आचार्य का वर्त्तमान काल एक सो  
अठारह ११८ वर्ष का है ॥ इहाँ ताई एकाङ्ग के धारी मुनि भये है ॥

( 8 ) बहुरि ता के पीछे श्रुतज्ञानी मुनि भये । अङ्ग के पाठी नाँही भए । ऐसे आचार्यनि की परिपाठी है ॥

( 9 ) तबुक्त गाथा ॥

अन्तिमजिणणिच्वाणे केवलणाणी य गोयम मुणिन्दो ।

वारह वासे गये सुधम्म सामी य संजावो ॥ १ ॥

तह वारह वासे<sup>९</sup> य पुणु संजावो जम्बुसामि मुणिराओ ।

अडतीस वास पडिओ केवलणाणी य उक्किओ ॥ २ ॥

वासठि केवलवासे<sup>१०</sup> तिण्ह मुणि गोयम सुधम्म जम्बू य ।

वारह वारह वच्छर तिय जुगहीणं च चालीसं ॥ ३ ॥

सुयकेवलि पञ्च जणा वासठि वासे गये सुसंजावा ।

पडमं चउवह वासं विण्हकुवारं मुणैयव्वं ॥ ४ ॥

नैदिमिन्न वास सोलह तय<sup>११</sup> अपराजिय परं इ वावीसं ।

इगहीणवीस वासं गोवच्छण भइवाह गुणतीसं ॥ ५ ॥

सइ<sup>१२</sup> सुय केवलणाणी पञ्च जणा विण्ह नन्दिमिन्नो य ।

अवराजिय गोवच्छण [य<sup>१३</sup>] भइवाहू य संजावा ॥ ६ ॥

<sup>१४</sup>अन्तिमजिणणिच्वाणे तयसय<sup>१५</sup> पण्चाल वास जावे सु ।

एकावहङ्गधारिय पण्ण जणा मुणिवरा जावा ॥ ७ ॥

णक्खत्तो जयपालग पण्डव<sup>१६</sup> धुवसेण कंस आयरिया ।

अहार बीस वासं गुण्चाल य चोद वत्तीसं ॥ ८ ॥

सइ तेवीस<sup>१७</sup> य वासे एयावह अङ्गधारिणो जावा ।

वासं सत्ताणवदि<sup>१८</sup> य इसङ्ग-नव-अठथरा जावा ॥ ९ ॥

शोक प्राकृत ॥

सुभइं च जसोभइं भइवाहं कमेण य ।

लोहाचज्जं मुणीसं च कहियं च जिणागमे ॥ १० ॥

छह अहारह वासे तेवीस वावण वरस मुणिणाहा ।

वह-नव-अहङ्गधरा वास दुसइ बीस मज्झसु ॥ ११ ॥

<sup>९</sup> Read *esā matri caṇṇā*.

<sup>१०</sup> MS. <sup>९</sup>वासो ।

<sup>११</sup> For तयसय । <sup>१२</sup> MS. सुद । <sup>१३</sup> Not in MS., but some such addition is required by the metre. <sup>१४</sup> Here three verses are omitted in the MS. <sup>१५</sup> MS. तह सय पण्णठे, which fits neither sense nor metre. <sup>१६</sup> MS. पांडव । <sup>१७</sup> MS. तीयासि = 83. <sup>१८</sup> MS. सत्ताणवदि ।



पञ्च सये पण्णवे अन्तिमजिणसमय जादे सु ।  
उप्पण्णा पञ्च जणा इयङ्गधारी मुण्येयव्वा ॥ १२ ॥  
अहवलिमाहणन्दि य धरसेण पुप्फयन्त भूदवली<sup>19</sup> ।  
अडवीसं इगवीसं उगणीसं तीस वीस पुण वासा ॥ १३ ॥  
इगसय अडार वासे इगङ्गधारी य मुणिवरा जादा ।  
छ सय तिरासि य वासे णिव्वाणा अङ्गल्लिज्जि कहिय जिणे ॥ १४ ॥

ऐसै चिक्रम प्रबन्ध विधे लिखा है ॥ यह पूर्वोक्त प्रकार श्रीमहावीर स्वामी तै लेय करि जिनमत विधे अनुक्रम से आचार्यनि की परिपाटी है ॥

(10) वहरि श्रीधीर स्वामी कू मुक्ति गये पीछे च्यार सै सत्तर ४७० वर्ष गये पीछे श्रीमन्महाराज विक्रम राजा का जन्म भया ॥ वहरि पूर्वोक्त सुभद्राचार्य तै<sup>20</sup> विक्रम राजा को जन्म है ॥ वहरि विक्रम के राजपद मै वर्ष चत्वारि ४ पीछे पूर्वोक्त दूसरा भद्रवाह कू आचार्य का पद हवा ॥ वहरि भद्रवाह का सिष्य गुप्ति नाम । ता के नाम तीन । गुप्तगुप्ति १ अहंइलि २ विशाखाचार्य ३ ॥ वहरि जा के च्यार ४ सिष्य । नन्दि नाम जाति के वृक्ष के अर्थनाम के विधे चालुनास का वर्षा योग धारणा ऐसा माधनन्दि आचार्य जी तै नन्दिस्सङ्ग स्थापित कीया ॥ १ ॥ वहरि जा तै तृणतल विधे वर्षा योग स्थापित कीया, सो जिनसेन नाम सेनसङ्ग स्थापित कीया ॥ २ ॥ वहरि सिंह की गुप्ता विधे वर्षा योग धारणा, जा तै सिंहसङ्ग स्थाप्या ॥ ३ ॥ वहरि जा तै देवदत्ता नामा वेद्या के गृह के विधे वर्षा योग धारणा, सो देवसङ्ग भया । ऐसै जिनमत मै पाँचमाँ काल विधे आचार्यनि के च्यार सङ्ग भए ॥

(11) वहरि पूर्वोक्त नन्दिस्सङ्ग के विधे नन्दिस्सङ्ग १, पारिजात गच्छ एक १, बलात्कारगण<sup>21</sup>, च्यार मुनि के नाम कहिये नन्दि १ चन्द्र २ कीर्त्ति ३ भूषण ४, ऐसै स्थापित भये ॥ तथा श्रीमूलसङ्ग १ मन्थाम्नाय १ सरस्वती गच्छ १ बलात्कारगण १, ऐसै च्यार ४ । वहरि पूर्वोक्त नन्दि १ चन्द्र २ कीर्त्ति ३ भूषण ४, ऐसै च्यार मुनि के नाम स्थापे ॥

(12) तदुक्तं श्रीइन्द्रनन्दि सिद्धान्तो कृत नीतिसारे ॥ श्लोक ॥  
अहंइली गुरुश्रुते सङ्गसङ्गहनं परं ॥ १ ॥  
सिंहसङ्गो नन्दिस्सङ्गः सेनसङ्गो महाम्रमः ।  
देवसङ्ग इति स्पष्टः स्थानस्थितिविशेषतः ॥ २ ॥

(13) वहरि श्रीमहावीर स्वामी पीछे ४९२ च्यारि सै बाणवै वर्ष गये सुभद्राचार्य का वर्त्तमान वर्ष २४ चौईस, सो विक्रम जन्म तै बावीस वर्ष ॥ वहरि ता का राज्य तै वर्ष ४ च्यार दुसरा भद्रवाह हवा जानना ॥

(14) वहरि श्रीमहावीर तै च्यार सै सत्तर ४७० वर्ष पीछे विक्रम राजा भयो । ता के पीछे आठ वर्ष पर्यन्त बाला-क्रीडा करि । ता के पीछे सोलह वर्ष ताई देशान्तर विधे भ्रमण करि । ता के पीछे छप्पन २६ वर्ष ताई राज कीया नानाप्रकार मिथ्यात्व के उपदेश करि संयुक्त रखो ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे चालीस वर्ष ताई पूर्वमिथ्यात्व कू छोडि जिनवर धर्म कू पाल करि देवपदवी पाई ॥ ऐसै विक्रम राजा की उत्पत्ति आवि है ॥

(15) तदुक्तं विक्रमप्रबन्धे । गाथा ॥  
सत्तरि चतुस्रश्चुत्तो तिण काले विक्रमो हवइ जम्मो ।  
अठ वरस बाललीला सोडस वासे हि भम्मिण देसे ॥ १ ॥  
रसपण वासा रज्जं कुणन्ति मिच्छावदेससंजुत्तो ।  
चालीस वास जिणवरधम्मं पाले य सुरपयं लहियं ॥ २ ॥

(16) ऐसै श्रीमूलसङ्ग के विधे गण-गच्छ-सङ्ग-आदि नाना प्रकार की भई है ॥ तदुक्तं नीतिसारे काव्य<sup>22</sup> ॥  
पूर्व श्रीमूलसङ्गात्तदनु सितपटः काष्ठसङ्गस्ततो हि ।  
तत्राभूद्वाविराख्यः पुनरज्जनि ततो यापुली सङ्ग एकः ॥  
तस्मिन् श्रीमूलसङ्गे मुनिजनविमले सेन नन्दी च सङ्गी ।  
स्थातां सिंहाख्यसङ्गी ऽभवदुहमहिमा देवसङ्गश्चतुर्थः ॥ १ ॥

<sup>19</sup> MS. भूतवली ।

<sup>21</sup> MS. बलात्कारगुण ।

<sup>20</sup> Here the date is wanting in the MS.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.



वहिर ऐसे ही पूर्वश्रीमूलसङ्ग विषे प्रथम दूसरा स्वेतपद्मी गच्छ भया ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे काष्ठसङ्ग भया ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे द्राविड गच्छ भया ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे यापुलीय गच्छ भया ॥

(17) वहरि इत्यादिक गच्छ पीछे केतेक काल पीछे स्वेताम्बर भया ॥ वहरि यापनीय गच्छ, केकिपिच्छ, स्वेतवास, निःपिच्छ, द्राविड, यह पञ्च सङ्ग जैनाभास कहा है। जैन का सा चिह्नाभास हीसै है। सो या नै अपणी अपणी बुद्धि के अनुसार करि सिद्धान्तों का व्यभिचारवर्णन कहा है ॥ श्रीजिनेन्द्र का मार्ग कू व्यभिचाररूप कीया। ननुक्त नीतिसारे। श्लोक ॥

क्रियत्यपि ततोऽतीति काले स्वेताम्बरोऽभवत् ।

द्राविडो यापनीयश्च केकीसङ्गश्च मानतः ॥ १ ॥

केकीपिच्छः स्वेतवासो<sup>23</sup> द्राविडो यापुलीयकः ।

निःपिच्छश्चेति पञ्चैते जैनाभासाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्वमत्यनुसारेण सिद्धान्तव्यभिचारणं ।

विरचय्य जिनेन्द्रस्य मार्गं निर्देयन्ति ते ॥ ३ ॥

ऐसे जानना ॥

(18) इहाँ कोई पूछे। पूर्व नन्दि-चन्द्र-कीर्त्ति-भूषण-आदि, नन्दिसङ्ग वहरि सेनसङ्ग वहरि देवसङ्ग वहरि सिंहसङ्ग आदिक ल्या, सो इनके आचार्य जुदे जुदे भए? ता की मान्य कैसे है? या मै परस्पर भेदभावरूपी मान्य है, कि एक मान्य है? ॥ ता का उत्तर। पूर्वोक्त गणगच्छादिक भए है, सो पर के सुखदाता भए है। या के विषे कोई भी तहाँ भेद नहीं है। और प्रव्रज्यादि कर्म के विषे भी समानता है। और जो पूर्वोक्त श्रीमूलसङ्ग के विषे चतुःसङ्ग के भेद, आचार्येनि विषे जो भेदभाव करे है, सो सम्यक्दर्शन तै रहित है, मिथ्यादृष्टि है, वहरि सो संसार के माँहि चिरकाल संचरे है। जा तै यह चतुःसङ्ग के विषे प्रतिमा के भेद, वहरि प्रायश्चित्तादि कर्म का भेद, वहरि आचार का भेद, वहरि वाचनादि शास्त्रनि का भेद, कोई के भी परस्पर जुझ भेद नाँहि, सर्व एक ही है। या तै या मै जे भेदभाव राखे है, सो सम्यक्दर्शन तै रहित है, मिथ्यास्वी है, शीर्षसंसारी है ॥ वहरि पूर्वोक्त चतुःसङ्ग सहित प्रतिष्ठित जि. नप्रतिमा, ता मै और सन्देह नहीं करना ॥ या तै अन्य है, सो विपर्ययरूप है ॥ भावार्थ। चतुःसङ्ग करि प्रतिष्ठित जो जिनबिम्ब सो पूजनीक है। या तै अन्य कहिये स्वेताम्बरादिक कल्पित प्रतिमा है, सो विपर्ययरूप है ॥

(19) तनुक्त नीतिसारे ॥ श्लोक ॥

गणगच्छादयस्तेभ्यो जातास्ते परसौख्यदाः ।

न तत्र भेदः कोप्यस्ति प्रव्रज्यादिषु कर्मसु ॥ १ ॥

चतुःसङ्गे नरो यस्तु कुरुते भेदभावनां ।

स सम्यग्दर्शनातीतः संसारे संचरत्यरं ॥ २ ॥

न तत्र प्रतिमानेदो न प्रायश्चित्तकर्मणः ।

नाचारपाचनापद्यवाचनासु<sup>24</sup> विशेषतः ॥ ३ ॥

चतुःसङ्गेन महितं जिनबिम्बं प्रतिष्ठितं ।

ममेजापरसङ्गीयं यतो न्यासविपर्ययः ॥ ४ ॥

(20) ऐसे पूर्वोक्त प्रकार भद्रवाह भए। ता के पीछे और आचार्य अनुक्रम तै भए है, सो किञ्चित् मात्र भद्र-वाह तै ले कर याँ का वर्णन अनुक्रम तै लिखिये है ॥ विक्रम राजा कू राज्यपदस्थ के दिन तै संवत् केवल ४ के चैत्र शुक्ल १४ चतुर्विंशी दिने श्रीभद्रवाह आचार्य भये। ता की जाति ब्राह्मण। गृहस्थ वर्ष २४ चौबीस। वीक्षा वर्ष ३० तीस। पहवर्ष २२ बार्हस के उपरि मास १० इस दिन २७ सत्ताईस वहरि विरहदिन ३। तिन का सर्वांशुवर्ष छिहत्तर ७६। पुनर्मास ११ ग्यारह ॥

(21) वहरि ता के पीछे संवत् केवल छहवीस २६ का फाल्गुन शुक्ल १४ चतुर्विंशी दिन मै गुप्तगुप्ति नाम आचार्य जाति परवार भये। ता का गृहस्थ वर्ष २२ बार्हस का। वहरि वीक्षावर्ष १४ चौदह। पहस्थवर्ष १ नौ, मास ६ छह, दिन २५ पचीस, विरह दिन ५ पाँच। या की सर्वांशुवर्ष पैसठि ६५ मास ७ सात ६५७ का जानना ॥



Here follows the remainder of the pattāvalī, which I omit. The method of each entry is sufficiently shown by the two initial entries above quoted. But the substance of the whole I again give in a tabular form below. The final entry runs as follows:—

(22) वहरि ता के पीछे पिच्यासीनी पड़ संवत् १४५० चौदह सै पचास का माघ शुक्ल पक्षमी ५ नै शुभचन्द्र भया ना का गृहस्थकाल का वर्ष १६ सोलह, दीक्षावर्ष १४ चौदह, पदस्थवर्ष ५६ छप्पन मास ३ दिन ४ च्यार विरह दिन ११ ग्यारह सवांशुवर्ष ८६ छिंदासी मास ३ तीन दिन पन्द्रह १५ की भई ॥ इत्यादिक पदावली जाननी ॥

(23) ता के पीछे भद्रबाहु सौ लेर मेरुकीर्त्ति तौई पड़ छप्पीस पर्यन्त वक्षिणदेश विधे भलपुरी में भए ॥ २६ ॥ वहरि महीकीर्त्ति आदि लेर महीचन्द्रान्त तौई छप्पीस पड़ मालवा विधे । ता में अठारह १८ उज्जैनी में भये । चन्देरी के विधे ४ च्यार भए । भेल में ३ तीन भए । कुण्डलपुर एक भए १ ॥ यह सर्व छप्पीस २६ भए ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे वृषभनन्दि आदि सिंहकीर्त्ति अन्त तौई पड़ बारह १२ वारों विधे भए ॥ १२ ॥ वहरि ता के पीछे कनककीर्त्ति आदि वसन्तकीर्त्त्यन्त पड़ दश १० चीतोड के विधे भए ॥ १० ॥ वहरि सूरचन्द्र १, माघचन्द्र १, ज्ञानकीर्त्ति १, नरेन्द्रकीर्त्ति १, ये च्यार पड़ वधेरे भये । ४ ॥ वहरि प्रोष्ठिलकीर्त्ति आदि प्रभाचन्द्रान्त पड़ ६ छह अजमेर भये । ६ ॥ वहरि पद्मनन्दी आदि शुभचन्द्रान्त पड़ २ दोय गुजरातदेश विधे वाग्वर देश में भये ॥ वहरि सकलकीर्त्ति आदि वाग्वर देश में भए ॥ ऐसे श्रीगुलसङ्ग नन्द्यान्नाय सांस्वतीगच्छ बलात्कारगण की पदावली अनुक्रम सै जाननी ऐसे ॥

(24) और सेनसङ्ग १, सिंहसङ्ग १, देवसङ्ग की १ पदावली सुची है । सेनसङ्ग में जिनसेन आदि ऐसे ही सर्वत्र सुची सुची पदावली आचार्यनि की है । ता के विधे सेनसङ्ग में राज १, वीर २, भद्र ३, सेन ४, ऐसे च्यार नाम हैं ॥ वहरि सिंह १, कुम्भ २, आश्रव ३, सागर ४, ऐसे च्यार सङ्ग के नाम सिंहसङ्ग में हैं ॥ वहरि देव १, दत्त २, नाग ३, लङ्ग ४, ऐसे सिंहसङ्ग में और चौथा देवसङ्ग विधे च्यार नाम हैं ॥

(25) वहरि पूर्वोक्त सेनसङ्ग विधे सेनसङ्ग पुष्करगच्छ, सूरस्थगण जाननी ॥ वहरि सिंहसङ्ग चन्द्रकपाटगच्छ कानूरगण सिंहसङ्ग विधे है ॥ वहरि देवसङ्ग पुस्तकगच्छ देशीगण यह देवसङ्ग विधे है ॥

(26) तदुक्तं गाथा ॥

जन्मी चन्धो किन्ती भूषण नामा<sup>२७</sup>हि जन्मिसङ्गस्त ।

सेनो राजो<sup>२८</sup> वीरो भवो तह<sup>२९</sup> सेनसङ्गस्त ॥ १ ॥

सिंहो कुम्भो आसव सायर नामा हि सिंहसङ्गस्त ।

देवो दत्तो नागो लङ्गो तह देवसङ्गस्त ॥ २ ॥

इत्यादि दिगम्बरान्नाय विधे आचार्यनि की परिपाटी जाननी ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the Perfect ones! In the fifth period, after the death of the Lord Mahāvira, its decadence took place on account of the badness of the times. Of the several pontiffs who came after him, I am going to give a brief account in their proper order.

§ (2) After the death of the last Tirthankar, the Lord Mahāvira, for 62 years, there abode Kēvala-jñānins. These I now name. After the Lord Vardhamāna had died, the Gaṇadhara Gautama attained the knowledge of Kēvalin. He abode for 12 years. After him the Lord Sudharman attained a Kēvalin's knowledge. He, too, abode as a Kēvalin for 12 years. After him the Lord Jambū attained the knowledge of a Kēvalin. He abode for 38 years. Thus, for 62 years there lived three Kēvalins in the fifth period.

§ (3) After this, there came in succession five Srutakēvalins, men versed in sacred lore, who possessed a knowledge of the eleven Āngas and the fourteen Pūrvas. Among them first was Viṣṇukumāra (who abode) for 14 years; after him (came) Nandimitra for 16 years; next Aparājita for 22 years; next Gōvardhana for 19 years; next Bhadrabāhu I. for 29 years. Thus their total period extended to 100 years. Up to this point of time 162 years must be understood to have passed since the death of the Lord Mahāvira.



(4) After this, there came eleven Munis who possessed a knowledge of eleven Aṅgas and ten Pūrvas. Their total period extended to 183 years. Among them the Āchārya Viśākha (abode) for 10 years, Prōshthila for 15, Nakshatra for 17, Nāgasēna for 18, Jayasēna for 21, Siddhartha for 17, Dhṛitisēna for 18, Vijaya for 13, Buddhiliṅga for 20, Dēva for 14, Dharmasēna for 16. Thus the total period of these men extended to one hundred and eighty-three years. Up to this point of time 345 years must be understood to have passed from the death of Mahāvira.

(5) After this there came five Munis, who (only) possessed a knowledge of the eleven Aṅgas. Among them the Āchārya Nakshatra arose 345 years after Mahāvira, and abode for 18 years. Next, 363 years after Mahāvira the Āchārya, named Jayapāla, arose. His period comprised 20 years. After him, and 383 years after Mahāvira, the Āchārya Pāṇḍava arose, and his period took up 30 years. After him, and 422 years after Mahāvira, the Āchārya Dhruvasēna arose. His period was 14 years. After him, and 436 years after Mahāvira, the Āchārya Kaiṇsa arose. His period was 32 years. Thus the total period of these five Āchāryas extended to 123 years. All these only possessed a knowledge of the eleven Aṅgas.

(6) Again 468 years after the Lord Mahāvira there arose the Āchārya Subhadra. His period was 6 years. After him, and 474 years after the Lord Mahāvira, there arose the Āchārya Yaśōbhadrā. His period was 18 years. After him, and 492 years after the death of Viranātha, a second Āchārya named Bhadrabāhu (II.) arose. His period was 23 years. After him, and 525 years after Virasvāmin, came the Āchārya Lōha. His period was 50 years. Thus, the period of all these four Āchāryas was 97 years. Each of these four Āchāryas knew one Aṅga less than his predecessor; their knowledge extended as far as the tenth, ninth, eighth and seventh Aṅgas respectively.

(7) After this there came five Munis, who possessed a knowledge of one Aṅga (only). They are the following: 565 years after the death of the Lord Vardhamāna there arose the Āchārya Arhadbalin. His period was 28 years. After him, and 593 years after Vira, the chief of the Jinas, there arose the Āchārya Māghanandin. His period was 21 years. After him, and 614 years after Sanmatī Nātha, there arose the Āchārya Dharmasēna. His period was 19 years. After him, and 633 years after the blessed Vira, there came the Āchārya Pushpadanta. His period was 30 years. After him, and 663 years after Mahāvira, there came the Āchārya Bhūtavali. His period was 20 years. Thus they followed one another; and the traditional knowledge of the Aṅgas and Pūrvas went on till the year 683 after the death of the Lord Mahāvira, but it gradually decreased. The total period of the above named five Āchāryas, Arhadbalin and the others, extended to 118 years. Up to this point of time there lived Munis, who possessed the knowledge of (at least) one Aṅga.

(8) After this there were only Munis, who were Śrutajñānins, (i. e., who knew of the sacred lore only by hearsay). Of such as were actually able to recite an Aṅga, there was none. The above is the traditional enumeration of the Āchāryas.

(9) On this subject there are the following Gāthās :—

(See the translation, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 347ff. The gāthās are the same as those cited in paṭṭāvali A, except that the three verses describing the Third period of the Ten-Pūrvins are omitted in paṭṭāvali C, apparently by a mere oversight of the scribe.)

Thus it is written in the (work called) Vikrama Prabandha. This gives the traditional enumeration of the Āchāryas of the Jain religion, as they followed in regular order after the Lord Mahāvira.

(10) Now in the year 470 after the death of the Lord Vira the birth of King Vikrama took place. Now it took place [2 years]<sup>29</sup> after the above-named Subhadra Āchārya's (accession to the pontificate). Again the accession to the pontificate of the above-named Āchārya

<sup>29</sup> The bracketed clause is wanting in the original text, probably by a mere oversight of the scribe.



Bhadrabāhu II. took place 4 years after Vikrama's accession to the throne. Further Bhadrabāhu II. had a disciple named Gupti. The latter had three names, viz., 1, Guptagupti<sup>30</sup>, 2, Arhadbalin, 3, Viśākhāchārya. Further he had four disciples, viz., 1, one who used to keep his four-monthly rainy season's retreat in the (hollows) lower part of a tree of the Nandi species; this was the Āchārya Māghanandin, who founded the Nandi Saṅgha; 2, one who originated the practice of keeping the rainy season's retreat under bushes;<sup>31</sup> he was called Jinasēna, and founded the Sēna Saṅgha; 3, one who used to keep his rainy season's retreat in the hole of a lion, hence he founded the Simha Saṅgha; 4, one who used to keep his rainy season's retreat in the house of a courtesan named Dēvadattā; (he founded) the Dēva Saṅgha. Thus, there arose four Saṅghas of Āchāryas in the Jain religion during the fifth period.

(11) Further in the before-mentioned Nandi Saṅgha there were the following names in use (for the Saṅgha): 1, Nandi Saṅgha, 2, Pārijāta Gachchha, 3, Balātkāra Gaṇa; and the following four names for the Munis, viz., 1, Nandin, 2, Chandra, 3, Kirtti, 4, Bhūṣaṇa. Also the following four (names for the Saṅgha) were in use: 1, Śrī Mūla Saṅgha, 2, Nandi-Āmnāya, 3, Sārasvatī Gachchha, 4, Balātkāra Gaṇa; and the four already-mentioned names for Munis: 1, Nandin, 2, Chandra, 3, Kirtti, 4, Bhūṣaṇa.

(12) On this subject the following śloka occurs in the Nītisāra, a work of Indranandin:—

The Guru Arhadbalin effected the excellent combinations into Saṅghas: the Simha Saṅgha, the Nandi Saṅgha, the famous Sēna Saṅgha, and the Dēva Saṅgha, which are well known to be distinguished by the places of their establishment.<sup>32</sup>

(13) Further the year 492 after the Lord Mahāvira, which was the 24th year of Subhadra's pontificate, was also the 22nd year after the birth of Vikrama. Again in the fourth year of the latter's reign Bhadrabāhu succeeded to the pontificate.

(14) Now 470 years after Mahāvira King Vikrama was born. Afterwards he passed 8 years in child's play; next he spent 16 years in wandering over different countries; next he passed 56 years in ruling (his own country), being (at the same time) devoted to various sorts of heresy: finally having abandoned his earlier heresies and fostered the Jain religion for forty years, he obtained admission among the gods. Thus was the birth, etc., of King Vikrama.

(15) On this subject there are the following Gāthās in the Vikrama Prabandha:—

"It was the year 470 when the birth of Vikrama took place. For eight years he played as a child; for sixteen he roamed over the country; for fifty-six he exercised rule, being given over to false doctrine; for forty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then obtained heaven."

(16) Thus there arose in the Mūla Saṅgha Gaṇas, Gachchhas, Saṅghas, and such like (distinctions). On this subject there is the following verse in the Nītisāra:—

"First there arose from the Mūla Saṅgha the Sitapaṭa (or white-robed) Saṅgha, and then the Kāshṭha Saṅgha. Then there arose the so called Drāviḍa (Saṅgha), and then again a certain Yāpūli Saṅgha. In that Mūla Saṅgha, adorned by many Munis, there was the Sēna and the Nandi Saṅgha; also the Saṅgha of wide reputation, which was called after Simha; and as the fourth there was the Dēva Saṅgha."

Thus then in the original Mūla Saṅgha there arose first another Svēta Paṭṭi, or "white-robed," Gachchha, after that there came the Kāshṭha Saṅgha, after that the Drāviḍa Gachchha, and finally the Yāpūliya Gachchha.

(17) Further, some time after the above-mentioned Gachchhas the Svētāmbaras came into existence; also the Yāpanīya Gachchha, the Kēkipichchha, the Svētavāsa, the Nihpichchha, and the Drāviḍa. These five Saṅghas are called false Jains. They adopt marks in imitation

<sup>30</sup> Or rather, Guptigupta.

<sup>31</sup> Text: *triṇa-tala viśaś*, lit. 'at the foot of grasses.'

<sup>32</sup> Referring to the places probably, where the several retreats used to be kept in the rainy seasons.



of the Jains; but they, drawing on their own imagination, hold tenets in variance with the Siddhāntas (or Holy Scriptures), and follow practices contrary to those of the Jinendra (or founder of Jainism). On this subject, there are the following ślōkas in the Nītisāra:—

“Then after the lapse of some time there arose the Svētāmbara, the Drāviḍa, and the Yāpaniya (Saṅgha), as well as the Kēkī Saṅgha through arrogance. The Kēkīpichchha, the Svētavāsa, the Drāviḍa, the Yāpuliya, and the Nihīpichchha; these five are well-known as being false Jaina sects. Having in reliance on their imagination elaborated practices in variance with the Siddhāntas, they have caused divisions in the religion of the Jinendra.”

Thus it should be understood <sup>33</sup>

(18) Here the question may be asked: “It has been mentioned that there are (Āchāryas called) Nandin, Chandra, Kīrtti and Bhūṣaṇa, and that there are the four Saṅghas called Nandi, Sēna: Dēva and Simha, now do the Āchāryas of these Saṅghas differ among themselves? In what estimation should they be held? Are they to be considered as differing among themselves, or are they to be considered as one?” To this the following answer (is to be given):— “The Gaṇas, Gachchhas, etc., which, as above mentioned, have arisen, have been the channels of eternal happiness. Among them there exists no sort of difference; and in their mendicant and other practices they are alike. And as to the above-mentioned four Saṅghas into which the Mūla Saṅgha is divided, if any one make a difference between the Āchāryas, he is devoid of truth and is a heretic; moreover such people have for a long time been leading a worldly life. Therefore in these four Saṅghas there is no difference of images, nor any difference in penitential and other practices, nor any difference of rules, nor any difference in their teaching and in their scriptures; in no single point is there any difference between them; they are all alike. Hence those who maintain a difference, are devoid of the truth and are heretics and worldlings of old standing. And there is no reason to entertain any more doubts regarding such Jina images as are consecrated and adored in the four Saṅghas; all others that there are, are heretical.” In short: “any image that is consecrated by the four Saṅghas, should be worshipped; all others, such as the images made by the Svētāmbaras and others, are heretical.”

(19) On this subject, there are the following ślōkas in the Nītisāra:—

“The Gaṇas, Gachchhas and others that have arisen from them, are the grantors of eternal bliss. There is between them no difference whatever in their monastic and other practices. If any man imagine any difference in the four Saṅghas, he has travelled beyond the truth and is gone completely into the world. In them there is no difference of images nor of penitential observances; nor is there any distinction in their rules and readings. Any Jina image

<sup>33</sup> It may be useful for purposes of comparison, to add here the notice of the Digambaras, which Muni Ātmārāmji, the head of the Vijayagaga of the Svētāmbaras, gives in his *Jaina Mata Vriksha*, or Genealogical Table of the Jains:— “In 609 A. V., Śivabhūti Sahasramalla, the disciple of Krishna Sūri, originated the Digambara sect (*mata*). He had two disciples, Kāṇḍiṇya and Kaushlavra. After these two there came Dharaṣeṇa, Būtavali and Pushpadanta. These commenced, in 683 A. V., on the 5th day of the bright half-month, to compose three; *śāstras*, viz., 1, the *Dhavaḷa* comprising 70,000 ślōkas, 2, the *Jayadhavaḷa* comprising 60,000 ślōkas, and 3, the *Mahādhavaḷa* containing 40,000 ślōkas. These three *śāstras* exist to the present day in the Kāśātaka country; and borrowing from them Nēmichandra (No. 17 or 67?) composed the *Gomāṇḍāra* for the perusal of Rājā Chāṇḍya. No *śāstra* older than these three is to be found among the Digambaras. Afterwards the Digambaras became divided into four Śākhās, viz., 1, Nandi, 2, Sēna, 3, Dēva, 4, Simha. Later on there arose four Saṅghas, viz., 1, Mūlasaṅgha, 2, Kāshthā Saṅgha, 3, Māthura Saṅgha, 4, Goppa Saṅgha. Still later, there arose the following Panthās; viz., 1, the Vismāpanthi, 2, the Tērāpanthi, 3, the Gumānapanthi, and 4, the Tōtāpanthi, i. e., those who worship a book (*pustaka*) in the place of an image (*pratimā*). At first Śivabhūti originated the *Nugra-pantha* (or the ordinance of nakedness); next he taught that a woman could not be saved (*moksha*), and that a Kēvalin should not eat a morsel; finally he taught a mass (*lit.* eighty-four) of other things. In our days, the Tērāpanthi have put forth a mass (*bahut hi*) of heterogeneous things, which may be learned by comparing their old with their new books.” With regard to the origin of the Tērāpanthi he adds in another note to the *Vriksha*:— “In Sam. 1709 Lavaḷi, the adopted son of Phūlā Bāi, the daughter of the Bōrā Viraḷi of the Lumpaka sect (i. e., the Nāgōr section; see above, p. 63), together with Dharmadās, the cotton-printer, originated the *pantha* (or sect) of the mouth-covering *Dhupdhakas*. These divided into 22 sections, the second of which is the *Dhanaji* section: Dhana’s disciple (*chēlā*) was Bhūdhara; his disciple was Raghunāthaji; his disciple Bhishma originated the Tērāpanthi and propagated the sect of *Mukhabandhas* (or mouth-coverers).”



consecrated and adored by the four Saṅghas one should reverence, but not any of any other Saṅgha, because this only leads to heresy."

(20) Thus, in the manner above explained, Bhadrabāhu arose. After him came other Āchāryas in regular order. Of these I am going to write only a brief account in their proper order, commencing with Bhadrabāhu. It was not more than 4 years after the date of the accession to the throne of King Vikrama, on the 14th day of the light half of Chaitra, that Bhadrabāhu succeeded to the pontificate; by caste he was a Brāhman; as a householder he lived for 24 years, as an ordinary monk for 30 years; as pontiff for 22 years 10 months and 27 days; the intercalary days were 3; the total period of his life was 76 years and 11 months.

(21) After him, not more than 26 years (after Vikrama), on the 14th day of the light half of Phālguna, Guptigupta, a Parvār by caste, succeeded to the pontificate. He lived as a householder for 22 years, as an ordinary monk for 14, as pontiff for 9 years, 6 months and 25 days; the intercalary days were 5; the total period of his life was 65 years and 7 months.

(22) After this the 85th pontificate<sup>24</sup> began in the year 1450 after Vikrama, when, on the 5th day of the light half of Māgha, Subhachandra succeeded. He lived as a householder for 16 years, as an ordinary monk for 14 years, as pontiff for 56 years 3 months and 4 days; the intercalary days were 11; his total period was 86 years, 3 months and 15 days. This should be understood to be the paṭṭāvali (or list of the pontiffs).

(23) After this (it is to be added that) the 26 pontificates, commencing with Bhadrabāhu down to Mērukīrtti, took place in Bhaddalpurī in the Southern Country. Again the 26 pontificates, commencing with Mahīkīrtti down to Mahichandra, took place in Mālvā. Among the latter 18 took place in Ujjainī, 4 in Chandēri, 3 in Bhēl, and one in Kuṇḍalpur. These make up the 26 pontificates. After this, 12 pontificates, commencing with Vṛishabhanandin and ending with Simhākīrtti, took place in Vārā. After this 10 pontificates, commencing with Kanakākīrtti and ending with Vasantākīrtti, took place in Chītōr. After this, 4 pontificates, viz., of Sūrachandra, Māghachandra, Jñānakīrtti, and Narēndrakīrtti, took place in Vaghēr. After this, 6 pontificates, commencing with Prōshthilakīrtti and ending with Prabhāchandra, took place in Ajmēr. After this 2 pontificates, viz., those of Padmanandin and Subhachandra, took place in Vāgvar in Gujarāt. After this Sakalakīrtti succeeded to the pontificate in Vāgvar. This is the list of pontiffs in their proper order in the glorious Mūlasaṅgha, the Nandi Āmnāya, the Sārasvatī Gachchha, the Balātkāra Gaṇa.

(24) Further the paṭṭāvalis of the Sēnasaṅgha, Simhasaṅgha and Dēvasaṅgha are separate. In the Sēnasaṅgha there is a paṭṭāvali of Āchāryas in all respects different, commencing with Jinasēna. In that (paṭṭāvali) there are four names in use for the Sēnasaṅgha, viz., 1, Rāja, 2, Vira, 3, Bhadra, 4, Sēna. Again the four names, in use in the Simhasaṅgha, are 1, Simha, 2, Kumbha, 3, Āsava, 4, Sāgara. Again in the Dēvasaṅgha, the fourth after the Simhasaṅgha, there are the following 4 names in use, viz., 1, Dēva, 2, Datta, 3, Nāga, 4, Langa.

(25) Further it should be understood that the above-named Sēnasaṅgha is known by the (three) names Sēna Saṅgha, Pushkara Gachchha and Sūrastha Gaṇa. Similarly the Simhasaṅgha is known by the (three) names Simha Saṅgha, Chandra Kapāṭa Gachchha, and Kāpūra Gaṇa. Again the Dēvasaṅgha is known by the (three) names Dēva Saṅgha, Pustaka Gachchha, and Dēśī Gaṇa.

(26) On this subject there are the following gāthās:—

"Nandi, Chanda, Kittī, Bhūsaṇa, these are the names of the Nandisaṅgha. Sēna, Rāja, Vira, Bhadda, are those of the Sēnasaṅgha. Simha, Kumbha, Āsava, Sāgara are the names of the Simhasaṅgha. Dēva, Datta, Nāga, Langa are those of the Dēvasaṅgha."

This is a complete enumeration of the Āchāryas within the Digambara Community.

<sup>24</sup> The intermediate pontificates are given in the subjoined table.



Table of the Pontifical Succession in the Śārasvatī Gacchhā of the Digambaras; from MS. C.

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		Householder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Samvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
			B. C.														
1	Bhadrabāhu II ...	4	53	24	...	...	30	...	...	22	10	27	73	6	11	...	Brāhmaṇ by caste.
		C. S. 14															
2	Guptigupta .....	26	31	23	...	...	34	...	...	9	6	25	5	65	7	...	Parwār by caste. (So also C, but A has Pawār, B Pamār. MS. has Guptagupti).
		Ph. S. 14															
3	Māghanandin .....	36	21	20	...	...	44	...	...	4	4	26	4	68	5	...	
		A. S. 14															
4	Jinachandra .....	40	17	24	9	...	32	3	...	8	9	6	3	65	9	9	
		Ph. S. 14															
5	Kundakunda .....	49	8	11	...	...	33	...	...	41	10	16	5	85	10	15	Humvād by caste (MSS. A, D give him 51 years pontificate, and a total of 95). <sup>25</sup>
		P. V. 8															
			A. D.														
6	Uṃśvāmin .....	(101)	44	19	...	...	25	...	...	40	8	1	5	84	8	6	
		K. S. 8															
7	Lōhachārya .....	142	85	21	...	...	38	...	...	16	10	26	6	69	16	26	(So also MSS. B, C, but MSS. A, E have A. S. 14.)
		As. V. 14															
8	Yasakīrti .....	153	96	12	...	...	21	...	...	58 (8)	(21)	(5)	91	(9)	(15)		(MSS. A, D give the same inconsistent dates.)
		J. S. 10															
9	Yasōnandin .....	211	154	16	...	...	17	...	...	46	4	9	4	79	4	13	(So MSS. B, D, but MS. A has Ph. V. 11.)
		Ph. V. 10															
10	Dēvanandin .....	258	201	11	5	...	15	...	...	49	10	28	4	76	11	2	(MSS. A, B, D add Pōrwāl by caste.)
		As. S. 8															
11	Jayanandin .....	308	251	15	5	...	11	7	...	44	11	22	7	71	6	29	(MSS. A, B, D have Pōj-yapāda.)
		J. S. 10															
12	Gupanandin .....	333	296	14	...	...	13	5	...	11	8	1	4	38	8	5	(MS. has 338 Samvat.)
		J. S. 9															
13	Vajranandin .....	364	307	19	...	...	(73)	3	...	(40)	2	(30)	(9)	(78)	5	(20)	(MS. A gives correct dates.)
		Bh. S. 14															
14	Kumārānandin ...	386	329	16	...	...	10	2	...	40	2	20	9	66	4	23	
		Ph. V. 4															
15	Lōkachandra .....	427	360	18	...	...	16	...	...	26	3	16	10	60	3	25	
		J. V.															
16	Prabhāchandra ...	453	396	9	...	...	24	...	...	25	5	15	11	58	5	26	
		Bh. S. 14															
17	Nēmichandra .....	478	421	10	...	...	22	...	...	8	9	1	9	46	9	10	
		Ph. S. 10															
18	Bhāṇanandin .....	487	430	10	...	...	25	...	...	21	9	24	12	56	10	6	(MS. A gives a pontificate of 22, inconsistent with 508 Samvat.)
		P. V. 5															
19	Nayanānandin .....	508	451	9	...	...	15	...	...	16	7	15	14	40	7	29	(MSS. A, B, D have Harinandin; P. 10, Simhanandin.)
		M. S. 11															
20	Vasunandin .....	525	468	10	...	...	30	...	...	6	7	22	9	46	8	1	(MSS. A, D give different, though equally consistent months.)
		A. S. 10															
21	Virānandin .....	531	474	9	...	...	13	...	...	30	...	14	10	52	...	24	
		P. S. 11															
22	Ratnānandin .....	561	504	8	...	...	12	...	...	23	4	7	11	43	4	18	(MSS. A, B, D have Ratnakīrti; but (P. 10, Ratnānandin.)
		M. S. 5															

<sup>25</sup> MS. adds: "He had five names (*nāma*): Padmanandin, Vakraṅgīva, Grīdhraṇīchhā, Ellāchārya, Kundakundāchārya. The special reasons for having these names may be known from another book (*grantha*)."



Serial Number	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		Householder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.			Total.			REMARKS.
		Sahvat.	A. D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	
23	Māpikyanandin ...	585	528	10	...	...	19	...	...	16	9	10	15	45	5	25			(MSS. A, B, D Māpikyanandin.)
24	Māghachandra ...	As. V. 8 601 P. V. 3	544	24	(3)	17	7	(6)	13	25	(5)	2	15	56	10	17			(MS. A gives equally inconsistent dates.)
25	Śāntikīrtti I. ....	627 As. V. 5	590	7	...	...	10	...	...	13	...	23	23	32	1	20			(MSS. A, D agree in different though equally consistent days.)
26	Mērukīrtti .....	642 Ś. S. 5	585	8	...	...	11	...	...	44	3	13	13	63	3	26			(MSS. A, D give different though equally consistent days. D has S. V. 5.)
27	Mahikīrtti .....	636 Mr. S. 4	629	6	...	...	22	...	...	17	11	5	15	45	11	20			(MSS. A, D give different though equally consistent years; they also have Mahākīrtti.)
28	Vishvunandin .....	704 Mr. V. 9	647	7	...	...	14	...	...	21	4	...	31	42	5	1			(MSS. A, D give different, but equally consistent days.)
29	Śrībhūshana I. ....	726 C. S. 9	690	14	...	...	8	...	...	9	...	...	26	31	...	26			
30	Śrī Chandra .....	735 V. S. 5	678	6	...	...	12	...	...	14	8	4	31	32	4	5			
31	Śrinandin .....	749 Bh. S. 10	692	15	...	...	20	...	...	15	6	4	18	50	6	17			(MSS. A, B, D have Nandikīrtti, but P. 12, Śrinandin.)
32	Dēśabhūshana ...	765 C. V. 12	708	18	...	...	24	...	...	6	6	7	42	6	13				
33	Anantakīrtti .....	765 Ā. S. 10	708	11	...	...	13	...	...	19	9	25	10	48	10	5			(MSS. A, D give different, though equally consistent days.)
34	Dharmanandin ...	785 Ś. S. 15	728	13	...	...	18	...	...	22	9	25	5	53	10	...			
35	Vidyānandin .....	808 J. S. 15	751	13	...	...	25	...	...	32	...	4	4	70	...	8			(MSS. A, B, D have Virachandra, and A, D give different, though equally consistent days.)
36	Rāmachandra .....	840 As. V. 12	783	8	...	...	11	...	...	16	10	...	6	35	10	6			
37	Rānakīrtti .....	857 V. S. 3	796	14	...	...	16	...	...	21	4	26	11	51	5	7			
38	Abhayachandra ...	878 Ā. S. 10	821	18	...	...	10	...	...	17	...	27	4	45	1	1			
39	Narachandra .....	(897) K. S. 11	840	15	...	...	21	...	...	18	9	...	9	54	9	9			(This agrees partly with MS. B, partly with MS. A.)
40	Nāgachandra .....	916 Bh. V. 5	859	21	...	...	13	...	...	23	...	3	10	57	...	13			
41	Harinandin .....	939 Bh. S. 3	882	9	...	...	10	...	...	8	9	11	9	27	9	20			(MSS. A, B, D have Nayanandin, and different, but equally consistent years. A has Bh. S. 9. See No. 19.)
42	Harichandra .....	948 As. V. 8	891	8	4	...	14	8	...	26	1	8	9	49	1	17			(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent days.)
43	Mahichandra I. ...	974 Ś. S. 9	917	14	...	...	10	11	...	16	...	...	5	40	11	5			(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent months. MSS. B, D have Sath. 972 and so on.)
44	Māgachandra I. ...	990 M. S. 14	933	13	...	...	20	...	...	32	2	24	9	65	3	3			



Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		Householder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Samvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
45	Lakshminchandra...	1023 J. V. 2	986	21	...	...	25	...	...	14	4	3	11	60	4	14	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
46	Gupakirti .....	1037 A. V. 1	970	18	...	...	20	...	...	10	10	29	14	48	11	13	(MS. A, B, D have Gupanandin, but B, D add Gupakirti on margin.)
47	Gupachandra .....	1048 Bh. S. 14	991	10	...	...	22	...	...	17	8	7	10	49	8	17	
48	Lakachandra II...	1006 J. S. 1	1009	15	...	...	30	...	...	13	3	3	4	58	3	7	
49	Śrutakirti .....	1079 Bh. S. 8	1022	13	...	...	32	...	...	15	6	6	6	60	6	12	
50	Bhāvachandra .....	1004 C. V. 5	1037	12	...	...	15	...	...	20	11	25	5	48	...	...	(MS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
51	Maidachandra II...	1115 Ch. V. 5	1058	10	...	...	26	...	...	25	5	10	5	61	5	15	(MS. D has different, but equally consistent years. MSS. D, P have Mahachandra.)
52	Māghachandra II..	1140 Bh. S. 5	1083	14	...	...	13	...	...	4	3	17	7	31	3	24	
53	Brahmanandin ...	1144 P. V. 14	1087	7	...	...	37	...	...	2	4	1	4	46	4	5	(So P. 16, but MSS. A, B, D have Vrishabhnanandin. MSS. A, D have different, but more consistent years.)
54	Dēvanandin II.....	(1148) V. S. 4	1091	9	...	...	7	...	...	7	6	10	14	28	6	24	(MSS. A, B, D have Sivanandin, and A, D have different, though consistent dates.)
55	Viśvachandra .....	1155 Mr. S. 5	1098	11	...	...	24	...	...	7	28	3	35	8	1		(So P. 16, but MSS. A, B, D have Vasuchandra. MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
56	Harinandin .....	1156 Ś. S. 6	1099	7	...	...	32	...	...	4	...	24	5	43	...	29	(So also P. 17, but MS. A Sanghanandin, MSS. B, D Sishananda.)
57	Bhāvanandin .....	1160 Bh. S. 5	1103	11	...	...	30	...	...	7	2	...	3	48	2	3	
58	Dēvanandin II.....	1167 K. S. 8	1110	11	...	...	30	...	...	3	3	2	10	44	3	12	
59	Vidyachandra .....	1170 Ph. V. 5	1113	14	...	...	30	...	...	5	4	29	10	49	5	9	(MSS. A, D have entirely different, but equally consistent dates.)
60	Śārachandra .....	1176 Ś. S. 9	1119	14	...	...	35	...	...	8	1	29	2	57	2	1	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
61	Māghanandin II...	1184 Ā. S. 10	1127	14	6	2	16	1	...	4	1	...	5	34	8	7	(MSS. A, D have entirely different, but equally consistent dates.)
62	Jñānandin .....	1188 M. S. 1	1131	10	...	...	34	...	...	10	...	3	7	55	...	10	(So also P. 18, but MSS. A, B, D Jñanakirti. From here the term antardīn.)
63	Gaṅgākirti .....	1199 Mr. S. 11	1142	13	...	...	33	...	...	7	2	8	10	53	2	18	
64	Simhakirti .....	1206 Ph. V. 14	1149	8	...	...	27	...	...	2	2	15	16	37	3	1	(MSS. A, D have different but equally consistent years.)
65	Hemakirti .....	1209 J. V. 3	1152	13	...	...	24	...	...	7	3	27	6	44	4	3	
66	Chārunandin .....	1216 Ā. S. 3	1159	6	9	...	19	3	...	6	6	20	10	32	7	...	(So also P. 18, but MSS. A, B, D Sundarakirti.)



Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		Householder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.			Total.			REMARKS.
		Samvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	
67	Nēminandin II ...	1223 V. S. 3	1165	7	..	...	21	...	...	7	8	29	7	35	9	6			(So also P. 19; but MSS. A, B, D Nēmichandra, A, D have different, but equally consistent dates.)
68	Nābhikīrtti .....	1230 M. S. 11	1173	5	...	...	35	...	...	1	11	26	4	42	...	...			
69	Narēndrakīrti .....	1232 M. S. 11.	1175	14	...	...	13	...	...	9	...	18	12	36	1	...			
70	Śrīchandra II .....	1241 Ph. S. 11	1184	7	...	...	22	...	...	6	3	24	7	35	4	1			(MSS. A, D give different but equally consistent years.)
71	Padmakīrtti .....	1248 As. S. 12	1191	10	...	...	22	...	...	4	11	25	6	37	...	1			
72	Vardhamāna .....	1253 Ās. S. 13	1196	18	...	...	5	...	...	2	11	8	13	25	11	21			(So P. 19, but A, B, D Varadhachandra, A, D give different, but equally consistent dates.)
73	Akalāṅkachandra.	1256 As. S. 14	1199	14	...	...	33	...	...	1	3	24	7	48	4	1			
74	Lalitakīrtti .....	1257 K. S. 15	1200	13	...	...	24	...	...	4	...	...	5	41	...	5			
75	Kēśavachandra ..	1261 Mr. V. 5	1204	11	...	...	34	...	...	6	15	...	5	45	6	20			(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent days.)
76	Chārakīrtti .....	1262 J. S. 11	1205	12	...	...	32	...	...	2	3	2	7	46	3	9			(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
77	Abhayakīrtti .....	1264 Ā. V. 3	1207	11	2	...	30	5	...	4	11	...	7	41	11	18			(MSS. B, D have A.V.3.)
78	Vasantakīrtti .....	1264 M. S. 5	1207	12	...	...	2	...	...	1	4	22	8	15	5	...			(A, D have different, probably consistent dates.)
79	Prakṣāntikīrtti...	1266 As. S. 5	1209	11	...	...	15	...	...	2	8	16	4	28	3	20			(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent days. MSS. B, D have Prakṣāntakīrtti.)
80	Viśālakīrtti .....	1268 K. V. 8	1211	18	...	...	23	...	...	2	9	7	8	43	9	13			(A, B, D Śāntikīrtti.)
81	Dharmachandra...	1271 Ś. S. 15	1214	16	...	...	?	...	...	25	...	...	5	(41)	...	5			(A, D have different, and most consistent dates.)
82	Ratnakīrtti II.....	1296 Bh. V. 13	1239	19	...	...	25	...	...	14	4	10	6	58	4	16			
83	Prabhāchandra ...	1310 P. S. 14	1253	12	...	...	12	...	...	74	11	15	8	98	11	28			
84	Padmanandin .....	1385 P. S. 7	1328	10	7	...	23	5	...	65	...	18	10	99	...	28			
85	Śubhachandra .....	1450 M. S. 5	1393	15	...	...	14	...	...	56	3	4	11	86	3	15			(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years. He was succeeded by Sakalakīrtti, see § 29.)

## PATTĀVALI D.

This pattāvali is drawn on the plan of pattāvali B, with which it also agrees very closely in regard to names and dates; that is, it gives no introductory or concluding remarks, but consists only of the list of successions commencing with Bhadrabāhu II., interspersed with a few short notes. It differs, however, from B, in giving full details of every pontifical life, as is



done in A and C. The list is carried down in it to No. 100, Naipakirtti, who succeeded to the pontificate in A. D. 1822. As his successor followed in 1826 (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 353), it follows that **paṭṭāvali D** must have been written between 1822 and 1826.

I now subjoin the short interspersed notes, as well as those successions, in which D differs from other **paṭṭāvalis**. From No. 88, D alone gives full details of the lives.

After No. 51 Mahichandra II., there is the following note:—

एता पद मालवै भदिलापुर (in No. 26 भदलापुर) इवा । २६ इवा । पद २५ उजीण मे° इवा । महीचन्द्र ताई सर्व पद ५१ ॥

*i.e.*, "These pontificates took place in Bhadilāpur (or Bhadalāpur) in Mālavā; they were 26 in number; 25 pontificates took place in Ujīṇa (Ujjain); down to Mahichandra the total of pontificates was 51."

After No. 63 Gaṅgākirtti, there is the following note:—

ए पद वारा मे° इवा गङ्गाकीर्ति जी ताई । ग्वालैर अठा सँ लेर पद १४ इवा । अनेकीर्ति जी ताई पद ७७ ॥

*i.e.*, "These pontificates took place in Vārā, down to Gaṅgākirtti; beginning from here 14 pontificates took place in Gwālēr; down to Abhayakirtti there were (altogether) 77 pontificates."

After No. 83 Prabhāchandra II., there is the following note:—

संवत् १३७५ दिन सँ एक भटार्क प्रभाचन्द्र जी के आचार्य छी । सो गुजरात मे श्री भटार्क जी तो न छै अरु वे आचार्य ही छै । सो महाजन एक प्रतिष्ठा को उद्यम कीयो । सो वे तो न आय पहुँच्या । जदि आचार्य ने सुरिमन्त्र दिवाय भर भटार्क पदवी गुजरात की दीन्ही प्रतिष्ठा करिवा पाछे । तदा सँ गुजरात मे पद धारो ॥ आचार्य सँ भटार्क इवा । नाम पद्मनन्द जी सीयो ॥

*i.e.*, "In Samvat 1375 there was a certain Āchārya belonging to (the suite of) the Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhāchandra. Now the Bhaṭṭāraka himself was not in Gujārāt, but that Āchārya was there. Now a certain Mahājan (or banker) had resolved to perform a consecration. Now he (Prabhāchandra) could not arrive in time; so he (the banker) caused the Āchārya to receive the powers of a Sūri and conferred on him the Gujārāt title of Bhaṭṭāraka, after he had performed the consecration. Thenceforth his pontifical residence was in Gujārāt. The Bhaṭṭāraka title dates from that Āchārya. The name Padmananda was given to him."

In **paṭṭāvali B**, the corresponding note runs thus:—

प्रभाचन्द्र जी के आचार्य गुजरात मे° छी । सो वटे एकै आवक प्रतिष्ठा ने° प्रभाचन्द्र जी ने° बलायी । सो वे नाया । तदि आचार्य ने° सुरमन्त्र (read सुरि°) वे भटार्क करि प्रतिष्ठा कराई । तदि भटार्क पद्मनन्दि जी इवा । स्या पाषाण की सरस्वती मुदै बुलाई ॥

*i.e.*, "There was an Āchārya belonging to (the suite of) Prabhāchandra in Gujārāt. Now there (*i.e.*, in Gujārāt) a certain Srāvaka called Prabhāchandra to perform a consecration. Now he could not come. Then having given to the Āchārya the powers of a Sūri and having made him a Bhaṭṭāraka, he got the consecration performed. Then he became the Bhaṭṭāraka Padmanandin. He carved a stone figure of Sarasvatī and made it to speak." (See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 354, No. 83).

The last circumstance is thus referred to in **paṭṭāvali P**:—

पद्मनन्दी गुरुजातो बलात्कारगणपती ।  
पाषाणघटिता येन वाहिता श्रीसरस्वती ॥  
उज्जयन्तगिरौ गच्छः ( स्वछः ) सरस्वतो ऽभवत् ।  
अतस्तस्मै मुनीन्द्राय नमः श्रीपद्मनन्दिने ॥

*i.e.*, "The Gura Padmanandin then became the leader of the Balātkāra Gaṇa, — he who made the stone figure of the glorious Sarasvatī to speak. (Thus) on mount Ujjayanta the (pure) Gachchha came to be (called) the Sārāsvata. Hence let us give honour to him, the great Muni Padmanandin."

From this notice it would seem that the miracle of the speaking figure of Sarasvatī took



place on the mount Ujjayanta, and that it was the cause of the Gachchha being called the 'Sârasvatî Gachchha.'

After No. 87, Prabhâchandra, there is the following note:—

एकै वार गच्छ २ नीकल्य, ग्वालैर को नागोर को, संवत् १५७२ का ॥

i.e., "Once the Gachchha separated into two, that of Gvâlêr, and that of Nâgôr, in the year 1572." Or it might also mean "Once from the Gachchha (at Chitôr) two (branches) came out, that of Gvâlêr and that of Nâgôr." But the former version is more probable, to judge from the wording of the corresponding passage in A, which is as follows:—

एक बार गच्छ का शेष हुआ, चितोड़ अर नागौर को, सं० १५७२ का ॥

i.e., "Once the Gachchha split up into two, those of Chitôr and of Nâgôr, in the year 1572."

Table of Pontifical successions in which D differs from A and E.

Serial number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		Householder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.			Total.			REMARKS.
		Samvat.	A. D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	
18	Mānanandin .....	487	430	10	...	...	15	...	...	21	...	24	12	46	1	6	(Here A, D, E have each different dates. A, E Bhānandin).		
24	Mēghachandra ...	601	544	24	...	17	7	...	...	25	5	2	13	56	6	2	(A, E give each different and inconsistent dates).		
38	Abhayachandra ...	878	821	18	...	...	10	...	...	17	...	20	11	45	1	1	(A, E give different days).		
40	Nāgachandra .....	916	859	21	...	...	23	...	...	23	...	3	10	67	...	13	(A, E give different years.)		
51	Mahāchandra .....	1113	1056	10	...	...	26	...	...	26	5	10	5	62	5	15	(A, E differ entirely).		
81	Dharmachandra ...	1271	1214	16	...	...	24	...	...	25	...	5	...	65	...	5	(A, E differ each).		
86	Jinachandra .....	1507	1440	12	...	...	15	...	...	64	8	17	10	91	8	27	(So also B, E; but A transposes the names Nos. 86 and 87).		
87	Prabhāchandra ...	1571	1514	15	...	...	35	...	...	9	4	25	8	56	5	3			
88	Dharmachandra ...	1581	1524	9	...	...	31	...	...	21	8	13	5	61	8	18	(From here D alone gives details of the lives).		
89	Lalitakīrti .....	1603	1546	7	...	...	25	...	...	19	...	15	7	51	...	22			
90	Chandrakīrti .....	1622	1565	?	?	?	?	?	?	40	9	23	?	?	?	7	(Down to No. 94, most of the details are wanting).		
91	Dēvendrakīrti .....	1662	1605	?	?	?	?	?	?	28	7	25	7	?	?	?			
92	Narēndrakīrti ...	1691	1634	11	...	...	?	?	?	30	8	15	8	?	?	?			
93	Surēndrakīrti .....	1723	1666	?	?	?	?	?	?	10	11	10	17	?	?	?			
94	Jagatkīrti .....	1733	1676	11	...	...	26	...	...	37	5	29	7	74	6	6			
99	Sukhēndr. kīrti ...	1852	1795	4	...	...	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(From No. 95-100 names and dates as in B, but all details are wanting).		
100	Naiṣṭhikīrti .....	1879	1822	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(Here the pattāvali closes).		



## PATTĀVALĪ E.

In its general arrangement, this pattāvalī resembles pattāvalīs A and C. It begins with an introduction, followed by the pattāvalī proper. But the latter, like pattāvalī B, gives only a list of the names and dates of accession of the pontiffs. A peculiar feature of it is that it adds notices regarding the caste of each pontiff. In a few exceptional cases such notices are also given in pattāvalī D; and these are noted in the tabular statement below. I am doubtful, however, regarding the correct spelling of many of the caste-names; some of them I cannot identify. That the tradition represented in pattāvalī E considerably differs from that of the other pattāvalīs has been already referred to; also that it gives the succession list of the so-called Chitōr section. The latter it brings down to No. 102, Mahēndrakīrtti, who succeeded in 1880 A. D. and is probably still living.

In the following, I again give the introduction *in extenso*, and the pattāvalī proper in tabular form. In the latter my own remarks are within brackets.

## TEXT.

## Introduction of Pattāvalī E.

(1) अथ वंसावली गुरी की लिख्यते ॥ श्रीमहावीर जी १, गोतम स्वामी २, सुधरमा स्वामी ३, जम्बू स्वामी ४ ॥ वरस ६२ तई केवली हवा ॥ ४ ॥

(2) विष्णुनन्द जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ५, नन्दविष जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ६, अपराजित जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ७, गोवरधन जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ८, नद्रवाह जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ९ ॥ वरस सो तई ॥ ९ ॥

(3) विसाखाचार्य दशपूर्व का पाठी १०, (प्रोडिल जी दशपूर्व का पाठी,<sup>20</sup>) क्षत्रिय जी दशपूर्व का पाठी ११, जयसेन जी दशपूर्व का पाठी १२, नागसेन जी दशपूर्व का पाठी १३, सिद्धार्थ जी दशपूर्व का पाठी १४, धृतिसेन जी दशपूर्व का पाठी १५, विजयसेन जी दशपूर्व का पाठी १६, बहधूलि जी दशपूर्व ॥ १८३ वरस ॥ ९ ॥

(4) गङ्गादेव जी ग्यार अङ्ग का पाठी १७, धर्मसेन जी ग्यार अङ्ग का पाठी १८, नक्षत्राचार्य ग्यार अङ्ग धारी १९, जयपाल जी ग्यार अङ्ग धारी २०, पाण्डव जी ग्यार अङ्ग धारी २१, ध्रुवसेन जी ग्यार अङ्ग धारी २२ ॥ वरस तई रह्या ॥ १५ ॥

(5) कंसाचार्य प्रथम अङ्ग का पाठी २२, सुभद्र जी प्रथम अङ्ग का धारी २३, जसोभद्र जी प्रथम अङ्ग का धारी २४, नद्रवाह जी प्रथम अङ्ग धारी २५, लोहाचार्य जी प्रथम अङ्ग धारी २६, दिनवधर जी प्रथम अङ्ग धारी २७ ॥ वरस तई २० ॥

(6) श्रीवत्तसेन जी २७, सिववत्त जी २८, अरवत्त जी २९ ॥ नद्रवाह जी स० १०४ के साल पाट बैठा काती सुदि १४ ॥ सेताम्बर ऐठा सौ निकस्या पहावली प्रवृत्ति करी ॥ ३० ॥

Here follows the pattāvalī. After No. 21 (45)<sup>20</sup> there is the following remark:—

बेसा पट तो मालव देस नै हवा ॥ २६ ॥

Similar remarks follow after No. 23 (47), 60, 75 (91), 80, 86 (98), 88, 92 (102), 93, 94 (103), 95, 96.

## TRANSLATION.

§ 1. Here the Vamsāvalī (list of succession) of the Gurus is written down:—

(1) The glorious Mahāvīra, (2) the Lord Gôtama, (3) the Lord Sudharmā, (4) the Lord Jambū. These were Kēvalīns for 62 years. Altogether 4.

<sup>20</sup> The bracketed portion is wanting in the MS., owing probably to a mere slip; as the totalisation at the end of the paragraph shows.

<sup>21</sup> It will be noticed that the numbering, actually given in the pattāvalī, is very capricious, some members being left unnumbered, without any apparent reason. These capricious numbers are quoted within brackets.



§ 2. Then came those versed in sacred lore (*śrutajñāna-dhārī*), viz., (5) Viṣṇunanda, (6) Nandamitra, (7) Aparājita, (8) Gōvardhana, (9) Bhadrabāhu I. These (abode) for 100 years. Altogether 9.

§ 3. Then came those who could recite 10 Pūrvas, viz., (10) Viśākṣhāchārya, [Prōshṭhila,] (11) Kahattiriya, (12) Jayasēna, (13) Nāgasēna, (14) Siddhārtha, (15) Dhṛitisēna, (16) Vijaya-sēna, Vahudhūli. These lived for 183 years. Altogether 9.

§ 4. Then came those who could recite 11 Āngas, viz., (17) Gaṅgādēva, (18) Dharmasēna. (19) Nakshatrāchārya, (20) Jayapāla, (21) Pāṇḍava, Dhruvasēna. These abode for 220 years. Altogether 15.

§ 5. Then came those who could recite (only) the first Āṅga; viz., (22) Kāmasa, (23) Sa-bhadra, (24) Jasōbhadrā (25) Bhadrabāhu II., (26) Lōhāchārya, and Vinayadhara. These abode for 118 years.

§ 6. Then came (27) the glorious Dattasēna, (28) Sivadatta, (29) Aradatta, and (30) Bhadrabāhu III., who succeeded to the pontificate on the 14th of the light half of Kātik, in the year 104 after Vikrama. The Svētāmbaras originated at this time and commenced a pattāvalī of their own.

Note after No. 21 :— Now these 26 pontificates took place in the Mālavā country.

Vaṁsāvalī of the Gurus of the Digambaras. From MS. E.

Serial Number	Number in MS	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.	Serial Number	Number in MS	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.
			Saṁvat.	A. D.					Saṁvat.	A. D.	
1	1 (30)	Bhadrabāhu III.	104	47	From him the Svētāmbaras went forth and initiated a pattāvalī of their own. (In A, B, C, D Brāhmaṇa by caste).	15	11 (38)	Lōkachandra.	427	360	Lavēchū by caste
			K. S. 14						J. V. 4		
						16	12 (39)	Prabhachandra	453	396	Pancham Śrāvak by caste.
									Bh. S. 14		
						17	13 (40)	Nēmachandra.	478	421	Nagam Śrāvak by caste.
									Ph. S. 10		
3	2 (31)	Maghananda...	136	79	Savāl by caste (A has Sāh.).	18	14 (41)	Bhōnunanda...	487	430	Dusar by caste.
			A. S. 14						P. V. 5		
4	3 (32)	Jinachandra...	140	83	A Chōsarā Pūr-wāl. (C has Huthvad.)	19	15 (42)	Sisūhananda ...	508	451	Śrīmāl Sakaryā by caste.
			Ph. S. 14						M. S. 11		
5	4 (33)	Kundakunda...	149	92	Palivāl by caste.	20	16 (43)	Vasunanda ...	525	468	Vadhnērā by caste.
			P. V. 9						A. S. 10		
6	5 (34)	Umāsvāmi.....	201	144	A Śrāvak of Ayō-dhyā.	21	17	Virananda.....	531	474	Labēchū by caste.
			K. S. 9						P. S. 11		
7	6 (35)	Lōhāchārya ...	242	185	Labēchā by caste	22	18	Ratnananda ...	561	504	Vāgnāya by caste.
			As. S. 14						M. V. 5		
8	7 (36)	Jasakīrti .....	253	196	Pūrvāl by caste; (A, B, D have Jāyavāl).	23	19	Māpikananda...	585	528	Agarvālā by caste.
			As. S. 9						As. V. 12		
12	8	Gupānanda ...	363	306	Pūrvagolā by caste.	24	20 (44)	Mēghachandra	601	544	Khaṇḍēlvāl
			J. S. 4						P. V. 3		
13	9	Vajrananda ...	364	307	Gōlapūrb by caste.	25	21 (45)	Sāntikīrti.....	627	560	Sahajvāl by caste. All these 26 had their seat of pontificate in Mālavā.
			Bh. S. 14						As. V. 6		
14	10 (37)	Kumārānanda.	386	329	Sahajrāl by caste						
			Ph. V. 4								



Serial number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.	Serial number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.
			Samvat.	A. D.					Samvat.	A. D.	
26	22 (45)	Mērukīrtti ...	642	385	Jaisvāl by caste.	41	41	Vāsavachandra	1066	1009	Sahajvāl by caste. (So also P. 14).
			S. S. 5			(62)		Lōkachandra...	J. S. 1		Sahajvāl by caste
27	23 (47)	Mahākīrtti ...	686	629	Sahajvāl by caste. Up to here the seat of pontificate was in the town of Bhīdalpur in Mālavā.	48	45	Surakīrtti.....	J. S. 1		Sachān by caste
			Mr. S. 15			(63)			1079	1022	
						(64)		Bhāvachandra	Bh. S. 2		by caste.
						50	47		1096	1039	
						(65)		Mahīchandra..	Ch. V. 5		Śrīmāl by caste.
28	24	Vasunanda ...	704	647	Vāggya by caste. (D has Vāggyā.)	51	48		1115	1058	
			Mr. S. 9			(66)		Māghachandra	Ch. V. 5		Pancham Śrāvāk by caste.
29	25 (47)	Śrībhūshana...	726	669	Sahajvāl by caste.	52	49		1140	1083	
			Ch. S. 9			(67)		Brahmananda.	Bh. S. 5		Vadhacōrā by caste.
30	26	Śīlachandra ...	736	678	Śrīmāl by caste.	53	50		1144	1087	
			V. S. 5			(68)		Śivananda.....	P. V. 14		Sahajvāl by caste.
31	27 (49)	Śrīnanda .....	749	692	Nāgadrakā by caste.	54	51		1148	1091	
			Bh. S. 10			(69)		Siyachandra ...	V. V. 14		Vadhacōrā by caste.
32	28 (49)	Dēśabhūshana.	765	708	Śrīmāl by caste.	55	52		1155	1098	
			Ch. V. 12			(70)		Harinanda.....	Mr. S. 5		Sichāel by caste.
33	29	Anantakīrtti...	766	709	Pōrvāl by caste.	56	53		1156	1099	
			Ā. S. 10			(71)		Bhāvananda ...	S. S. 6		Dumak Śrāvāk by caste.
34	30 (50)	Dharmananda	785	728	Nāgadya by caste.	57	54		1160	1103	
			S. S. 15			(72)		Scrakīrtti .....	Bh. S. 5		Dhākadya Śrāvāk by caste.
35	31 (51)	Vidyānanda ...	803	751	Vaghērvāl by caste.	58	55		1167	1110	
			J. S. 5			(73)		Vidyāchandra.	V. S. 9		Vāggya Śrāvāk by caste.
36	32	Rāmachandra.	840	783	Pancham Śrāvāk by caste.	59	56		1170	1113	
			As. V. 12			(74)		Surachandra...	Ph. V. 5		Narsimnapurā by caste.
37	33 (52)	Rāmākīrtti ...	857	790	Lavēchū by caste.	60	57		1170	1119	
			V. V. 3			(75)		Māghananda...	S. S. 9		Chaturrath Śrāvāk by caste.
38	34 (53)	Abhayachandra	878	821	A Śrāvāk of Ayodhyāpurī.	61	58		1184	1127	
			Ā. S. 10			(76)		Gunāyanananda.	Ā. S. 10		Gagari by caste.
39	35 (54)	Narachandra..	897	840	Nagam Śrāvāk by caste.	62	59		1188	1131	
			K. S. 11					Gaṅgākīrtti ...	Mr. S. 1		(Caste omitted). All these 37 Pontiffs resided in Wārā Vādod.
40	36 (55)	Nāgachandra..	916	859	Bāgaḍ by caste.	63	60		1199	1142	
			Bh. S. 5						M. V. 11		
41	37 (55)	Nayananda.	939	882	Dnsar by caste.	64	61		1106	1149	
			Bh. S. 3			(78)		Sinhakīrtti ...	Ph. V. 14		Narsinghpurā by caste.
42	38 (57)	Harichandra ..	948	891	Sōrā Vaghērvāl by caste.	65	62		1209	1152	
			As. V. 9			(79)		Hēmākīrtti ...	J. V. 11		Hummad by caste.
43	39	Mahīchandra..	974	917	Dākadya by caste	66	63		1216	1159	
			S. S. 9			(80)		Chārunanda ...	Ā. S. 3		Sahajvāl by caste.
44	40 (58)	Māghachandra	990	933	Padmāvatī Pōrvāl by caste.	67	64		1223	1166	
			M. S. 10			(81)		Nēmananda ...	V. S. 3		Nāgad Rāh by caste.
45	41 (59)	Lakshmi-chandra.	1023	966	Agarālā by caste.	68	65		1230	1173	
			J. V. 2			(82)		Nābhikīrtti ...	M. S. 11		Nagam Śrāvāk by caste.
46	42 (60)	Gunākīrtti ...	1037	970	Gōlvāl by caste.	69	66		1232	1175	
			Ā. S. 1			(83)		Narēndrakīrtti	M. S. 11		Nāgad Rāh by caste.
47	43 (61)	Gunachandra..	1048	991	Gōlāpūrāb by caste.	70	67		1241	1184	
			Bh. S. 14			(84)		Śrīchandra ...	Ph. S. 11		Nāgarwāl Vāg-dya by caste.



Serial number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.	Serial number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.
			Saṃvat.	A. D.					Saṃvat.	A. D.	
71	63 (85)	Padmakirtti ...	1248	1191	Pūrvā by caste.	88	85 (97)	Dharmachandra.	1591	1524	Gaṅgāśāl by caste. (So also D.)
72	60 (86)	Vardhamāna...	1253	1196	Vadhnōrā by caste.	89	86 (98)	Lalitakirtti ...	1593	1546	Gōdhā by caste. He pontificated in Chitr. (So also D.)
73	70 (87)	Akalaṅka .....	1256	1199	Pūrvā by caste.	90	87	Chandrakirtti.	1622	1565	Gaudhā by caste.
74	71 (88)	Lalitakirtti ...	1257	1200	Lavēchū by caste.	91	88	Dēvēndrakirtti	1692	1605	Sēthi by caste. He pontificated in Sāngānēr.
75	72	Kēśavachandra	1261	1204	Caste ?	92	89 (99)	Narēndrakirtti	1691	1634	Sōgāni by caste. (So also D.)
76	73 (89)	Chārūkirtti ...	1262	1205	Pancham Śrāvā by caste.	93	90 (100)	Surēndrakirtti	1712	1655	Kālā by caste. (So also D.)
77	74 (90)	Abhayakirtti.	1264	1207	Āth Sākhā Pūrvā by caste.	94	91 (101)	Jagatkirtti ...	1733	1676	Sōkhā Rāyā by caste. (D has Sākhārā Yōgi.)
78	75 (91)	Vasantakirtti	1264	1207	Sāh Rayā by caste. All these 15 pontiffs resided in Gvālār.	95	92 (102)	Dēvēndrakirtti	1770	1713	Vōlyā by caste. (D has Gōdhā.) These four pontiffs resided in Avāiri.
80	76 (92)	Viśālakirtti ...	1266	1209	Pancham Śrāvā by caste.	96	93	Mahēndrakirtti	1792	1735	Pāpājīāl (So also D.) He pontificated in Dill (Delhi.)
79	77 (93)	Śubhakirtti ...	1268	1211	Sāh Varā by caste.	97	94 (105)	Kēhēmēndrakirtti.	1815	1758	Pitāp by caste. (So also D.) He pontificated in Jaspur.
81	78	Dharmachandra.	1271	1214	Sēthi by caste.	98	95	Surēndrakirtti	1822	1765	Pahālyā by caste. (So also D.) In Jaipur.
82	79 (94)	Ratnakirtti ...	1296	1239	Nāgad Rahā by caste.	99	96	Surēndrakirtti	1832	1795	Anopad Svā by caste. (D has Anopālavā) kā patvār. He pontificated in Jaipur.
83	80	Prabhāchandra	1310	1253	Padmāvatī Pūrvā by caste. All these 5 pontiffs resided in Ajmār.	100					
84	81	Padmananda...	1385	1328	Caste ?	101	97	Narēndrakirtti.			(D has Nāhakirtti, a Kālā by caste)
85	82 (95)	Subhachandra	1450	1393	Agarvālā by caste.	102	98	Dēvēndrakirtti			
86	83 (96)	Jinachandra...	1507	1440	Agarvālā by caste. (So also D.)	99		Śrīmatna Mahēndrakirtti.			
87	84	Prabhāchandra	1571	1514	Vaidya Gōtra by caste. (So also D.)						

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the foregoing paper, I have procured the Deccan College Manuscript of the *Vikrama Prabandā*. On examination I find it to be an altogether different work from the one referred to in the *paṭṭāvalis*. The latter was in *Prākṛit* verse, while the *Vikrama Prabandha* of the Deccan College Library is in *Sanskṛit* verse, and contains a few folk tales connected with *Vikrama*: in fact, it is identical with the *Panchalanda-chhattra Prabandha*, published by Prof. A. Weber in 1877.



On the other hand, the Deccan College manuscript of the *Nitisāra*, which I have also procured, is the work in question. It is a very small work, consisting of 113 ślokas, and giving brief explanations of a number of Digambara technicalities. With the exception of one, all the quotations in the *paṭṭāvalī* are confirmed by this manuscript.

The first quotation, in § 12, constitutes the ślokas 6 b and 7 in the *Nitisāra*. There is, however, a slight difference in the second line, which reads in the Deccan Manuscript as follows:—

सेनसङ्को नन्दिसङ्को सिंहसङ्को महापद्मः ।

The third quotation, in § 17, forms the 9th, 10th and 11th ślokas in the *Nitisāra*. In that manuscript the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th lines read a little differently:—

द्राविडो यापनीयश्च काष्ठसङ्को मानसः ।

गोपुडिकः स्वतयासो द्राविडो यापनीयकः ।

स्वस्वनत्यनुसरिण सिद्धान्तं व्यभिचारिणं ।

The fourth quotation, in § 19, forms ślokas 8, 12, 13, 14 in the *Nitisāra*. In that manuscript they read as follows:—

गणगच्छावयस्तेभ्यो ज्ञाताः स्वपरसौख्यदाः ।

न तत्र भेदः कोप्यस्ति प्रव्रज्यादिषु कर्मसु ॥ ८ ॥

चतुःसंख्यां नरो यस्तु कुरुते भेदभावनां ।

स सम्यग्दर्शनातीतः संसरि संचरत्यरं<sup>31</sup> ॥ २२ ॥

नात्र प्रतिक्रमे भेदो न प्रायश्चित्तकर्मणि ।

नाचारवाचनाद्युक्तवाचनासु विशेषतः ॥ २३ ॥

चतुःसङ्कीर्णं संहितायां जैनं विन्धे प्रतिष्ठितं ।

नमोऽपरसङ्कोस्य यतो न्यासविपर्ययः ॥ २४ ॥

The second quotation, in § 16, I cannot find in the Deccan College Manuscript. It is a verse written in the *Sragdharā* metre. The whole of the *Nitisāra* is written in ślokas, with the exception of the last (113th) verse, which happens to be in the *Sragdharā* metre. This last verse, however, does not belong to the body of the work, but contains a laudatory reference to the author, Indranandin. It does not seem probable therefore, that the verse, quoted in § 16, really belongs to the *Nitisāra*. The Deccan College MS. has all the appearance of being complete.

That the author, Indranandin, belonged to the *Sārasvatī Gachchha* is shown by his being described in verse 113 as a clever follower of Kundakunda. He does not appear in the pontifical succession list. There are, however, certain indications to fix the dates of himself and his work. In verses 67-70 he enumerates a number of celebrated (*satthama*) Munis from all the four *Saṅghas*. The latest in date among those quoted from the Nandi *Saṅgha* are *Prabhāchandra* and *Jinachandra*, Nos. 86 and 87 in the list. The latter died 1524 A. D. At the end of the manuscript, — quite independently of the work, — there is the remark that it was written *Sri-Lalitachandra-pathanārtham*, 'for the reading of *Sri-Lalitachandra*.' This person, in all probability, is the same with *Lalitakīrti* II., No. 89, of the pontifical list (*Chitōḥ* section), who died in 1565 A. D. Between these two dates (1524 and 1565) Indranandin should have lived and written the *Nitisāra*. As *Lalitakīrti* (or *Lalita Chandra*) pontificated from 1546 to 1565 A. D., the Deccan College MS. was most probably written within that period; and there is just a possibility that it is the autograph of Indranandin himself, who may have been a disciple of *Lalita Chandra*.

<sup>31</sup> The MS. has *संचरत्यरं*, *arath* and *arath* having the same meaning.



## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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

(Continued from page 13.)

## C. — KHALSI, DHAULI-JAUGADA, COLUMNAR EDICTS, BHABRA, SAHASARAM, RUPNATH, BAIRAT.

The Spelling of the remaining edicts is so similar, that it will be advantageous to group all the facts together in one view.

The edicts are referred to by their initial letters: Dh. = Dhauli; Kh. = Khālsi; S. = Sahasaram; R. = Rūpnāth; B. = Bairāt; Bh. = Bhabra. For the Columnar Edicts, I have taken, as typical, the only complete version, the most correct and that best known, that of the pillar of Fīrūz Shāh at Dehli (D). I only cite the divergencies of the other versions (D<sup>2</sup>ARM) when they appear to me to present points of special interest, and to be not merely accidental transformations.

The text of Jaugada is, in the series of the fourteen edicts, almost invariably identical with that of Dhauli. Dr. Bühler only notes four points of divergence; according to his texts I count at most seven or eight; the text of Jaugada, being moreover less complete than that of Dhauli, offers nothing new. The case is not the same with regard to the detached (or 'separate') edicts; here the two versions more frequently shew points of difference, which are not all devoid of interest. Under these conditions Dhauli, as a general rule, answers for both, and I shall content myself with merely drawing attention, in the proper place, to forms peculiar to Jaugada.

The fragments of the Queen's Edict, of the edict of Kauśāmbi, and of the inscriptions of Barābar, are too short and too damaged to lend themselves to methodical treatment.

## 1. — PHONETICS.

## (a). — Vowels.

**Changes of Quantity.** — Kh. does not mark, for *i* and *u*, the distinction between long and short. The solitary instance in which an *i* has been read: *piyadasi*, I, 2 (Bühler) is so indistinct, that the facsimile of General Cunningham gives it as short. I have no doubt that he is right. — R. and B. read *janibudipasi*, which is not sufficient ground for us to conclude that they would not have marked the long vowel, if the text had brought it again elsewhere; and that especially, because at Bh. we have certain examples of *i* and *ū*. We must, therefore, conclude that this peculiarity belongs only to Kh.

**Vowels lengthened.** — KHALSI. — A final very often becomes *ā*, more often, indeed, than it remains short. I quote only a few examples of each case: *abhisitasā*, XIII, 35, &c.; *abhisitā*, IV, 13, &c.; *āhā*, passim (once only *āha*, VII, 6); *ajā*, IV, 9; *chā* (more frequent than *cha*); *ēvā*, II, 6, al.; *hidā*, I, 1, al.; *palatā*, IX, 27, &c.; *punā*, passim; *mamā*, V, 13; *vā*

(= *va*, *ēva*), III, 7, &c. — In the middle of words, I note *sukhāyāmi*, VI, 20; *lāti*, VIII, 23.

**DHAULI.** — Finals: *āhā*, III, 9, al. (never *āha*); *ālādhaivā*, det. II, 6; *chalēvā*, det. II, 5; *nikhamāva*, III, 10; *pāpunēvā*, det. II, 7; *yujjāhā*, IV, 8; *mamā*, det. I, 5; *nā*, I, 4; *vasēvati*, VII, 1 (Jaug. °*ti*). — In the interior of words, we find several instances of lengthening, some of which are compensatory or accidental: *-sahāsāni*, I, 3; *tākhasilatē*, det. I, 24; *abhikālē*, V, 25; *chilāhitiikā*, V, 27; VI, 33; *nichē*, VII, 2; *anāvātīya*, det. I, 11; *nithāliyēna*, det. I, 11; *kilānina*, VIII, 5 (Jaug. *hā*°) can only be an error of the engraver.

**DEHLI.** — Finals: *āhā* (*ahā*), passim; *apahatā*, VI, 3 (RM °*ta*), if the form is really equivalent to *apahritya*; *anupatipajeyā*, VII-VIII, 17; *asvasā*, V, 18 (RM °*sa*); *bhayēnā*, I, 4; *chā*, passim; *ēvā*, I, 6 (RM °*va*); *gōnasā*, V, 18 (RM °*sa*); *hēmēvā*, I, 8; VI, 6 (ARM °*va*); *jā*, *napadasā*, IV, 5 (RM °*sa*); *lōkasā*, VI, 2, 4, (RM °*sa*); *mamā*, IV, 12 (D<sup>2</sup>RM °*ma*); *papōvā*, VI, 13 (ARM °*va*); *usāhēnā*, I, 5; *vaḍhēyā*, VII-



VIII, 13, 16, 18; *sādhā*, II, 11 (ARM °*dhu*). D. VI, 8 and 1, 4 writes *pūjāyā*, *palikhāyā* and *susūyāyā*, the instrumental written in *āya* by RM. — Medial vowels: *-dākhināyē*, II, 13 (D<sup>2</sup>ARM *da*°); *anupaṣipaja*, VII-VIII, 10, 21, 3; *anupaṣipajisati*, VII-VIII, 10; *saṃpaṣipatiya*, VII-VIII, 8; *anūpaṣipawānē*, VII-VIII, 7; *niṣṭhūliyē* III, 20; *pachūpagamanē*, VI, 8 (A *pichu*°); *paṣibhōgē*, VII-VIII, 3 *paṣivisiṭham*, VII-VIII, 5 (by the side of *paṣivisiṭham*); *pavajitānān*, VII-VIII, 4; *putāpapōtikē*, VII-VIII, 10; *saṃpaṣipajisati*, II, 16 (D<sup>2</sup>ARM °*ji*°).

Instead of the *chilonṭhitikā* of D, II, 15, D<sup>2</sup> gives *chilāṭhitikā* and ARM *chilonṭhitikā*; instead of the *chaghanṭi* of D, IV, 10, D<sup>2</sup> gives *chaghanṭi*.

BHABRA. — Finals: *āhā* 1; *chā* (four times; twice *cha*); *ēvā*, 8. — Medials: *chilāṭhitikē*, 4.

SAHASARĀM. — Finals: *avaladhiyēnā*, 6; *chā*, 4, 5 (more often *cha*); *paṇnā* (= *paṇcha*), 6; *likhāpayāthā*, 7. — Medials: *chilāṭhitikā*, 5.

RUPNĀTH. — Finals: *apaladhiyēnā*, 4; *paka*, *mamānēnā*, 3; *v(i)ya(n)anēnā*, 5; *vyuthēnā*, 5.

BAIRĀT. — *āhā*, 1; *chā*, 6.

Vowels shortened. — KHĀLSI. — Finals: *ma*, XIII, 14; — Medials: *ananiyān*, VI, 20; *ayatiyē*, X, 27; *akālēna*, XII, 32; *avāhasi*, IX, 24; *abhilamāni*, VIII, 22; *avan*, XIII, 6; *avataḥē*, XIII, 39; *ōpayā*, VIII, 23; *lōjā*, X, 28; *lōjānē*, XIII, 5; *vijānāmanē*, XIII, 36.

DHAULI. — Finals: *anuvigina* (nom. pl.), det. II, 4; *-viyōhālaka*, det. 1, 1, and other noms. plur.; *ichha*, det. II, 4; *sōtaviya*, det. I, 18; *lāja*, det. II, 4; *atha* (*yatha*), four times against twice *athā*; *paja*, V, 27; *va* (= *vā*), V, 21, 25, 26; VI, 28, 30; det. 1, 20, 21. — Medials: *niti*, det. 1, 8, 12 (?); *sa(n)khina*, det. 1, 22.

DEHLI. — Finals: *ajaka*, V, 7 (RM °*kā*); *asvatha* IV, 4, 13; *atha*, VI, 4 (RM °*thā*); III, 20; *ēsa* (nom. fem.), I, 9 (ARM °*sā*); *lāja* (nom.), passim (by the side of *lājā*); *siya* IV, 15; *tatha*, VI, 6 (RM °*thā*). — Medials: *ālādhi*, VII-VIII, 10; *ava*, IV, 15, (A *asva*, M *āvā*); *avahāmi*, VI, 6; *palibhasayisān*, III, 21; *anuvīdhiyānti*, VII-VIII, 7 (°*dhī*°, 1, 7); *anulupāyā*, VII-VIII, 13, 16, 18; *bhūtānān*, VII-VIII, 9; *ōpayā*, VIII, 5.

In the following instances other versions present a short vowel, as against a regular long

one at D.: *abhīlā*, IV, 4, RM *abhīlā*; D. 1, 6 *apekhā*, RM °*kha*; D. VI, 8, *atanā*, RM °*na*; D. IV, 10, *athā*, D<sup>2</sup> °*tha*; D. IV, 13, *avimānā*, D<sup>2</sup>RM °*na*; D. IV, 3, *āyatā*, RM °*ta*; *likhāpitā*, D. 1, 2; II, 15; IV, 2; VI, 2, 9, RM °*ta*; *abhīlā*, D. IV, 12, D<sup>2</sup>R °*bhi*°; *aṭhamīpakhāyē*, D. V, 15, D<sup>2</sup>RM °*mi*°; D. III, 20, *isyākālanēna*, RM °*syā*°.

Changes of Quality. — KHĀLSI. — *a* into *i*: *majhimēnā*, XIV, 8; *pichhē* (?) (= *paichāt*), I, 4; into *ē*: *hēta* (= *atra*), VIII, 23, al.; into *u*: *munisa*, II, 6; — *i* into *ē*: *ēdisāyē*, IX, 24; — *u* into *a*: *galu*, XIII, 36, 38; into *i*: *munisa*, II, 6; — *ē* into *i*: *gihithē*, XIII, 38; *mi*, XIV, 19; — *ō* into *ē*, not only at the end of words, and for *aḥ*, as in *pulē*, I, 3; *mukhatē*, VI, 18; — there are some exceptions, as *lōjānō*, II, 5; *kēlalaputō*, II, 4; *sātiyaputō*, II, 4, — but in *kalēti*, V, 13; IX, 24; *apakalēti*, XII, 32; *upakalēti*, XII, 32.

*Ri* changes to *a*: *adhē*, IX, 17; *ānaniyān*, VI, 20; *bhatiyā*, XII, 33; *vadhī* and *vaḍhi*, passim; *bhaṭakasi*, XIII, 37, al.; *kata*, passim; *gahathāni*, XII, 31; *matē*, *moṭē*, XIII, 35, 36, 39; *nīkati*, VI, 19; *usaṭēna*, X, 28, 29; *viyāpaṭa*, XII, 34, al.; *vithaṭēnā*, XIV, 18; — into *i*: *ādisē*, IV, 10; *diḍha*, VII, 22; *gihithā*, XIII, 37; *ēdisāyē*, IX, 24; *kīṭamānata*, VII, 22; *migē*, I, 4; *migaviyā*, VIII, 22; *ādisē*, IV, 10; — into *u*: *palipuchhā*, VII, 23; *lukhāni*, II, 6; *vudhānān*, VIII, 23; *vutaṇ*, XIII, 9.

DHAULI. — *a* into *u*: *avucha*, VII, 2; IX, 16, (Jaug. *avacha*); *munisa*, VII, 1, al. (by the side of *manusa*); — *a* into *e*: *hēta* (*atra*), XIV, 19; — *i* into *a* in *puṭhaviyān*, V, 26; — *i* into *ē*: *anusathē* (for °*thi*) VI, 31; — *u* into *i*: *munisa*, loc. cit.; *pulisa*, det. I, 7, 8; — *ē* into *i*: *asamati*, XIV, 19; *vēditu*, det. II, 6 (for °*dē*° = °*dayi*°); *pitēnikēsu*, V, 23; — *ō* into *ē* in *kalēti*, V, 20, al.; and at the end of words when derived from *aḥ*: *bhūyē*, *dhaṇmatē*, &c. (*nē* = *nō*, *na*, at Jaug. det. I, 4, is doubtless only an incorrect reading).

*Ri* becomes *a*: *ādasē* IV, 14; *ānaniyān*, det. II, 9; VI, 32; *bhaṭi*, V, 23; *bhaṭaka*, IX, 8; *kaṭa*, passim; *vaḍhi*, IV, 18; *usaṭēna*, X, 16; *viyāpaṭa*, V, 24; — *i*: *ādisē*, IX, II; *ēdisāni*, VIII, 3; *kēdisa*, passim; *dhiti*, det. II, 6; *tādisē*, IV, 14; — *u*: *lukhāni*, II, 8; *puṭhaviyān*, V, 26; *vudha*, IV, 15; VIII, 4; perhaps *kutē*, det. I, 16.



JAUGADA. — *a* final changes into *u* in *svatu*, II, 8 (Dh. °*ta*); — *i* into *é* in *ānanēyaṃ* (= *ānaniyaṃ* = *ānṛiṇyaṃ*), det. I, 9; det. II, 13.

DEHLI. — *a* into *i*; *majhima*, I, 7; — *a* into *u*: *-mutē* (ARM), VI, 19; *muniśānaṃ*, VII-VIII, 2, al.; — *u* into *i*: *muniśa*, passim; *pulisa*, I, 7, al.; *mina*, III, 8, if it really is equivalent to *punaḥ*, which appears doubtful; into *ô*: *gôti*, I, 10; — *é* into *i*: *sūkālī*, V, 8 (D<sup>2</sup> °*li*); *gihithānaṃ*, VII-VIII, 4; *likhāpitā*, passim; — *ô* (*ah*) final into *é*: *itē*, IV, 15. — Instead of *śeyatha*, V, 2, A has *sayatha*. — *ṛi* changes to *a*: *apakaṭā*, VI, 3 (if really equivalent to *apahṛitya*); *apakaṭhēsu*, VI, 5; *ḥaṭakēsu*, VII-VIII, 8; *vadhī*, VII-VIII, 8, al.; *kapana*, VII-VIII, 8; *kaṭa*, passim; *viyāpaṭā*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6; — into *i*: *nisijita*, IV, 10.

BHABRA. — *é* changes to *i* in *likhāpayāmi*, 8; — *ṛi* into *i* in *adhigichya*, 6.

SAHASARĀM. — *é* changes to *i* in *likhāpayāthā*, 7; — *muniśa*, 3; — *kaṭā*, 3; *misāṇ* (= *mṛiśā*), 2, 3.

RUPNĀTH. — *Pavatisu* (for °*tē*), 4; — *amisā*, 2; *kaṭā*, 2, al.

BAIRĀT. — *Bādhi* for °*dhē*, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — KHĀLSI. — Additions: *galahā*, XII, 31; *galakati* XII, 33; *supaddlayē*, V, 14 (if equivalent to *supradāryaṃ*); — *sinēhē*, XIII, 38; — *puluva*, passim; *kuvāpi*, XIII, 39; *suṇāmikēnā* IX, 25. — Suppressions: *pi*, passim; *tī* (*iti*, IX, 26); *va* (= *ēva*), IX, 26, alias.

DHAULI. — Additions: *supaddlayē*, V, 22; *anuvigina*, det. II, 4; *ithi*, IX, 7; *kilamathēna*, det. I, 11; *palikilēśē*, det. I, 21; *puluva*, V, 22, al.; *suṇāmikēna*, IX, 10; *pāpūnēva*, det. II, 7. — Suppressions: *tī* (*iti*, det. II, 4, 7), *pi*, *va* (*ēva*), passim.

DEHLI. — Additions: *upadahēvā*, IV, 5; *vidahāmi*, VI, 6; *gē(n)vayā*, I, 7; *āsinavē*, II, 11, al.; *duvāḍasa*, VI, 1; *suṇē*, I, 6. — Suppressions: *pi*, *tī*, *va* (*ēva*), passim; *anuvēkhamānē*, VII-VIII, 2; *paṭivēkhamānē*, VI, 4, 7.

BHABRA. — Additions: *alahāmi*, 4; *abhi-khināṃ*, 7; *paśinē*, 5. — Suppressions: *tī*, 2, al.

SAHASARĀM. — Suppressions: *pi*, *tī*, passim; *va* (*ēva*), 3.

RUPNĀTH. — Additions: *sumi*, 1. — Suppressions: *pi*; *tī*; *va*; *dāni*, 2; *sumi*, 1.

Contractions. — KHĀLSI. — *A(l)u* into *ô*: *khô*, X, 28, al.; — *aya* into *é* in causals; — *ava* into *ô*: *ôlôdhana*, V, 16; VI, 18; — *ayi* into *é* in *lēkhāpēsāmi*, XIV, 19; — *a(y)ô* into *é*: *tēdasa*, V, 14; — *ya* into *i*: *palitiditu*, X, 28; *iya* into *é*: *ētakāyē*, X, 27.

DHAULI. — *A(l)u* into *ô*: *khô*, IX, 8; — *ava* into *ô*: *viyôhālaka*, det. I, 1; *viyôvaditaviyē*, IX, 11; *ôlôdhana*, passim; — *avā* into *ô*, if *ahô*, IV, 13, is really equivalent to *atha vā*; — *aya* into *é*: *ujēnīlē*, det. I, 23; — *ayi* into *i* in *vēditu*, det. II, 6; — *ayô* into *é*: *tēdasa*, V, 22; — *iya* into *é*: *ētaka*, passim; — *ya* into *i*: *palitijitu*, X, 15; — *va* into *ū*: *atūlanā*, det. I, 11, 12 (Jaug. °*tu*); — *vi* into *u*: *su* (= *vid*), det. II, 4; *duāhalē*, det. I, 16.

DEHLI. — *Nigôhāni*, VII-VIII, 5 (*nyagrôdha*); — *jhāpētaviyē*, V, 10; *khô*, passim *khū*, II, 12; *palivôvadātha*, VII-VIII, 1; *ôlôdhana*, VII-VIII, 6; *viyôvadisaṃti*, IV, 7, 9; *su* (*vid*), VII-VIII, 17, 18.

BHABRA. — *Khô*, 3; *ôvādē*, 5; *abhiṇvādē-mānaṃ* (for °*dyô*), 1.

RUPNĀTH. — *Lēkhāpētaviyē*, *vivasētaviyē*, 5.

BAIRĀT. — *Ālādhētayē*, 6.

NASALISED VOWELS. — I do not attempt to point out all the instances in which the *anusvāra* has been omitted, either in negligence, or by error. They are frequent, especially at Khālsi.

KHĀLSI. — A long vowel equivalent to a nasalised one: *atapāsaṃdhā* (°*dhā*), XII, 32, 33; *dadatā* (°*taṃ*), XIII, 15; *dēvānāpiyē*, XII, 30, 34; *dhammasu(su)sā* (°*saṃ*), X, 27; *disā* (°*saṃ*), XIV, 21; *hētā* (°*toṃ*), V, 14; *kāṃmatalā* (°*taṃ*), VI, 20; *pajā* (°*jaṃ*), XII, 31, 34; *punā* (= *puṇyaṃ*), IX, 26; *saṃtaṃ*, XIV, 17 (if it is really a nom. plur.). — After Dr. Bühler's revision the only trace of a confusion between *aṃ* and *u* which would appear to remain is *sukhitēnā*, XIV, 17 (for *saṃ*). The concordance of several versions in the spelling *supaddālaya*, V, 14, renders, in this instance, the equivalence of *saṃ* and *su* hardly probable.

DHAULI. — Equivalence of the long and of the nasalised vowel: *bambhana* and *bābhana*; *bhāvasudhī* (°*dhīm*), VII, 1; *kalamāṃ* (nom.



plur.), dét. I, 18; *kaṇmata(laṇ)*, VI, 32, as against *kamatalā*, at Jaug.; *kiṭi*, X, 13 (<sup>°</sup>*tiṇ*); *saṇbōdhi* (<sup>°</sup>*dhin*), VIII, 4; *palatanā*; (<sup>°</sup>*lā*, <sup>°</sup>*lā*); V, 23; *sētaxiṇā* (Jaug. <sup>°</sup>*yā*), det. I, 17; *vataxiṇā* (<sup>°</sup>*yā*), det. I, 2; *yā* (*yāṇ*), IV, 17. — *Saṇṭaṇ* (n. s. m.), VI, 30, and *vayē* (= *cayāṇ*), det. II, 8, appear to imply the equivalence of *aṇ* and *ē*. — *u* for *aṇ* in *tēṣa aṇṭaṇāṇ*, det. II, 10. — The nasal is written double in *aṇṇāṇāṇbhē*, III, 11; *saṇṇyā*, IX, 8; *sukhaṇṇ*, det. II, 5.

DEHLI. — *Arupaṭipati*(<sup>°</sup>*tiṇ*), VII-VIII, 3; *-vīṣati*, V, 1, 20; *saṇṭaṇ* (nom. plur.) IV, 13; *tiṇi* = *trīṇi*, IV, 16; V, 12; *yā iyaṇ* (= *yāṇ idāṇ*), VII-VIII, 7; — *kimāṇ*, VI, 5, (= *kimu*).

SAHASARĀM. — *Aṇṇisaṇ*, 2; *miṣaṇ*, 3 (= <sup>°</sup>*sa*); *chaṇ*, 5 (= *chā*).

#### (b). — Consonants.

Two peculiarities are common to all the versions, which we are now comparing. In the first place they know neither the cerebral *n*, nor the palatal *ṇ*. They replace both by the dental *n*. There is only one solitary exception: Dh. det. II, 6, would seem to have, according to General Cunningham's facsimile, *paṭimṇā*. I should be much surprised to find this reading authenticated; already, in Prinsep's time, the facsimile published by him shewed that, at this place, the stone is damaged and the reading uncertain. I am strongly tempted to believe that the real reading is *paṭimṇā*, as at Jaugada. As to *ṇ* Dr. Bühler states two exceptional occurrences of it, one in *khaṇasi*, Dh. det. II, 10, the other in *sarṇā*, J. det. II, 3. — In the second place, they have no *r*, replacing it regularly (when standing alone) by *l*. I notice only two exceptions, — at Rūpnāth, where, by the side of *ahālē*, 6, we read *chhavachharē*, 1, and *chiraṭhika*, 4. *Samavariya* at Kh. XIII, 2, is probably a false reading.

Khālsi presents a two-fold peculiarity: the first is the use, for the sibilant, of three signs differing in unequal degrees: *Ṣ*, *Ṣ̣*, and *Ṣ̤*, of which the first is also employed on one occasion at Bairāt (*ṣaṇṅikīyē*). It appears to me to be certain that these signs are all, among themselves, absolute equivalents, and that they do not represent, as has been maintained, the

three sibilants of Sanskrit. I have already dealt with this question in the Introduction; and I shall return to it later on. I can, therefore, neglect its consideration here. I may remind my readers that in transliteration I represent the sign *Ṣ* by *ṣ*. — The second point concerns the use, at Khālsi, of a character *Ṣ̣* which I, at first, considered as a simple graphic variant of *Ṣ̤*. The same sign is employed twice (*vadikā*, *aḍhakṣikāṇi*) at D. I pass over this difficulty here, and content myself, in order to retain consistency in transcription, with rendering the sign in question by *k*, as I have hitherto done.

#### Simple Consonants.

Changes. — KHĀLSI. — *k* into *g* in *aṇṭiyōga*, II, 5; XIII, 4, 5.

*g* into *k* in *makā*, XII, 5; *aṇṭēkina*, ibid.

*gh* into *h* in *lahukā*, XI, 32, al.

*ch* into *chh* in *kichhi*, passim.

*j* into *d* in *palitidita*, X, 28.

*t* into *ṭ* in *bhaṭaka*, XIII, 37, alias; *kaṭa*, passim; *maṭē*, XIII, 39 (by the side of *matē*); *paṭi*, passim; *usaṭēna*, X, 23, 29; *viyāpaṭa*, passim; *ṭiṭhaṭēnā*, XIV, 18; — into *d* in *dōṣē*, VI, 19; *hidaṣukhāyē* = *hitaṣu*<sup>o</sup>, V, 15.

*d* into *ḍ* in *hēḍisa*, VIII, 22; IX, 25 (by the side of *ēḍisa*); *duṛāḍasa*, III, 7; IV, 13; — into *ṭ* in *talōpayā*, VIII, 13 (?); — into *y* in *iyāṇ* (in the neuter, for *idāṇ*), passim.

*dh* into *d* (?) in *hida*, passim.

*bh* into *h* in *hōṭi*, etc., passim.

*y* into *j* in *majulā*, I, 4; — into *v*: *vasēvu*, VII, 21 (ordinarily the termination is *ēyu*); — into *h*: *gēhanu*, VI, 20.

*s* into *h* in *ha(ṇ)chē*, IX, 26.

DHAULI. — *k* changes into *kh* in *akhakhasē*, det. I, 22.

*g* into *gh* in *chaghati*, II, 11, al., if it is really equivalent to *jagri*, which is extremely doubtful.

*ch* into *j* in *ajalā*, det. II, 7, (Jaug. has *achala*); — into *chh* in *kichhi*, passim.

*j* into *ch* in *chaghati*, loco cit.; *kaṇḍbcha*, V, 23.

*t* into *ch* in *chīḥitu*, IV, 17; — into *ṭ* in *paṭi*, passim; *kaṭa*, passim; *viyāpaṭā*, det. I, 15, al.; *usaṭēna*, X, 16.



th into h in *ahô* (?), IV, 13.

dh into d (?) in *hida*, passim.

bh into h in *lahēnu*, det. II, 5; *hōti*, &c., VIII, 4; *hūtapuluva* IV, 14, al.

y into v in the termination *ēnu* of the 3rd pers. plur. of the potential (at Jang. *ēnu*, except in *nikhamāvē*, III, 11); *āvutikē*, det. II, 8 (at Jang. *āyuc*); — into h in the 1st pers. sing. of the potential: *yēhanū*, &c.

v into m in *mayē* (= *vayam*), det. II, 8.

JAUGADA. — k into g in *hidālōgaṃ palalōgaṃ*, (Dh.: *lōka lōkanū*), det. II, 7; *hidālōgika*° (Dh.: *kic*), det. II, 12-13.

d into t in *paṭipātayēhanū*, det. I, 5 (Dh.: *paṭivēdayēhanū*); *paṭipātayēma*, det. I, 5 (Dh.: *pāda*°); *vipatipātayanūtānū*, det. I, 8 (Dh.: *vipatipātayamūnēhū*); *paṭipātayēhanū*, II, 2; *sam̐paṭipātayitarē*, det. II, 16 (Dh.: *pāda*°).

DEHLI. — g into gh in *chaghatūti* (?), IV, 8, 10.

gh into h in *lahu*, VII-VIII, 9.

j into ch in *chaghanūti* (?), IV, 8, 10.

ṭ into ḍ in *vaḍikā*, VII-VIII, 2.

t into ṭ in *kaṭa*, passim; *paṭi*-, passim (*paṭiyāsamūnēnu*, VI, 5); *vigāpaṭā*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6; — into v in *chāvudasanū*, V, 12.

th into ṭh in *nighanūṭhēsu*, VII-VIII, 5.

d into ḍ in *duvādasa*, VI, 1; *paṇnadasanū*, V, 12.

dh into ḍ (?) in *hida*, VII-VIII, 6, al.; — into h in *nigōhāni*, VII-VIII, 5.

p into b in *libi*, VII-VIII, 10, 11; — into m in *mina* (= *punaḥ*?), III, 18.

bh into h in *hōti*, &c., passim.

m into ph in *kaphaṭa*, V, 5; — into v in *gēvayā*, I, 7.

y into v in *āvuti*, IV, 15; termination *ēnu* of the potential; *pāpōvā*, VI, 3; — into h in the termination *ēhanū* of the 1st pers. of the potential.

s into h in *hōhanūti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6 (*hōsanūti*, VII-VIII, 2).

BHARA. — k into g in *adhigichya*, 6.

bh into h in *lōsati*, 4.

SAHASARĀM. — p into v in *avaladhigēnā*, 6; *pāvataṭē*, 3.

bh into h in *hōtu*, 5.

d into ḍ in *uḍālā*, 4.

RUPNĀTH. — d into ḍ in *uḍālā*, 3.

bh into h in *husu*, 2.

#### Additions and Suppressions. — KHĀLSI. —

Loss of an initial y in: *a*, XII, 31; *am*, IV, 12; X, 28; *ādisē*, IV, 10; *atātā*, II, 5, 6; *asā*, VII, 21; *atha*, II, 4; XII, 34; *ēva*, IV, 12; V, 14; IX, 25, 26; *āvataṭē*, XIII, 39; *ē*, passim. — Addition of an initial y: *yēva*, IV, 12; XIV, 17; of a medial y: *kaligya*, XIII, 35, 36 (*kaliga*, XIII, 39); of an initial h: *hēḍisa*, VIII, 22; IX, 25; *hēta* (*atra*), IX, 24, al.; *hētā*, X, 28; *hēvanū*, passim, (*ēvanū*, II, 6); *hida*, VI, 20, al.

DHAULI. — Loss of an initial y, except in: *yasō*, X, 13; *yā*, IV, 17; *yē*, I, 8; V, 21; *yēhanū*, VI, 32; *yuj*, passim; *yōna*, V, 23; — of the syllable *ra* in *hēmēva*, det. I, 24. — Addition of an initial y in: *yēva*, IV, 17; — of a v in *vulē*, IX, 10; — of an initial h in *hēḍisa*, passim (by the side of *ēḍisa*); *hēmēva*; *hēta*, XIV, 19; *hēta*(*m*), V, 21; *hēvanū*, passim (never *ēvanū*, *ēva* and never *hēva*); *hida*, passim.

DEHLI. — Loss of the initial y in: *ata*, VII-VIII, 11; *atha*, III, 20; IV, 10; VI, 4; *āva*, IV, 15 (*yāva*, V, 19); *ē*, V, 17; VI, 8; *ēna*, VII-VIII, 11; — of the syllable *ya* in: *ēṭadathā* (or possibly equivalent to *ēṭadathanū*?), VII-VIII, 3; — of the syllable *va* in *hēmēva*, VII-VIII, 4, al. — Addition of an initial y in *yēva*, V, 13; VII-VIII, 8 (by the side of *ēva*); — of an initial v in *vulanū*, IX, 10; — of an initial h in *hēmēva*; *hēvanū*, passim (by the side of *ēvanū*); *hida*, VII-VIII, 6, al.

BHABRA. — Loss of the initial y. — Addition of an initial h in *hēvanū*, 3, 8.

SAHASARĀM. — Loss of an initial y in *am*, I, 2 (*yatā*, 7). — Addition of an initial v in *vivuthā*, 7; — of an h in *hēvanū*, 1.

RUPNĀTH. — Addition of an initial h in *h(i)dha* (?), 4; *hēvanū*, 1. — The initial y remains unchanged: *yāvataṭā*, 5; *yā*, 2.

BAICĀT. — Initial y lost in *am*, 3, preserved in *ya* (*yad*), 2.

#### Compound Consonants.

kt becomes t. Kh., Dh., D.

ky becomes kiy: (*s*)*akiyē* (?), S. 3; *sakiyē*, R. 3; *ṣvanigikiyē* (?), B. 6.

kr becomes always k.

kr becomes kuv in *kuvāpi*, Kh. XIII, 39.



*ksh* becomes, at Kh., *kh*: *khudaka*, X, 28, &c.; *chh* in *chhanati*, XII, 32; — at Dh., *kh*: *khudaka*, det. II, 5, &c.; — at D., *kh*: *anuvāṣṭhamānē*, VII-VIII, 2, &c.; *jh* in *jhāpōtaviyē*, V, 10; — at Bh., *kh*: *bhikkhuniyē*, 7; — at S., *kh*: *khudakā*, 4; — at R., *kh*: *khudakā*, 3.

*kshy* becomes *khin* in *abhikkhinān*, Bh.

*kshy* becomes *kh* in *dupaṭṭicckhō*, D. III, 19.

*khy* becomes, at Kh., *kh*: *sāḥanā*, XIII, 14; — at Dh., *khy*: *mōkhyamata*, det. II, 2; det. I, 3 (Jaug.: *mōkhiya*<sup>o</sup>); — at D., *kh*: *mōkhāni*, V, 20, and *khy*: *mōkhyamatē*, VI, 19.

*gn* becomes, at Kh., *g*: *agikamādhāni*, IV, 10; — at Dh., *g*: *agi*-, IV, 3; and *gin*: *anuvigina*, det. II, 4.

*gr* becomes *g*, Kh., Dh., D.

*jā* becomes *śn* or *n*, Kh., Dh., D.

*ñch* becomes *śn*, at D.: *pañnadasa*, V, 12, al.; — at S.: *pañnā* (?), 6.

*ḍy* becomes *ḍiy* at Kh.: *pañḍiyā*, XIII, 6; — at D.: *chañḍiyō*, III, 20.

*ṇy* becomes *niy* in *ananiya*, at Kh., VI, 20; at Dh., VI, 32; det. II, 9; — *śn* in *hīlānna*; at Kh., VIII, 23; at Dh., VIII, 5.

*ṭk* becomes *k*, D., S.

*tth* becomes *th* in *uṭhāna*, at Kh., VI, 9, al.; at Dh., VI, 31, al.

*tm* becomes *t*, Kh., Dh., D.

*ty* becomes, at Kh., *tiy*: *apatiyō*, V, 14, &c.; remains unchanged in *nityān*, XIV, 19, if indeed we are to read thus; changes into *ch* in *nichō*, VII, 22; into *t* in *palitijitu*, X, 28; — at Dh., becomes *tiy*: *atīyāyikō*, VI, 19, &c.; changes into *ch* in *ēkachā*, I, 2 (doubtful; J. has *ēkatīyā*); *nichō*, VII, 2; changes into *t* in *palitijitu*, X, 15; — at D., becomes *ch*: *sachō*, II, 12; *pachūpagamanō*, VI, 8; *tiy* in *patiyā-saṇṇēsu*, VI, 5, which R. and M. write *patiyāso*<sup>o</sup>.

*tr* becomes everywhere *t*.

*tv* remains unchanged in *tadatvāyō*, at Kh. X, 27, and at Dh., X, 13; — becomes *t* at S.: *mahatātā*, 3; *satā*, 7; and at R.: *mahatātā*, 2; *sata*, 5.

*ts* becomes *s* at Kh.: *chikisā*, II, 5; nevertheless *chikisukichhā*, same line, appears to shew a certain hesitation between the form *chikisā* and the form *chikichhā*; *usafēna*, X, 29; — at Dh. II, 6; X, 6; — at D.: *usafēnā*, I, 5; *chh*, at R., in *chhavachharō*.

*tsy* becomes *chh* at D., in *-machhō*, V, 4.

*ddh* becomes, at Kh., *dh* in *vaḍhi*, XII, 31, 34, 35, remains *dh* in *vaḍhi*, IV, 12, 13; — *dh*, at Dh., in *vaḍhi*, IV, 18; *vaḍha*, IV, 15; VIII, 4; and at D. in *vaḍhi*, passim.

*ḍy* becomes *j* (Kh., Dh., D.), except in *uyāna* (Kh., VI, 18; Dh., VI, 29) in which it becomes *y*, and at D., I, 3, in *dusamṭṭipādāyō* for *ḍiyō*, *ḍyō*.

*dr* becomes everywhere *d*.

*dv* becomes, at Kh., *duv*: *duvāḍasa*, III, 7, &c.; — at Dh., *duv*: *duvālā*, det. II, 2, &c.; *v* in *anuvigina*, det. II, 4; — at D., *duv*: *duvōchi*, VII-VIII, 8, &c.; — at S., R. and B., *d* in *jambudīpasi* (S., 2; R., 2; B., 4); and *duv* at S. in *duvō* (6).

*dhy* becomes, at Kh., *dhiy* in *adhiyakha*, XII, 34; — at D., *dhiy* in *avadh[i]ya*, V, 2, 8, 13 (RM *ḍhya*), *avadhiyāni*, VII-VIII, 9, &c.; *jh* in *nijhātī*, VI-VIII, 8.

*dhr* becomes *dh*, Kh., D.

*ny* becomes *śn*, Kh., Dh., D.

*pt* becomes *t*, Kh., Dh., D. — Appears to change into *vat* in *pāvatavē* (= *prāptavē*), S., 3.

*pr* becomes everywhere *p*.

*ḍdh* becomes *dh*: *ladhā*, Kh., XIII, 11, &c.

*br* becomes *b*, Kh., Dh., D.

*bhy* becomes *bh*, at Kh., in *ibhōsu*, V, 15; — remains unchanged, at D., in *abhyuṇāmayō-haṇ*, VII-VIII, 19; *abhyuṇāmayati*, VII-VIII, 21. — It is written *bhiy*, at Dh., in *ibhiyōsu*, V, 24; *ālabhiyisu*, I, 3; at Kh., in *alabhiyati*, &c., I, 3, 4.

*bhr* becomes *bh*, Kh., Dh.

*my* remains unchanged in *samyā* at Kh., IX, 25; XIII, 37; and at Dh., *śamyā*, IX, 8.

*mr* becomes *m̐b*, at Kh., in *taṇbapam̐niyā*, XIII, 6; at D., in *am̐bāvadikā*, VII-VIII, 2.

*rg* becomes everywhere *g*.

*rgr* becomes *gh*, at D., in *nighaṇṭhesu*, VII-VIII, 5.

*rch* becomes *ch*, Kh., Dh., D.

*r̐* becomes *śn*, Kh., D.

*rt* becomes, at Kh., *t* in *nivatēti*, IX, 26; *anuvāṣṭhāni*, XIII, 8, &c.; *ṭ*, in *anuvāṣṭhāni*, V, 9; *ni(va)ṭēti*, *nivaṭēya*, IX, 26; — at Dh., *t* in *anuvāṣṭhāni*, V, 21; *ṭ* in *anuvāṣṭhāni*, V, 27; *kiṭi*, X, 13; — at D., *t* in *pavatayōvu*, IV, 5, 13; *ṭ* in *kōvaṭa*, V, 14; *palihavāṭa*, IV, 11.



*rth* becomes, at Kh., *th* or *ṭh* : *atha*, IV, 12, al.; *aṭha*, VI, 17, al.; — at Dh., *th* in *athāyā*, det. I, 19, 21; det. II, 8; *ṭh* in *aṭha*, passim; — at D., *th* in *atha*, VII-VIII, 3, 10; *ṭh* in *aṭhasi*, VII-VIII, 4, al.; — at S., *ṭh* : *aṭhaṇ*, 7, al.; — at R., *ṭh* : *aṭhāya*, 3, al.

*rthy* becomes *thiy* at Kh. (IX, 23) and at Dh. (IX, 7), in *nilathiyāṇa*.

*rd* becomes *d*, Kh., D.

*rdh* becomes, at Kh., *dh* : *vadhayisanti*, IV, 12; *diyādha*, XIII, 35, &c.; *dh* in *vadhito*, IV, 11 (ordinarily *vadhita*); — at Dh., *dh* : *vadhayisati*, IV, 16, &c.; — at D., *dh* : *adhakōsāṇi*, VII-VIII, 2, &c.; — at S., *dh* in *avaladhigāṇā*, 6; *dh* in *vadhisiati*, 3, 6; — at R., *dh* : *adhitiyāṇi*, 1; *vadhisiati*, 4; — at B., *dh* : *vadhisiati*, 7, 8.

*rdhy* becomes, at S., *dhiy* in *avaladhigāṇā*, 6; *dhiya* in *diyādhiyāṇa*, ibid.; — at R., *dhiy* and *dhiy* (same words); — at B., *dhiy* in *diyādhiyāṇa*, 8.

*rbh* becomes *bh*, Kh., Dh.

*rm* becomes, *m*, Kh., Dh., D.

*ry* becomes, at Kh., *liy* in *avanūtaligāṇā*, VI, 19; *lay* in *supadālayā*, if we assume it to be equivalent to *supradālayā*; — at Dh., the same, VI, 31; V, 22; — *liy* at D. : *suliyikā*, VII-VIII, 10; *nīhāliyā*, III, 20, &c.; at Bh. : *aliyavasāṇi*, 5; *paligāyāṇi*, 4, 6.

*re* usually becomes *e* in all texts; — *lav*, at Kh. and Dh., in *palava*, passim.

*ré* becomes *s*, Kh., Dh., D.

*rsh* becomes usually *s* (*vase*), Kh., Dh., D., Bh.

*rshy* becomes, at Kh., *chh* in *kachhāṇi*, &c., VI, 18, al. (= *kar(i)shyāṇi*); — at Dh., *s* in *isāya*, det. I, 10; *chh* in *kachhāṇi*, VII, 2, al.; — at D., *sy* in *isyākāṇāṇa*, III, 20; *chh* in *kachhāṇi*, II, 16, al.

*rh* becomes *lah*, at Kh., in *galahati*, XII, 33; at Bh., in *alahāṇi*, 4.

*lp* becomes *p*, Kh., Dh.

*ly* becomes *y* in *kayāṇa* at Kh., Dh., D.

*vy* becomes, at Kh., *viy* : *viyariyā*, VIII, 22; *viyāṇjanatā*, III, 8, &c., except in *divyāṇi*, IV, 10; — at Dh. and D., *viy* : *diviyāṇi*, Dh., IV, 3, &c.; *hamaviyāṇi*, D., V, 15, &c.; *ichhitayā*, at Jaug., det. I, 5, should, probably, be restored *ichhitu(vi)gā*; — at R., *viy* (*lākhāpā-*

*taviyā*, 4), except in *vyūthāṇā*, 5; — at B., *y* in *āldādhētayā*, 6.

*vr* becomes *v*, Kh., Dh., D.

*sch* becomes *chh*, Kh., Dh.

*sn* becomes *sin* in *pasinā*, at Bh. (5).

*śy* becomes *siy*, at Kh., in *paṭicēsiyāṇā*, IX, 25; at J. det. I, 6, we have *ālasīyāṇa*.

*śr* becomes *s*, Kh., Dh., D., R.

*śv* becomes *a* D., *s* in *sōta*, V, 6; *sv* in *suwā*, I, 6.

*shk* becomes *k*, at Kh., in *dukālā*, V, 13; — at Dh., in the same word, V, 20, al.

*shkr* becomes *kh* : *nikhamati*, Kh., III, 7, al., *nikhami*, Dh., VIII, 4, al.

*shṭ* becomes *ṭh*, Kh., Dh., D., R., and *th*, at S., in *viyūthā*, 7.

*shth* becomes, at Kh., *ṭh* : *adhithānāyā*, V, 15; *sēthā*, IV, 12; — at Dh., *th* : *adhithānā*, V, 26; *adhithānāyā*, V, 23; *nīhāliyāṇa*, det. I, 11; *ṭh* in *chithitu*, IV, 17; — at D., *ṭh*, *nīhāliyā*, III, 20.

*shp* becomes, at Kh. (IX, 26) and at Dh. (IX, 10) *ph*, in *niphati*; — *p*, at D. in *chatupadā*, V, 7.

*shy* becomes, at Kh., *s* : *ālabhiyisanti*, I, 4, &c.; — at Dh., *s* : *ānapayisati*, III, 11, &c.; *h* in *śatha*, det. I, 17; det. II, 9 (Jaug., in both cases : *śatha*); — at D., *s* : *abhiyāṇa-nisati*, VII-VIII, 21, &c.; *h* in *hōhamti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6 (by the side of *hēcākti*), and, to add it at once, although here *h* = *vy*, in *dāhamti*, IV, 18; — at Bh., *s* : *upatisā*, 5.

*sk* becomes, at Kh., *k* in *agikāṇāṇi*, IV, 10; — at Dh., *kh* : *agikāṇāṇi*, IV, 3.

*st* becomes everywhere *th*.

*sth* becomes, at Kh., *th* in *chilathitika*, V, 17; *gahathāṇi*, XII, 31; *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, VI, 20; — at Dh., *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, V, 27; VI, 33; — at D., *th* in *chilathitika*, II, 15 (AR *ṭhi*); *thomhāṇi*, VII-VIII, 2; *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, VII-VIII, 11; *anathika*, V, 4; — at Bh., *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, 4; — at S., the same, 5; — at R., *th* in *silāthomhā*, 5; *ṭh* in *chilathitika*, 4 — *tsth* becomes *th* in *uthi* — (= *pāli nīthali*), Jaug., det. I, 7.

*sn* becomes *sin* in *sinchā*, at Kh., XIII, 38.

*sm* becomes, at Kh., *s* in locatives in *asi*; — at Dh., remains unchanged in *akasmā*, det. I, 9, 20, 21; becomes *s* in the locative in *asi*; *ph*



in *aphé*, det. I, 7, &c.; *tuphé*, det. I, 4, &c.; — at D., *s* in the locative in *asi*; — at S., *sum* in *sumi*, I, *s* in the locative; — at R., *sum* in *sumi*, I; *ph* in *tup(h)aka(n)*, 5; *s* in the locative; — at B., *s* in the locative in *asi*.

*sy* becomes *s*, at Kh., *s* in the genitive in *asa*; *siy* in *siyá*, XII, 31, al.; — at Dh., *s* in the genitive in *asa*; *siy* in *siyá*, passim; *álasiyéna*, det. I, 11; — at D., *sa* in the genitive; *siy* in *siyá*, IV, 15; VII-VIII, 11; — at R., *siy* in *siyá*, 3.

*sr* becomes *s*, Kh., Dh.; *sin*, at D., in *ásinavé* II, 11, al.

*sv* becomes, at Kh., *s* in *sakam*, VI, 18; *sv* in *svámikéna*, IX, 25; remains unchanged in *svagan*, VI, 20; — at Dh., remains unchanged: *asvásanáyé*, det. II, 8, 10; *svaga*, passim; becomes *sv* in *svámikéna*, IX, 10; at D., remains unchanged: *asvasá*, V, 18; *asvatha*, IV, 13; — at S., *su* in *suaga*, 4; — at D., remains unchanged in *svagé*, 3; — at B., remains unchanged in *svanigikiyá*, 6.

*hm* becomes, at Kh., *mbh* in *banbhana*, passim; once *nhm* in *banhmané*, XIII, 39; — at Dh., *bh*, *mbh* in *bábhana*, IV, 12, &c.; *banbhana*, IV, 15, &c.; — at D., *bh*: *bábhana*, VII-VIII, 4, 8.

#### (c). — Sandhi.

##### KHÁLSI.

*a + a* gives *á*; but *atatá*; II, 5, 6; *dhash-manusathi*; III, 7, al.; &c.

*a + i* gives *é* in *chémé*, V, 17; *i*, in *banbhani-bhésu*, V, 15.

*a + u* gives *ó*: *manusópagáni*, II, 3; *pajópádáyé*, IX, 24.

*a + é* gives *é*: *chéva*, IX, 25; *yénésa*, XIII, 38.

*i + a* gives *i* in *ithidhiyakha*, XII, 34.

*u + u* gives *ó* in *pasópagáni*, II, 5.

*é + a* gives *é* in *éyan* (?) (= *éayan*), V, 15; *étáyéfháyé*, VI, 20; *á* in *étáyáfháyé*, XII, 34.

*n + a* vowel changes to *m* in *tam éva*, XIII, 15; *tánam éva*, XIII, 38; *hévam évá*, II, 6; XIII, 6.

##### DEHLI.

*a + a* gives *á* (but *atata*, II, 7; *dhashmanusathi*, VIII, 5, &c.); or remains uncombined in: *maháapáyé*, det. I, 15 (Jaug., *maháapáyé*); *manaatiléké*, det. I, 16; *désaayutiké*; Jaug., det. II, 12 (Dh.: *désávu*°).

*a + i* gives *i* in *banbhani-bhiyésu*, V, 24.

*a + u* gives *ó* in *munisópagáni*, II, 7; *pajópádáyé*, IX, 26 (J.: *pajupadáyé*).

*a + é* gives *é* in *chéva*, IV, 16.

*i + i* gives *i* in *nitiyan* (??), det. I, 12 (Jaug. *nitiyan*), and in *kñtimé* (Jaug., det. I, 3), if we must really understand *kinti imé*.

*u + u* would seem to give *uó* in *pasuópagáni* (so also at J.) (= *pasu(k)ópagáni* ?), II, 7. But most probably we should take as starting point a form *ápaga* equivalent to *upaga*.

Before *ti* (= *iti*), a final vowel is lengthened: *patipádáyémáti*, det. I, 10; *pañipajéyáti*, XIV, 19; *mamáti*, det. I, 12; *aládhayanñtáti*, VI, 33; *aphésúti*, det. II, 4, &c.

*d* final remains unchanged in *tadópáyá*, VIII, 5.

*n* before a vowel changes to *m*, or is even written *nm* in *hédisanñméva*, det. I, 24; *sukha-nñméva*, det. II, 5.

##### DEHLI.

*a + a* gives *á*, or remains uncombined as in *°vasaabhísita*°, VI, I (RM *°sábhí*°), al.

*a + u* gives *ó*: *chháyópagáni*, VII-VIII, 2.

*a + é* gives *é* in *chéva*, VII-VIII, 4.

*i + a* gives *i* in *dupañivékhé*, III, 19; *pañivékhámi*, VI, 4, 7.

*u + a* gives *u* in *anuvékhamañé*, VII-VIII, 2.

*u + u* gives *u* in *anupósathayá*, V, 13.

*e + i* gives *i*, in *kiyan*, II, 11, if my explanation is right.

Before *ti*, a final short vowel is sometimes lengthened: *námáti*, III, 19; *kachhatiti*, II, 16 (RM *°ti*°); *áládhayévúti*, IV, 19, &c. (but *vadhísati ti*, VII-VIII, 7; *hótu ti*, VII-VIII, 10).

*d* final remains unchanged in *tadathá*, VII-VIII, 3.

*d* final remains unchanged in *sadvísati*, I, 1 al.; assimilated in *sahmáasiké*, V, 9.

*n* final remains unchanged, or is even doubled before a vowel; *hévamñméva*, VI, 6; *étaméva*, VII-VIII, 2; *kayánamñméva*, III, 17 (A *°namé*°).

##### BHABRA.

*Lághulórvádé*, 6; *samghasiti*, 2; *h(ó)satíti*, 4 *hévamñméva*, 8.

##### SAHASARÁM.

*Sádhiké*, 2.

##### RŪPNÁTH.

*Sátileka*.



## MISCELLANEA.

## AN EARLY KADAMBA ROCK INSCRIPTION.

The following rock-cut inscription, in two lines, was discovered by Mr. Govind Gangadhar Deshpande, at the falls of the Ghaṭaprabhā near Koṇṇār, in the Gōkāk Tālukā, Belgaum District. I transcribe it from estampages made by him; a note on them indicates that the inscription is "on the face of the cliff on the right of the falls."

## TEXT.

- 1 Pitṛi<sup>1</sup>-bhaktaś=śuchir=ddakaba[h] satv-  
ōtsāha-pratāpavān [1 \*]
- 2 Kadambarānām kulē jātaḥ śrīmān=Dāmō-  
darō pṛipah [11 \*]

## TRANSLATION.

Dutiful to (his) father, pure, intelligent, possessed of courage and energy and vigour, — (such is) the illustrious king Dāmōdara, born in the family of the Kadambas.

This record gives us a new name in the Early Kadamba family; and may perhaps be taken to indicate a point to the north-east to which the territories of the kings of that line extended. Dāmōdara is probably to be allotted to a period not long after the last of the connected names given in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 9.

Another point of interest in this record, is, that the characters, which belong to the southern class of alphabets, are of the same "box-headed" type with those used in the Ēraṇ inscription of Samudragupta and the Nachnē-ki-talāi and Siwanī Vākātaka records (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 18, 233, 243). The size of the letters varies from 2½" to 4"; the largest *akshara* not formed entirely between the lines of writing, — viz., the *śrī* of *śrīmān*, line 2, — is about ten inches from top to bottom. Line 1 is about 4' 4" long; and line 2, about two inches longer. It should be noted how the *visarga* is assimilated to the following sibilant in °bhaktaś=śuchir°, line 1; but the same is not done at the ends of the first and third quarters of the whole verse.

Near the above record, there occurs twice the name of śrī-Dāmōdara: once in "box-headed" characters of precisely the same type; and once in the characters customarily used in the Early and Western Chalukya records.

J. F. FLEET.

## A FOLKTALE ABOUT THE KÔMATIS.

The Kômatīs are generally the merchant class of Southern India. Economy and frugality are their characteristic traits. If a person goes to a Kômatī *bāḍr* to purchase anything, the merchant is all politeness to him and entreats him to take a seat. This politeness is partly superstitious, and leads to one curious practice. Supposing a purchaser asks for *pappu* (or *dāl*) and the Kômatī has none with him he will never say *lēḍhu* (no), but will answer "*Śivāmi, uppu undhī*, Sir, there is salt." "No" is considered to be a word of ill-omen and is never heard from a Kômatī's mouth. In giving an answer to do duty for "no," a Kômatī will usually try to rhyme to the purchaser's remarks.

To the popular mind the word *Kômatī*, or rather *Kumati*, taken to be *ku* (good) + *mati* (intellect), means a man of sense or a clever man.

In this connection the following story about the Kômatīs is told:—

"Once upon a time a Pāṇḍiyan king had a new silver goblet of enormous size made for the use of the palace, and he superstitiously believed that its first contents should not be of the ordinary kind. So in view of making a special use of it, he ordered his minister to publish it abroad that all the subjects of his kingdom were to put into the vessel a *chembu* full of milk from each house. The frugal Kômatīs, hearing of this, thought each within himself, 'Oh! when the king has ordered such a large quantity, and all will bring milk, it will be enough for me to take a *chembu* full of water, as a little water poured into such a large quantity of milk will not change its colour. It will not be known that I poured in only water, and I shall pass off as having given my tribute.' In this way all the Kômatīs brought each a *chembu* full of water, and no one of them told the other of the deceit he was about to practise. Now, it so happened that the Kômatīs were the first to enter the palace, while they thought that the people of other castes had come and gone. The vessel was placed behind a screen, so that no one might cast the evil eye on it and the Kômatīs were let in one by one to do honour to it. This they did in all haste and each returned with great joy in the success of his deceit. Thus there was nothing but water in the vessel. Now it had been arranged that the king was to be the first person to see the contents of his new vessel, and when he went to the apartment where the vessel was kept and saw its contents, he was

<sup>1</sup> Metro, Ślōka (Anuashubh).



thunderstruck to see only water, and was greatly disappointed. He became enraged at the impudence of the Kōmatis and directed his minister to punish them severely. However the ready-witted Kōmatis came forward with all presence of mind and cried out, 'O gracious king! appease thy anger and kindly listen to what we have to say.

We each brought a *chembu*-ful of water to find out how many *chembu*-fuls your Highness' precious vessel contained. Now that we have taken the measurement, we will forthwith fetch the quantity of milk required.' The king was extremely pleased to hear this and sent them away."

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### SIMILAR PASSAGES IN THE BHAGAVATA-PURANA AND THE BHAGAVADGITA.

While recently reading through the *Bhagavata-Purāṇa*, I came across several verses which are almost word for word the same as are found in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Others again, though not

word for word similar, yet are sufficiently so to prove that the author of the *Bhagavata-Purāṇa* was familiar with the *Bhagavadgītā*, and used it freely in the composition of his work. I give below, in parallel columns, a few of these similar verses :—

#### Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

नहि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ॥  
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म गुणैः स्वाभाविकैर्बलात् ॥  
6 ; 1, 53.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेयानितरस्तत्तद्दीहते ॥  
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥  
6 ; 2, 4.

यदा यदेह धर्मस्य क्षयो बृद्धिश्च पाप्मनः ॥  
तदा तु भगवानीश आत्मानं सृजते हरिः ॥  
9 ; 24, 56.

संस्थापनाय धर्मस्य प्रथमायेतरस्य च ॥  
अवतारिणो हि भगवानंशेन जगदीश्वरः ॥  
10 ; 33, 27.

पञ्च पुष्पं कलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ॥  
तदहं भक्त्युपहतमन्त्राणि प्रयत्नात्मनः ॥  
10 ; 81, 4.

#### Bhagavadgītā.

नहि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ॥  
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥  
3 ; 5.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ॥  
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥  
3 ; 21.

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ॥  
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥  
4 ; 7.

परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ॥  
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥  
4 ; 8.

पञ्च पुष्पं कलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ॥  
तदहं भक्त्युपहतमन्त्राणि प्रयत्नात्मनः ॥  
9 ; 26.

J. E. ABBOTT.

#### SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>.

It is generally stated by those who can speak with authority on the subject, that the Burmese derived their culture, religion, and letters from India through the Talaings, and that Burmese civilization dates from the conquest of Thaton by Anōrat'āzō<sup>2</sup> (Pāli Anuruddha) in 1058 A. D. This statement appears to be vitiated to some extent by the fact of the existence in the Burmese language of a number of Sanskrit words, both derived and naturalized, importing not only terms in religion and mythology, but also those relating to social life. The language of Magadha,

in which the *Tripitāka* and its commentaries are written, being the language of their religion, one would naturally expect that the Burmese would borrow from Pāli rather than from Sanskrit. The appended list may, in some degree, serve to corroborate the above statement.

The following remarkable passage, extracted from the preface of Trenekner's edition of the *Milindopañho*, will be of interest in the present connection, as shewing the use by the Burmese of the Sanskrit, rather than the Pāli, spelling of certain Indian words :—

"It is, however, but fair to add that, on closer

<sup>1</sup> [In explanation of this note it must be remarked that in Burmese pronunciation consonants are seldom aspirated. Where they are the aspirate is shown by '—'. The consonants shown in brackets, as (k), (t), denote the common Burmese trick of barely sounding certain

finals in syllables. In Burmese *ky*, *kr* are sounded *ch* : *gy*, *gr* as *j*. In every case in the table the pronunciation of *th* is as in *thin*. The Burmese *t* and *d* are practically the English sound of these consonants.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> [ō represents the sound of *aw*, as in *awful*.—ED.]



acquaintance, certain spellings (found in Burmese MSS.) are met with, which strike our attention by agreeing closer with Sanskrit in etymology than the corresponding Sinhalese forms. Now the Burmese

can scarcely be suspected of introducing Sanskritisms,<sup>2</sup> and it is rather to be presumed that, in such cases, they have been the sole preservers of the true and original Pāli form."

Burmese.		Sanskrit.	Pāli.
Spelling.	Pronunciation.		
1. Adhvan	Adun	Adhvan	Addhaniya
2. Amrūt <sup>4</sup>	Amyaik	Amṛita	Amata
3. Bhisik <sup>5</sup>	Bé(k)thék	Abhiśhēka	Abhisēka
4. Chakrā <sup>6</sup>	Se(t)chā	Chakra	Chakka
5. Chakravālā	Se(t)chawalā	Chakravāla	Chakkavāla
6. Chakravatēg	Se(t)chawadēg	Chakravartin	Chakkavati
7. Chankram	Zinjan	Chankram	Chankama
8. Drap	Dya(t)	Dravya	Dabba
9. Groh	Jo	Graha	Gaha
10. Kambhā <sup>7</sup>	Kabā	Kalpa	Kappa
11. Mrikasō	Myē(k)katho	Mṛigaśiras	Migasira
12. Parissad	Payē(k)that	Parishad	Parisā
13. Phusha	P'ō(k)thā	Pushya	Phussa
14. Prakatē	Pyagadē	Prakati	Pakati
15. Prassad	Pya(t)that	Prāsāda	Pāsāda
16. Prittā <sup>8</sup>	Pēktā	Prēta	Pēta
17. Rasē <sup>9</sup>	Yathē	Rishi	Isi
18. Samuddarā <sup>10</sup>	Thamō(k)dayā	Samudra	Samudda
19. Sāriputtarā <sup>11</sup>	Thāyipō(k)tayā	Sāriputra	Sāriputta
20. Sattavā	Thadawā	Sattva	Satta
21. Sikrā <sup>12</sup>	Thajā g	Sakra	Sakka

TAW SEIN KO.

#### KALLIL, A FAMOUS SHRINE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

Kallil, which means literally 'a stone,' is the name of a famous pagoda situate in the Kannuthnad Tālukā of North Travancore, about sixteen

miles east by north of Tripuntem, the residence of the Cochin royal family itself, and distant about six miles east of the British port of Cochin.

Members of the small colony of Baniāns (Jain Vaiśyas) settled in Native Cochin frequent

<sup>2</sup> [It is by no means yet proved, however, that the Burmese had no learned communications with India direct in days gone by.—ED.]

<sup>4</sup> This word being a synonym for Nirvāna, one would naturally expect a derivative from Pāli rather than from Sanskrit.

<sup>5</sup> The prefix a of Sanskrit and Pāli derivatives is generally elided in Burmese: cf. *sankhyē* for *asankhyēya*; *dhīpati* for *adhipati*.

<sup>6</sup> The conjunct consonant r is sounded as r in the Arakanese dialect, but is always softened into y by the Burmese. The ch of Sanskrit and Pāli is always pronounced s by the Burmese.

<sup>7</sup> The conjunct consonant l, as in *sallāpa*, *allāpa* (pronounced *sālāpa*, *ālāpa*), is always pronounced like *annasāra* in Burmese. In ancient books the word *kambhā* (for *kolpa*) is written *kashphā*.

<sup>8</sup> The vowel i is pronounced as ē when followed by a consonant.

<sup>9</sup> It is a remarkable fact that the Talaiings, through whom the Burmese are supposed to have derived their

knowledge of Buddhism, have naturalized the Pāli word *isi*, in its proper form, while the Burmese have adopted a Sanskrit derivative from *rishi*.

<sup>10</sup> The pronunciation of *dra* is phonetically impossible to a Burman: hence the insertion of an augmentative a between d and r. See a similar augment in the cases of *tra* and *tva* in the two next words.

<sup>11</sup> The Sanskrit form of the name of the chief disciple of Gautama Buddha is worthy of notice.

<sup>12</sup> A fanciful etymology has been invented to derive Sakra from *thi*, to know, and *kyā* g, to hear: knowing and hearing of events that happen in the world of Men being one of the attributes of the Recording Angel of Buddhism. [In Upper Burma I have known the word spelt (*sakya*) *the(s)cha*, though pronounced correctly *thajā*, and the folk etymology of it given as *that*, to descend, and (*kyā*) *cha*, to fall, i.e., he who descends and falls, because the Burmese Recording Angel descends to the earth during the great annual festival of the New Year.—ED.]



this shrine, and believe that he who proceeds thither a sufficiently large number of times obtains salvation. The pagoda is on the top of a precipitous rock, a small portion of which alone touches the earth, affording a beautiful and wonderful scene to anyone who goes up. A Pisharôti (high-caste Sûdra temple-servant by profession), who lives close by, has the sole management of the pagoda, although he is looked down upon, because he has not a large family growing up round him. Siva and Bhâgavati are both enshrined here. Of recent years a figure of Brahmâ is said to have sprung up of itself on the top of the rock.

There is a superstition that if Bhâgavati's image is not the first to be seen on going up to worship, the pilgrim is sure to die within eight days thereafter, generally by a sudden attack of fever. Several instances in point are cited by the villagers. Pilgrims, therefore, take the necessary precautions to avoid so sudden a termination of their earthly existence.

In Malabar the solar (or Tamil) New Year's Day (recurring on 12th April) is called Vishu, and is observed as a day of rejoicing and festivity. Early on the morning of this day it is the duty of every devout Hindu to see the village deity the first of all things. For this purpose many lie down to sleep the previous night within the pagoda precincts, and people, who sleep in their own houses in the neighbourhood, are escorted thither by those who have been the first to make their obeisance. The good or bad fortunes of the whole year appear to them to turn on this matter. Many go to see the image with their eyes shut, and sometimes bound with a cloth, — a common custom during visits to particular images.

The evening *pûjâ* to the goddess is offered at the Pisharôti's house, and not at the pagoda on the top of the hill, which is not approached by human beings in the afternoon, or after the midday service is over. The tradition is that the goddess was once coming from Muhambi (a celebrated shrine in the Western Ghâts in South Kanara) playing with two pieces of stone and tossing them up and down as she was moving along, with a worshipper in front of her. All of a sudden, as they came near this spot, the man, — according, it is said, to a vow the goddess had taken, — sat down. There are two rocks on the hill, which appear to touch the ground beneath them without actually doing so, and these are said to be the two stones used by the goddess.

Efforts are occasionally made to raise a wall round the pagoda to prevent crows, &c., from

coming into it; but the rock always gradually rises, so as to throw down the building. The old men of the village are always willing to certify to this.

N. SUNKUNI WARIAR.

#### ANTIQUITIES OF MALABAR: PARAL.

Mr. R. Sewell, *Lists of Madras Antiquities* (Vol. I., p. 255), says —

"Five miles south by west of Trichûr — on a rock, here, is an inscription with some large foot-prints cut in bas-relief and other sculptures."

I beg to subjoin some notes on the place.

The small pagoda here is known as *Pârola* (lit. on a rock, as it actually is). It is dedicated to Vishnu. It belonged to Mayaya Mangalam Namburi (author of the *Naishada Champu*), on the extinction of whose family the rights in it devolved on Tarananellurir Namburi. The pagoda was built about 1866 by the present Uaya Râja of Cochin.

On the northern side of the pagoda are five *tirthams* or sacred pools, and one on the western side. These *tirthams* are named after the Pândavas, who are said to have lived here for some time.

Dharmaputra's is circular in shape. That of Bhîmasêna is shaped like his *gada* (instrument). That of Arjuna is shaped like his bow. Those of Nakula and Sahadêva are smaller in size, and are the only ones in which there is no water during the hottest weather. The water in that of Pâñchâlî (the consort of the Pândavas) is reddish, and said to be so because she bathed in it to purify herself after her courses.

On the rock may be traced lines drawn for playing at dice. Here is a small shrine dedicated to Ganapati.

About half a mile to the south is the celebrated pagoda of Ayyappan or Shasthavu, the village deity, nearly opposite which is the fifth milestone from Trichûr. It is owned by a large number of Namburi houses in the district.

The offerings most pleasing to the deity are cakes, *kadali* plantains, *rasayams*, *nei* (*ghî*) and *pal* (milk).

The god is noted for giving to dumb worshippers perfection in the art of letters, and there are traditions of several men having become famous after a continued worship here. The young Brâhmans of the neighbourhood make it a point, before starting in life, to worship here for terms varying from seven days to one year.

N. SUNKUNI WARIAR.



## THE AMGACHHI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIGRAHAPALADEVA III.

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

**T**HE plate which contains this inscription was found, in 1806, at **Amgachhi** in the Dinājpur District of the Bengal Province, by a peasant, digging earth for the repair of a road near his cottage;<sup>1</sup> and it was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in whose Library it is still deposited. An account of the inscription was given by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 434-38, and republished in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 279-82. And a tentative reading of the text was first published by Dr. Hoernle, in the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part ii. pp. 210-13, and reprinted, after revision, *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 166-68. For my own account of this inscription I have used an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

The plate is a single one, measuring about  $12\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by  $14\frac{1}{2}$ " high, and surmounted by a highly wrought ornament of brass, fixed on the upper part, and advanced some distance on the plate so as to occasion a considerable break in the upper lines. It contains 49 lines of writing, 33 of which are on the front, and 16 on the back of the plate.—The writing has suffered much from corrosion, especially on the proper right side of the front and on the corresponding part of the back, where many *aksharas* are more or less illegible.—The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The characters may be described as Nāgarī, of about the 11th century A.D., but as a special feature of the alphabet employed it may be pointed out that *r*, preceding another consonant, is often written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which it forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign, — a peculiarity which the inscription shares with others written in Eastern India.—The language is Sanskrit. From about the middle of line 20 to the beginning of line 43 the inscription is in prose; the rest, excepting the introductory *ōṃ svasti*, is in verse.—As regards orthography, the imperfect state of the plate prevents me from saying more than that *ḃ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata, or Buddha, the *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Vigrahapālādēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Nayapālādēva** (lines 23-24); and both in the arrangement of the matter and in its wording it follows closely the Bhāgalpur grant of **Nārayanapālādēva**, published *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 305-7. After the words *ōṃ svasti*, it contains (in lines 1-20) fourteen verses on the genealogy of **Vigrahapāla**, the text of which will be given in full below. In the prose portion which follows (lines 20-42) the king — from his camp of victory pitched at a place which was not *Mudgagiri*, but which is spoken of exactly as *Mudgagiri* is in the Bhāgalpur plate, — informs the people and officials concerned that, in order to please the holy Buddha (*bhagavantaṃ Vṛ(bu)ddha-bhaṭṭārakam* = *uddiśya*, line 36), after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (line 40), he has granted to a Brāhmaṇ some land in the **Kōṭivarsha vishaya** of the **Puṇḍravardhana bhukti** (line 24); and he directs the people to make over to the donee whatever may be due to him under this grant. This prose part closes (in line 42) with the date, probably 'the year 13<sup>2</sup> on the 9th day of Chaitra.' Lines 42-48 contain a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses. Another verse (in lines 48-49) gave the name of the *dūta*, appointed by **Vigrahapāla** for this grant. And the inscription (in line 49) closes with a verse according to which the plate was engraved by the artizan **Saśidēva**, a son of **Mahidharadēva**<sup>3</sup>, who, or whose ancestors, had come from the village of **Pōsali**.

What is of real and, indeed, of very great value in this inscription, — the latest copper-plate grant hitherto discovered of the so-called Pāla dynasty of Bengal, — are the fourteen verses with which it opens. Of these, verses 1-5 are identical with the verses 1, 2, 4, 5

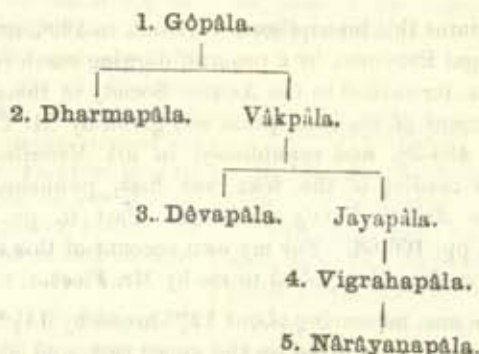
<sup>1</sup> See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> I am unable to make out with certainty from the ink-impression whether the year is 12 or 13.

<sup>3</sup> This **Mahidhara** engraved the Dinājpur plate of **Mahipālādēva** which will be mentioned below.



and 7, and the sixth verse is only a slightly altered version of verse 10, of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 305. And the genealogy, furnished by these six verses, undoubtedly is as Dr. Hultsch, *ib.* p. 304, has put it:—



The verses 7-11 it would have been impossible to make out fully from this Āmgāchhī plate alone. But fortunately the very same verses also occur in a copper-plate grant of Mahīpālādēva, which a few years ago was discovered at Dinājpur, and of which rubbings have been supplied to me by Dr. Hoernle.<sup>4</sup> And although in the Dinājpur plate they are in general even less legible than in the Āmgāchhī plate, a continued study and comparison of both plates has enabled me to restore the text in a manner which I believe to be substantially correct. The Dinājpur plate also contains verse 14 of the Āmgāchhī plate, but places it immediately before the verse referring to Mahīpālādēva, between verses 10 and 11 of the Āmgāchhī plate. For the decipherment of verses 12 and 13 (lines 16-19) of the present grant I have had no help beyond the ink-impression.

Now, having (in verse 6) brought the genealogy down to Nārāyaṇa, our inscription, according to my text, proceeds as follows:—

(Line 11). 'And his son was the protector of the middle world, the illustrious Rājyapāla, whose fame is proclaimed by tanks as deep as the sea, and by temples the walls of which equal the noblest mountains.

As the store of light proceeds from the eastern mountain, so sprang from that king of the east a son, born from Bhāgyadēvi, a daughter of the high-crowned Tunga,<sup>5</sup> the moon of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, — the illustrious Gōpālādēva, who was long the sole lord of the earth, gaily clad by the four oceans, lustrous with many precious stones.

Him, richly endowed with the qualities of a king, the Fortune of regal power — energy, good counsel, and majesty, — worshipped as her lord, dear and attached to him, though he served<sup>6</sup> the earth like a fellow-wife.

From him sprang in the course of time, augmenting the innumerable blessings of his parent, Vīgrahapālādēva, who, dear to all, stainless and versed in every art, when he arose, alleviated like the moon<sup>7</sup> the distress of the world.

From him sprang the protector of the earth, the illustrious Mahīpālādēva. Having in the pride of his arm slain in battle all opponents, and having obtained his father's kingdom which had been snatched away by people who had no claim to it, he put down his lotus-foot on the heads of princes.

<sup>4</sup> My reading of the text of this inscription will be published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*

<sup>5</sup> The words *bhāgyadēvi* and *tunga* of the original text need not, perhaps, necessarily be taken as proper names; but there can be no doubt that the author, by the words *tungasy-ottunga-maulīb*, wishes to suggest the name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king of whom he is speaking.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of the Dinājpur plate is here slightly different.

<sup>7</sup> The epithets, applied to the king, would also be applicable to the moon.



From him, in consequence of his religious merits, was born the fortunate prince **Nayapāla**. Renouncing the attachment to sin, putting down his foot on the heads of princes, eagerly fulfilling all desires, free from mental blindness, beloved by his subjects, and the one home of affection, — he was like the sun which, when it rises from the eastern mountain, moves away from the night, touches with its rays the tops of mountains, opens up quickly all the quarters, drives away darkness, and is pleasant and red.

From him is born the illustrious prince **Vigrahapālādēva**, full of majesty, eagerly gazed at by the good, always anxious to worship Smara's enemy, expert in battle even more than Hari, a god of death for the clan of his enemies, and a supporter of the four castes who pleases the world with the abundance of his bright fame.\*

When the huge elephants of his army had drunk pure water in the water-abounding eastern land, and had roamed about at will in the sandal-forests at the foot of the Malaya range, they like clouds settled down on the ridges of the snowy mountain, having cooled the trees with showers of drizzling rain.†

Our *Āmgāchhī* plate, then, clearly furnishes the following line of the so-called Pāla kings:—

1. **Gōpāla I.**
2. His son **Dharmapāla**. (According to the Mungir plate he married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess.<sup>10</sup> And according to the Bhāgalpur plate he conquered Indrarāja of Mahōdaya or Kanauj, and gave the sovereignty of Kanauj to Chakrāyudha. See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 188.)
3. His nephew **Dēvapāla**; (in his Mungir plate, which is dated in the year 33 of his reign, described as the son of Dharmapāla.)
4. His nephew **Vigrahapāla I**; (married, according to the Bhāgalpur plate, Lajjā, a Haihaya princess.)
5. His son **Nārāyaṇapāla**. (His Bhāgalpur plate is dated in the year 17 of his reign.)
6. His son **Rājyapāla**; (married Bhāgyadēvī, a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Tūṅga perhaps to be identified with Jagattuṅga II, who ruled in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D.)
7. His son **Gōpāla II.**
8. His son **Vigrahapāla II.**
9. His son **Mahipāla**. (He issued the Dinājpur copper-plate grant; and the Sarnāth inscription, published *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 140, furnishes for him the date V. 1083 = A. D. 1026.)
10. His son **Nayapāla**. (A Cambridge MS. is dated in the 14th year and a Gayā inscription in the 15th year of his reign. See Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 175, and Introduction; p. iii. and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. III. Plate xxxvii.)
11. His son **Vigrahapāla III**; (issued this *Āmgāchhī* copper-plate grant which is dated in the 12th or 13th year of his reign).

As indicated above, this statement of the relationship of the Pāla kings does not, so far as regards Dēvapāla, agree with the account furnished by the Mungir copper-plate, which distinctly makes that king the son of Dharmapāla, and his queen a Rāshtrakūṭa princess. This difference I am unable to reconcile. For the rest, I have only to add that all these kings undoubtedly were Buddhists; and that the figures given under 9, 10, and 11, prove this *Āmgāchhī* plate of Vigrahapāla III. to have been issued after A. D. 1053.

\* My translation very imperfectly expresses the meaning of this verse. It may be sufficient to say that the king is represented as the substratum of four colours (*chāturaṅga*), inasmuch as he was yellow (*piṭa*), red (*rakta*), green (*harita*), and black (*lōla*).

† viz., with the water emitted from their trunks.

<sup>10</sup> Was she a daughter of Śrī-Vallabha? i. e., Gōvinda III. (who ruled in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D.)? The lithograph has *śrī-Paravāṇasya dūṭitā*.



TEXT, LINES 1-20.<sup>11</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>12</sup> svasti || Maitrīn<sup>13</sup> kâ[runya]-ratna-pramudita-hṛidayah prēyasīm sandadbānah  
 2 [sa]myak=samvô(mbô)[dhi-vi]dyâ-sarid-amala-[jala-kshâ]lit-ājñāna-pa-  
 3 űkah | jivā yah kâma-kâri-prabhavam=abhibhavam śâsvatī[m]  
 4 prâpa śânti[m] sa śrīmâml=lôkanâthô jayati Da[śa]va(ba)lô snyaś=cha  
 5 [Gôpâladê]vah || Lakshmi<sup>14</sup>-jâmma-nikêtanam samakarô vôdhu[m] kshamah kshma-  
 bharam paksha-chelhêda-bhayâd=upasthitavatâm=êk-âsrayô bhûbhrit[â]m |  
 [mary]jâdâ-paripâlan-aika-niratah sau(śau)ry[â]-  
 6 [layô] smâd=abhûd=du]gdh-âmbhêdhi-vilâsa-hâsi-mahimâ śrī-Dharmapâlô nṛipah ||  
 Râmasy=êva grihita-satya-tapâsas=tasy=ânurûpô guṇaiḥ Saumitrêr=udapâdi  
 tulya-  
 7 [mahimâ Vâkpâla]-nâm=ânujah | yah śrīmân=naya-vikram-aika-vasatir=bhrātuh  
 sthitah śâsanê sūnyah śatru-patâkinibhir=akarôd=ek-âtapattrâ diśah ||<sup>15</sup>  
 Tasmâd<sup>15</sup>=U-  
 8 [pêndra-charitair=jagati]m=punânah putrô va(ba)bhûva vijayi Jayapâla-nâmâ |  
 dharma-dvishâ[m] samayitâ yudhi Dêvapâlô yah pûrvajô<sup>16</sup> bhuvana-râjya-  
 sukhâny=avai(nai)shît || Śrīmâ<sup>17</sup>  
 9 [n=Vîgra]hapâlas=tat-sûnur=Ajâtaśatru=iva jâtah | śatru-vanitâ-prasâdhana-vilôpi-  
 vimal-âsi-jala-dhârah || Dikpâlaih<sup>18</sup> kshiti-pâlanâya dâdhatah dêh[ê] vibha-  
 10 [ktân=gu]ṇân<sup>19</sup> śrīmantam janayâmvâ(mba)bhûva tanayam Nârâyana[m] sa  
 prabhu[m] | yah kshôṇipatibhiḥ śirômaṇi-ruch=âślishṭ-âṅgh[r]i-piṭh-ôpala[m]  
 nyây-ôpâttam=alamchakâra charitaih  
 11 [svai]r=êva dharm-âsanam || Tôyâśayir<sup>20</sup>=jaladhi-mûla-gabbhira-garbhair=d[ê]vâlayaiś=  
 cha kulabhûva(dha)ra-tulya-kakshaih | vikhyâta-kîrttir=abhavat=tannayaś=cha  
 tasya śrī-Râjyapâla i-  
 12 ti [madhya]ma-lôka-pâlâh || Tasmât<sup>21</sup>=pûrva-kshidhrân=nidhir=iva mahasâ[m] Râsh-  
 trakûṭ-ânvay-êndôs=Tuṅgasy=ôttuṅga-maulêr=duhitari tanayô Bhâgyadêvyam  
 prasûtah ||<sup>22</sup> śrīmâ-  
 13 [n=Gôpâla]dêvas=chirataaram=avanêr=êkapatnyâ iv=aikô bhartt=âbhûn=naika-ratna-  
 dyuti-khachita-chatuh-sindhu-chitr-âmsukâyâh || Ya[m]<sup>23</sup> svâmina[m] râja-  
 guṇair=anûnam=âsêvatê châ-  
 14 [ruta]r=ânuraktâ | utsâha-mantra-prabhu-śakti-lakshmiḥ prithvīm sapatnīm=iva ślâ-  
 yanta[m] || Tasmâd<sup>24</sup>=va(ba)bhûva savitur=vasu-kôṭi-vardhî kâlêna chandra  
 iva Vîgrahapâladêva-  
 15 [h]i viśva[?]priyêṇa vimalêna kalâmayêna yêṇ=ôditêna dalitô bhuvanasya tâpah ||  
 Hata<sup>25</sup>-sakala-vipakshah saṅgarô vâ(bâ)hu-darpâd=anadhikṛita-viluptam râjyam=  
 âsâdya pitryam ||<sup>26</sup>  
 16 [nihita]-charaṇa-padinô bhûbhritâm mûrdhni tasmâd=abhavad=avanipâlâh śrī-Mahi-  
 pâlâdêvah || Tyajan<sup>27</sup>=dôshâsaṅga[m] śirasi kṛita-pâdah kshiti-bhritâm vitan-  
 van sarvv-âśah prasabha-  
 17 [m=nda]yâdrêr=iva raviḥ ||<sup>28</sup> hata-dhvântah snigdha-prakṛitir=anurag-ai(?)ka-vasatis=  
 tatô dhanyah puṇyair=ajani Nâyapâlô narapatiḥ || Pîtah<sup>29</sup> sajjana-  
 lê(lô)chanaih Smara-ripôh pûj-â-

<sup>11</sup> From an impression supplied by Mr. Fleet.<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol. This symbol for Ōm is apparently preceded by the *akshara* *ni*, which is also put in the upper proper left corner of the plate. In the Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyana-pâla the same *akshara* *ni* is engraved in the upper right and left corners of the plate, above the first line. And in the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâla it stands at the beginning and end of the first line. I am unable to explain the meaning of this *akshara*.<sup>13</sup> Metre, Sragdharâ.<sup>14</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śârdûlavikrîjita.<sup>16</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>17</sup> Metre, Mâlinî.<sup>18</sup> Originally *pûrvajô*, but altered to *pûrvaj*.<sup>19</sup> Read *guṇân-śrīmantam*. The Bhâgalpur plate has *vibhaktâh śrīyah*.<sup>20</sup> Metre, Sragdharâ.<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śikharîpî.<sup>22</sup> Metre, Śârdûlavikrîjita; and of the next verse.<sup>23</sup> Metre, Aryâ.<sup>24</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>25</sup> Metre, Sragdharâ.<sup>26</sup> Metre, Sragdharâ.<sup>27</sup> Metre, Aryâ.<sup>28</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.<sup>29</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.



- 18 [nuraktaḥ sadā]<sup>27</sup> saṁgrāmē [chaturō] 5dhika[ī=cha] Haritaḥ kāla[h\*] kulē  
vidviśhām | chāturvvarṇya-samāśrayaḥ sitayasa(sa)[h-puḥjai]jagad=rañjayan<sup>27</sup>  
śrīmad.Vigrahapālādēva-nṛpati-  
19 [r=jajñē tatō dhāma-bhṛit?] || Dēśē<sup>28</sup> prāchi prachura-payasi svachchham=āpiya  
tōyaṁ svairam bhrāntvā tad=anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu | kṛtvā sām-  
drais=tarushu jātātām śikarair-a-  
20 [bhra-tulyāḥ Prālō]y-ādrēḥ kaṭakam=abhajan=yasya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ ||

## 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 page 92.)

## 2. — INFLEXION.

## (a). — Gender.

I do not mention here the use of the nominative in *ē* for the neuter, although, strictly speaking, it should, I consider, be dealt with under this head (cf. at Kh., VI, 9, *kataviyaṁ lōkahitē*, &c.).

KHĀLSI. — *chat(u)ḥ* (nom. masc.), XIII, 5; *hathini* (nom. plur.), IV, 10; *yutāni* (acc. plur. masc.), III, 8. Also note the use of *īyaṁ* for the nom. sing. neut. (IV, 12, al.).

DHAULI. — *yutāni*, III, 11; *hathini*, IV, 13; *īyaṁ* in the neuter, passim; *ēsa* . . . *hēdisaṁ*, IX, 8; *dhānuachalanam imam*, IV, 16. To the masculine *imē jātd*, Dh., det. I, 12, corresponds, at Jangada, the neuter *ētāni jātdni*, Dh., det. I, 15, *mahāapāyē* is in agreement with the feminine *asānpaṭipati*.

DEHLI. — *anusathini*, VII-VIII, 20, 1; *pulisāni*, IV, 6; *ēsa* (III, 19, 21, al.) and *īyaṁ* (III, 17, 18, al.), in the neuter; *nigōhāni*, VII-VIII, 2.

BHABRA. — *paliyāyāni*, 6; *ē* (nom. sing. neuter), 2.

SAHASARĀM. — *īyaṁ* for the neuter, 4, 6, and the masculine, 5.

RĀPNĀTH. — *Kāla* employed in the feminine: *imāya kālāya*, locative, 2; *īyaṁ* in the masculine, 3, 4.

## (b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

Here again we only find fragmentary remains.

Bases in AN. — Kh.: *lājā*, passim; *lājine*; *lājina*; nom. plur. *lājānē*, XIII, 5, al.; *lājānō*

(?), II, 5. — Dh.: *lājā*, *lājine*, *lājina*, passim.; nom. plur. *lājānē*, II, 6; VIII, 3; *atānān*, det. II, 7; *atanē*, det. I, 25; *kanūmanē*, III, 10 (by the side of the nom. *kanūmē*, and of the gen. *kanūmasa*). — D.: *lājā*, passim; nom. plur. *lājānē*, VII-VIII, 12, 15, by the side of *lājīhi*, VII-VIII, 3, with transition into the *i*-declension; *atanā*, VI, 8.

Bases in ANT. — Kh.: the noms. sing. *saṁtē*, VIII, 22; *kalānūlē*, XII, 33, have passed over into the vocalic declension; of the consonantal declension there only remains the nom. plur. *tīḥanūlē*, IV, 12. — Dh.: *mahanūlē* (nom. sing.) has passed over into the declension in *a*. — D.: the nom. plur. *saṁtām* (*ōtā*), IV, 13, is surely to be referred to the vocalic declension, which is doubtful for *anupaṭipajantām*, VII-VIII, 10. — Bh.: *bhagavatā*, 3, 6.

Bases in AR(RI). — At Kh., except in the nominative plural *natālē*, IV, 11; V, 13, all have passed over into the declension in *i*: *bhātina*, IX, 25; *bhātinam*, V, 16; *pitina*, IX, 25; *pitisu*, III, 8; IV, 11. — Dh.: nom. sing. *pitō*, det. II, 7; the nom. plur. *nāti*, V, 21, must be referred to the declension in *i*, like all the other forms: *bhātina*, IX, 9; *bhātinam*, V, 25; *pitina*, IX, 9; *pitisu*, III, 10, al. But, along with the base *māti*, IV, 15, we find the base *pitn*, IV, 15. — At D., the one example which we possess, *pitisu*, VII-VIII, 8, shews the change into the *i*-declension. The nom. *apakaṭṭā*, VI, 3, is at least very doubtful.

Bases in AS. — Kh.: *yasō* (acc. sing.), X, 27, 28. On the other hand, VIII, 23, we have *bhuyē*. — Dh.: *yasō*, X, 13, and *bhuyē*, VII-VIII, 9.

<sup>27</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mandākrantā.



**Bases in IN.** — At Kh., we have both the consonantal form *piyadasiné*, *piyadasinā*, and the vocalic form *piyadasisū*, I, 2, 3, &c. — At Dh., along with the nom. *piyadasī* (never °si), we only find the consonantal declension *piyadasiné*, *piyadasinā*. — At D., we have only the nom. *piyadasī*, written always with the short final vowel, while A has usually *piyadasī*. — Bh.: *piyadasī*, 1.

(c). — Declension of vocalic bases.

**Bases in A. — Masculines.** — Nom. sing. everywhere *é*. Kh. has two noms. in *ó*: *kēlālaputó* and *sātiyaputó*, II, 4. — Dat. sing. in *áyé*, everywhere except at R., which has only the two datives *étāya athāya*, and once at M. in *athāya*, corresponding to D., II, 15. — Loc. sing. in *asi*. *Anúé bhágé* (Kh., VIII, 23; Dh., VIII, 5) and *pajópādáyé* (Kh., IX, 24; Dh., IX, 6) appear to be locs. in *é*; at Jaug., det. II, 16, *khanókhānāsi* of Dh. is represented by *khané saññānā*, which can hardly be taken as anything but a double locative, *saññānā* being equivalent to *saññé* (?); Kh. appears to read *vijayānāsi*, XII, 11. — Abl. sing. in *ā* in *mahātātā*, R., II, 5, 3. — The acc. plur. would be in *ā* in *bahukā dōsā*, Kh., I, 2, if comparison with G. and J. did not lead us to consider that this spelling represents the singular *bahukānā posānā*. In Dh. det. I, 18; Dr. Bühler appears to take *tise* (which is his reading for my *tisena*) as an acc. plur.

**Neuters.** — Nominatives singular everywhere in *é*. Kh., however, has the following nominatives in *anā*: *anā*, IV, 12; XII, 31; *anusāsānā*, IV, 12; *bādhanā*, VII, 22; XII, 32; XIII, 36; *dānā*, III, 8; *galumatātalanā*, XIII, 36; *kaṭaviyānā* (*lōkahitē*), VI, 19; *lēkhitanā*, IV, 13; *madarānā* (?), XIII, 2; *nītyānā* (?), XIV, 19; *palānā*, V, 14; *yanā*, VIII, 23. — Dh.: *bādhanā*, VII, 2; *durālā* (= *°lānā* ?), det. II, 2; (Jaug., I, 2, *durālānā*; II, 2, *durālē*); *rutānā*, IX, 10; *hēdāṣānā*, IX, 10; det. I, 29. — In det. I, 14, I doubt very much the nom. *saññāpāṭipāda* = *°dānā* of Dr. Bühler. — D.: *bādhanā*, III, 21; VII-VIII, 1. — S.: *bādhanā*, 1. — Acc. sing. in *anā* everywhere. But at Kh.: *satabhāgē*, *sahasabhāgē*, XIII, 39; *dānē*, XII, 31; *viyasanē*, XII, 38; *nichē*, VIII, 22. — Nom. and acc. plur. in *ānī*. But at Kh.: *dasānā*, IV, 9; *hālāpītā*, *lōpāpītā*, II, 6; *savā*, XII, 31; at Dh.: *hālāpītā*, II, 7.

**Feminines.** — Dative sing. in *áyé*; D.: *rihñāyāyē*, V, 10; VII-VIII, 9, &c. — Instr. sing., Kh.: *madhuliyāyē*, XIV, 20; *pujāyē*, XII, 31; *vividhāyā*, XII, 31 (read *vividhāyē*); Dh.: *dar(ā)yē*, det. I, 9; *isāyā*, det. I, 10; *tūlanāyā*, det. I, 11 (Jaug. in *áyé*); D.: *agāyā*, I, 3 (RM °ya); *agāyā*, I, 4 (M °yanā); *anulū*, *pāyā*, VII-VIII, 13, 16, 18; *avikñāsāyē*, VII-VIII, 9; *kāmatāyā*, I, 3 (ARM °ya); *palikhāyā*, I, 4 (ARM °ya); *pujāyā*, VI, 8 (RM °ya); *vividhāyā*, VI, 8; *vividhāyā*, VII-VIII, 3; *susāsāyā*, I, 4 (RM °ya). — Abl. sing., D.: *vihñāyē*, II, 13. — Loc. sing., Kh.: *saññālanāyē*, *pujāyē*, VI, 19; Dh.: *saññālanāyā*, VI, 31 (Jaug. has *saññālanāyā*, which should probably be read: *°nāyā*); *palisāyā*, VI, 30. D.: *aññālikāyē*, V, 20; *aṭhamāpakhāyē*, V, 15, 18; *chāvudāsāyē*, V, 15, &c.; *tisāyānā*, V, 11 (*tisāyē*, V, 15, 18). — Nom. plur., Dh.: *pajā*, V, 17; *janāo*, IX, 24; Bh.: *gāthā*, 5; *upāsikā*, 8.

**Bases in I. — Neuters.** — Nom. plur., Dh.: *hathīnī*, IV, 3. D.: *āśnavagāminī*, III, 20; *anusathīnī*, VII-VIII, 20, 1.

**Feminines.** — Nom. sing., Kh.: in *ī*; D h.: in *ī*, except *akñī*, IV, 18; *ālādhi*, det. I, 15, 16; *anusathī*, I, 4, 14; VIII, 5; *aparīyati*, III, 11; *asānāṭipati*, IV, 12; det. I, 5; *lipi*, I, 1, 4; det. I, 19; det. II, 9, 10 (Jaug. °pā); *dhiti*, det. II, 6; D.: in *ī*, except *ālādhi*, VII-VIII, 10; *libi*, VII-VIII, 10, 11; *lipi*, I, 2; II, 15; IV, 2; *dhiti*, IV, 11; *paṭipati*, VII-VIII, 7; *radhi*, VII-VIII, 8, 9; *vidhi*, I, 9. — Dative sing., Kh.: *radhiyā*, V, 15. D., in *iyē*: *anupāṭipatiyē*, VII-VIII, 7, &c. — Instr. sing., Kh.: in *iyā*; but *anusathiyē*, IV, 10. Dh. in *iyā*; but *anāvūtiyā*, det. I, 11 (Jaug. °tiyē). D., *iyā*, as *anusathiyā*, I, 5 (RM °ya), &c. — Abl. sing., Kh.: *saññāpāṭipatiyē*, XIII, 6. Dh.: *nīphatiyā*, IX, 10. — Loc. sing., Dh.: *puthaviyānā*, V, 26; *tōsaliyānā*, det. I, 1; II, 1. D.: *chātumāsāyē*, V, 15; *puñnamāsāyānā*, V, 11. — Nom. plur., Bh.: *bhikkhūyē*, 7. — Gen. plur., Kh.: *nātinānā*, IV, 9, 10; *bhaginānā*, V, 10. Dh., *bhaginānā*, V, 25; *nātinānā* (?), V, 26. D.: *dēvinānā*, VII-VIII, 6. — Loc. plur., Dh.: *nātisū*, IV, 11, al. D.: *nātisū*, VI, 5; *chātumāsāsisū*, V, 11, 16.

**Bases in U. — Masculines.** — Nom. sing., D.: *sādhā*, II, 12 (ARM °dhu). — Gen. plur., Kh.: *gūlunānā*, IX, 25. Dh.: *gūlūnānā*, IX, 9,



— Loc. plur., D.: *gulusu*, VII-VIII, 8; *bahúsu*, IV, 3. — Nom. plur., D.: *bahuné*, VII-VIII, 1.

**Neuters.** — Nom. acc. sing., Kh.: *bahu*, IX, 24, al.; *sádhu*, III, 8, al. Dh.: *sádhu*, III, 11, al. — Nom. plur., Kh.: *bahuni*, IV, 9, al. Dh.: *bahúni*, IV, 12; *bahuni*, I, 3. D.: *bahúni*, II, 14 (R<sup>o</sup>hu<sup>o</sup>). — Abl. plur., Kh.: *bahúhi*, IV, 10. Dh.: *bahúhi*, IV, 14. — Loc. plur., Dh.: *bahúsu*, det. I, 4. D.: *bahúsu*, IV, 3.

**Feminines.** — Nom. sing., Kh.: *sádhu*, III, 7, 8; IV, 12. Dh. III, 10, 11; IV, 18. — Loc. sing., D.: *punávasuné*, V, 16.

#### (d). — Declension of Pronouns.

##### Demonstratives, &c.

*anya*. — Kh.: *aññé*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 11, al.; *aññamanasá*, gen. sing., XII, 33; *aññáyé*, dative sing., IX, 24, al.; *aññé*, loc. sing., VIII, 23; *aññé*, nom. plur. masc., II, 5, al.; *aññáni*, nom. plur. neuter, passim. — Dh.: *aññé*, nom. masc. sing., det. I, 9; *aññé*, nom. sing. neuter, IX, 9; *aññé*, loc. sing., VIII, 5; *aññé*, nom. plur. masc., V, 23; *aññésu*, loc. plur., V, 26. — D. *aññáni*, neuter, V, 14, al.; *aññánani*, gen. plur., VII-VIII, 6.

*ima*. — Kh.: *iyam*, nom. masc., V, 16; *iyam*, nom. fem., passim; *iyam*, nom. neuter, IV, 12; III, 7; VI, 21; IX, 25, 26; XII, 31, 35; XIII, 36; *imam*, nom. neuter (?), IX, 26; *imam*, acc. sing., IV, 11, 12; *imasá*, gen. sing., IV, 13; *imisé*, gen. masc., IV, 12; *imáyé*, dative; *imé*, nom. plur. masc., XIII, 38; fem. (*pajá*), V, 17. — Dh.: *iyam*, nom. masc., V, 26; det. I, 7, 8 (?); *iyam*, nom. fem., passim; *iyam*, nom. neuter, III, 6; IV, 8; VI, 32, 34; *imam*, acc., IV, 16; V, 17; *imasa*, gen. masc., IV, 18; *imáyé*, dative masc., V, 26; fem., III, 16; *iména*, instr., IX, 12; *imé*, nom. plur. masc., V, 26; *iméhi*, instr. plur., det. I, 10. — D.: *iyam*, nom. masc. II, 11 (?); nom. fem., I, 15, al.; neuter, III, 17, 18, 21, 22; VI, 8, 9, 10; VII-VIII, 7; *imam*, acc., VII-VIII, 3; *imáni*, nom. plur. neuter, VII-VIII, 9, al. — S.: *iyam*, nom. sing. masc. (*athé*), 5; neuter (*savam*, *phalé*), 3, 4, 6. — R.: *iyam*, nom. sing. masc. (*athé*, *pakamé*), 3, 4; *imáya*, loc. fem. sing., 2.

*ekatya*. — Kh.: *ekatiya*, nom. plur. masc., I, 2. — Dh.: *ekachá* (?), nom. plur. masc., I, 2.

*éta*. — Kh.: *ésa*, nom. masc. sing., XIII, 38;

*éśé*, VI, 19, al.; *éśé*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 12; IX, 25; XIII, 38; *étasa*, gen.; *étáyé*, dat., passim; *étanam*, gen. plur., XIII, 38. — Dh.: *ésa*, nom. sing. masc. (?), IV, 15; VIII, 5, al.; neuter, IX, 8, 9; det. I, 3; det. II, 2; *éta*, acc. sing. neuter, IX, 7; *étam*, acc. sing. masc. and neuter, det. I, 15, 16, 22, 25; *étasa*, *étasi*, *étáyé*, passim; *éśé*, nom. plur. masc., det. I, 11. — D.: *ésa*, nom. sing. masc., VII-VIII, 3, 7, 9; fem. I, 5, 9 (ARM<sup>o</sup>sa); neuter, III, 19, 21; VII-VIII, 4, 11, 14, 20; *éśá*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 14 (RM<sup>o</sup>sa); *étam*, acc. sing. neuter, passim; *étáyé*, *éśéna*; *éśé*; *étáni*; *éśésu*. — S.: *étáyé*, 4; *éśéna*, 2. — R.: *ésa* (*phalé*), 2; *étáya*, dative masc., 3; *étind*, instr. masc., 5.

*ka*. — Kh.: *kéchi*, nom. sing. masc., XII, 32; *kichhi*, nom. sing. neuter, passim. — Dh.: *kéchha*, nom. sing. masc., det. I, 7 (Jang., *kéchá*, i. e. *kéchi*); *kichhi*, nom. neuter, VI, 30, al. — D.: *kina* (*na*), instr. sing., VII-VIII, 17, 18.

*ta*. — Kh.: *sa*, nom. masc. sing., XII, 33; XIII, 3; *sé*, ibid., passim; *sá*, nom. fem. sing., XIII, 11, 12; *tá*, ibid., VIII, 4; *sé*, nom. sing. neuter, IX, 26, employed as *tad*, used as a conjunction passim (to *sé* of Dh., det. I, 14, corresponds *tan* at Jaug.); *ta*, nom. sing. neuter, X, 28; *tan*, id., IX, 25; *tá*, id., used as conjunction, V, 13; *tan*, acc.; *táyé*, VI, 19; *téna*; *té*, nom. plur. masc.; *tanam*, gen. plur., XIII, 38; *tésa* (*na*), ibid., XIII, 4, 37; *téhi*. — Dh.: *sé*, nom. sing. masc., V, 21; det. I, 13, al.; neuter, IX, 8, 10 (conjunction); IX, 9; *tan* (conjunction), V, 20; *tá*, nom. sing. fem., VIII, 4; *tan*, acc. sing. neuter, det. I, 2, al.; *tasa*, *téna*, *tasi*; *té*, nom. plur. masc.; *sé*, id., V, 24, 25; *táni*, neuter; *tésa* (read *tésam*), gen. plur., det. II, 8, 10; *tinam* (read *tánam*), id., VIII, 3. — D.: *sé*, nom. sing. masc., VII-VIII, 9, al.; neuter (conjunction) VI, 13; VII-VIII, 10, 17; *tá*, nom. sing. neuter (conjunction), VII-VIII, 3; *tan*, acc., VI, 3, al.; *téna*, VII-VIII, 7; *té*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 1, al.; *sé*, id., VII-VIII, 4, 6; *tanam*, gen. plur., IV, 17; *tésam*, id., IV, 3 (RM<sup>o</sup>sa); *tésu*, VII-VIII, 5. — Bh.: *sa*, nom. sing. masc., 3. — S.: *sé*, nom. sing. neuter (conjunction), 4. — R.: *té*, nom. plur. masc., 2.

*ya*. — Kh.: *é*, nom. sing. masc., V, 16, al. (*yé*, V, 14); neuter, X, 28; XIII, 36; *yé*, nom. sing. neuter, VI, 18; XIII, 35; *a*, XII, 31; *am*, IV, 12; X, 28; *yam*, VI, 18, 20; XII, 35; *asá*,



gen. sing. masc., VII, 21; *yēna*, XIII, 38; *yē*, nom. plur. masc., IX, 25; *yā*, id., XII, 34; *yēsān*, gen. plur., XIII, 38; *yēsu*, loc., XIII, 37. — Dh.: *ē*, nom. sing. masc., V, 2, al.; *yē*, V, 21; det. I, 8; *ā*, fem., det. II, 6; *ē*, neuter, det. II, 5, al.; *an*, VI, 30, 32, al.; *yā* (neut.), IV, 17; *asa*, gen. masc., VII, 2; *ēna*, instr., det. II, 9, al.; *yē*, nom. plur. masc., V, 20; *ē*, V, 23, al.; *āni*, neuter, II, 7. — D.: *ē*, nom. plur. masc., VI, 8; *yē*, II, 16, al.; *yā*, fem., I, 9, al.; *yē*, neuter, VII-VIII, 9; *yā* (neuter), VII-VIII, 7; *yēna*, instr., IV, 12, al.; *ēna*, VII-VIII, 11; *yē*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 11; *yāni*, neuter, VII-VIII, 7, al. — Bh.: *ē*, nom. sing. masc., 5; neuter, 2. — S.: *an*, sing. neuter, 1, 2. — B.: *ya*, sing. neuter, 2; *an*, 3,

*sarva*. — Kh.: *savē*, nom. sing. neuter, XIV, 18; *savan*, acc. masc. and neuter, passim; *savē*, nom. plur. masc., VII, 21; *savēsu*, loc., V, 16. — Dh.: *savē*, nom. sing. masc. det. I, 4; neuter, XIV, 17; *savan*, acc.; *savasa*, *savēna*, passim; *savē*, nom. plur. masc., VII, 1; *savēsu*. — D.: *savasi*, loc. sing., VII-VIII, 6; *savēsu*, loc. plur., VII-VIII, 5. — Bh.: *savē*, nom. sing. neuter, 3.

#### Personal Pronouns.

1st person. — Kh.: *hakan*, nom., VI, 18, 20; *mama*, gen., passim; *mē*, gen., passim; *mamayā*, instr., V, 13, 14; VI, 7, 19; *mē*, instr., III, 7; *mi*, the same, XIV, 19. — Dh.: *hakan*, nom., VI, 29, 32, al.; *mama*, gen., passim; *mē*, the same, V, 10, al.; *mamayā*, instr., VI, 28; *mamayē*, the same, det. II, 4 (Jaug.: *mamiyāyē*); *mayē*, nom. plur., det. II, 8; *majhan*, the same, det. I, 10; *aphē*, acc. det. II, 7 (Jaug.: *aphēni*); *nē*, II, 5; *aphākan*, gen. det. II, 5, 7 (Jaug.: *nē*); *aphēsu*, loc., det. II, 4. — D.: *hakan*, III, 21; *man*, acc., IV, 8, 9; *mama*, gen., VII-VIII, 6, al.; *mē*, I, 7, al.; *mamayā*, instr., VII-VIII, 3; *mamiyā*, VII-VIII, 7. — Bh.: *hakan*, 4; *hamā*, gen., 2; *hamiyāyē*, instr., 3.

2nd person. — Dh.: *tuphē*, nom. acc. plur., det. I, 4, al.; Jaug., det. II, 8 (twice) 11, reads not *tuphē*, but *tuphēni*; *tuphāka(n)*, gen. det. I, 13; *tuphēhi*, instr., det. I, 3, 10; *tuphēsu*, loc., det. II, 2. — Bh.: *vē*, instr. plur., 2. — R.: *tupoka* (read *tuphākan*), gen. plur., 5.

#### (e). — Declension of Numerals.

Khālsi. — *duvē*, nom. masc., I, 4; II, 5;

*tinī*, nom. neuter, I, 3, 4; *chatali* (read °tu°), nom. masc., XIII, 5; *panchasu*, loc., III, 7.

DHAULI. — *ēkēna*, det. I, 18; det. II, 10; *tinūni*, nom. neuter, det. I, 4, 24; *panchasu*, det. I, 21.

DEHLI. — *duvēhi*, instr., VII-VIII, 8; *tisu*, loc. fem., V, 11, 16; *tinūni*, nom. neuter, IV, 16; V, 12.

SAHASARĀM. — *duvē*, nom. 6.

### 3. — CONJUGATION.

#### (a). — Verbal Bases.

I only note modifications, which, as compared with Sanskrit, are not of a purely phonetical and mechanical character.

Khālsi. — Simple bases: *kalēti* V, 13, al.; *apakalēti*, *upakalēti*, XIII, 32; *chhanati*, XII, 32; *dakhati*, I, 2, al.; *pāpunāti*, XIII, 38; *upahanīti*, XII, 33, is the only example of the preservation of the consonantal conjugation; *vijinamānē*, XIII, 36; *vijinitu*, ibid.; *pajōhitaviyē*, I, 1; *punāti*, X, 32, seems to me to be very doubtful. — Causals: *vaḍhiyati*, XII, 32; *vaḍhiyisati*, IV, 11, for °dha°; *ayi*, contracted to *ē* in *lēkhāpēśāmi*, XIV, 19; the formative *aya* is retained in the participle, in *ānapayitē*, VI, 19; weakening of the vowel of the base: *likhāpitā*, XIV, 19. — Passives: *ālabhiyanīti*, *ālabhiyisati*, *ālabhiyisū*, 1, 3, 4.

DHAULI. — Simple bases: *anusāsāmi*, det. II, 6; *chīḥitu* (\**tishṭhivā*), III, 7; *dakhati*, det. I, 2, al. and *dēkhati*, det. I, 7, al.; *kalēti*, V, 20, al.; *kalāmi*, VI, 29; *kalati*, det. I, 23; *kalanīti*, det. I, 26; *pāpunātha*, det. I, 6, al.; *pajōhitaviyē*, I, 1. — Causals: *vēditu* (= *vēdayitu*), det. II, 6. — Passives: *ālabhiyisanti*, I, 4.

DELHI. — Simple bases: *anugahinēnu*, IV, 6; *anusisōmi*, VII-VIII, 21; *upadahēvū*, VI, 5; *vidahāmi*, VI, 6; participle retaining the formative: *sukhayiē*, VII-VIII, 3. — Causals: *ē* for *ayi* in *jhāpētaviyē*, V, 10 (RM °payi°); weakening of the base vowel in *ānapitāni*, VIII, 1; *nijhapa-yati*, IV, 7; *likhāpitā*, passim; *likhāpāpitā*, VII-VIII, 10; *manāti*, for *mānayati*, det. I, 7, is to me very doubtful. — Passives: *khādiyati*, V, 7.

BHABRA. — Causals: *likhāpayāmi*, 8.

SAHASARĀM. — Causals: *likhāpayatha*, 8, 7.

RUPNĀTH. — Simple bases: *pāpōtavē*, 2. — Causals: *lēkhāpētaviyē*, 4.

BAIRĀT. — Causal: *āl(ā)dhēlayē*, 6.



## (b). — Terminations.

*Present.* — The only trace of the medial termination occurs in Dh., X, 13, if the reading *maññaññā* is really certain; even in the passive we have *ālabhiyaññi*, &c., Kh., I, 3. — I note at S. and R., the form *saññi* of the 1st person of *as*. — It is a question if at Dh., det. I, 23, 26, the forms *kalati*, *kaluññi* (cf. *kalāmi*, VI, 29) do not represent the subjunctive.

*Imperative.* — No medial terminations. The second person plural ends in *ta* in *dekhata*, Dh., det. I, 7 (Jaug. *dēkhatha*), 14; in *tha* in *chughatha*, Dh., det. I, 19; det. II, 11; in *paliyōvadūtha*, D., VII-VIII, 1; *likhāpayatha*, S., 7, 8.

*Potential.* — 1st pers. sing. in *ēhañ*, at Kh., Dh., D., *ēyañ*, at Bh. (*disēyañ*, 3). — 3rd pers. sing., Kh.: *paṭipajēyā*, XIV, 20; *siyā*, passim, perhaps *siyāti* (?), X, 28. Dh.: *paṭipajēya*, XIV, 19; *ugachh(ē)*, det. I, 13 (Jaug. *uthi(hē)*, *uthāyē* according to Dr. Bühler); *hucēya*, X, 15; *siyā*, passim. D.: *anupaṭipajēyā*, VII-VIII, 17, *vaḍhēyā*, VII-VIII, 3, 16, 18; *pāpōvā*, VII, 3; *siyā*, VII-VIII, 11; *siya*, IV, 15. R.: *siyā*, 3. — 1st pers. plur. in *ēma*. Kh., Dh. — 3rd pers. plur., Kh.: *hucēyu*, XII, 34; *sususeyu*, XII, 33; *vasēvu*, VII, 21. Jaugada, except in *nikhamācū*, III, 11, and perhaps *va(s)ē(r)u* VII, 1, which is mutilated, forms on the contrary everywhere the 3rd pers. plur. in *ēyu*: *yujēyū* (ti), det. I, 3; det. II, 4, 14; *hēyū* (ti), det. I, 6; det. II, 6; *pāpunēyu*, det. II, 5, 9; *ascasēyu*, det. II, 6; *lahēyu*, det. II, 6. Dh.: in *ēvu*: *ālādha yēyū* (ti), det. II, 6; *vasēvu*, VII, 1, &c.; III, 10, *nikhamācū*. D.: in *ēvu*: *anugahinēvu*, IV, 6, &c., Bh.: *upadhālayēyu*, 7; *sunēyu*, 7.

*Past.* — The perfect remains unchanged in *āha* (Kh. always *āhā*, except III, 6; Dh. always *āhā*; D. 3 times *āha*; Bh. *āhā*). The imperfect has survived in the 3rd pers. plur. *hucāñ*, Dh., VIII, 3. — Aorist, 3rd pers. sing., *nikhamithā*, Kh., VIII, 22; *nikhami*; Dh., VIII, 4; *huthā*, D., VII-VIII, 15, 20; *vaḍhithā*, VII-VIII, 14, 17. 3rd pers. plur. in *isu* (Kh., Dh., D.), except *hucisu*, Kh. VIII, 22; *hucu*, D., VII-VIII, 12.

*Future.* — No 1st pers. in *om*. Forms, such as *kachhāmi*, have been previously quoted. It is the same with futures in which the formative

*sy* is changed to *h*: *ēchalha*, Dh. det. I, 17; det. II, 9 (Jaug. *ēsatha*); *dāhañti*, D., IV, 18; *hōhañti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6. It only remains to mention the forms *hōsāmi*, det. II, 8; *hōsati*, det. I, 22, at Dh.; *hōsawāti* (by the side of *hōhañti*), at D., VII-VIII, 2; *hōsati* at Bh., 4.

*Absolute.* — Kh. in *tu*: *dasayitu*, IV, 10, &c.; in *ya* in *sañkhayē*, XIV, 21; — Dh. in *tu*: *anvāsitu*, det. II, 6, 8; *chihitu*, IV, 17; *kaṭu*, det. II, 7, &c.; — D. in *tu*: *nijitu*, IV, 10; *zutu*, VII-VIII, 21; in *ya* in *apahatā* = *apahṛitya* (?), VI, 3; — Bh.: in *ya* in *adhigichya* = *adhikṛitya*, 6.

*Infinitive.* — Dh.: *ālādhayitavē*, IX, 12; *sañpaṭipādayitavē*, det. I, 19; det. II, 11. — D.: *ālādhayitavē*, IV, 10; *paliḥatavē*, IV, 11; *paṭichalitavē*, IV, 8; *sañadapayitavē*, I, 8.

*Participles.* — Participle present. — Kh. The medial form in *adamānasū*, VI, 17 and *vijinamanē*, XIII, 36; *kalanūṭē*, XII, 33. — Dh. The medial form in *sañpaṭipajamīnē*, det. I, 16; *vipaṭipādayamīnē*, det. I, 15 (at J.: *ripaṭipādayamīnē*), al., in which *om* in the place of *am* is curious; but cf. *pāyamīnā*, D., V, 8. — D. has the medial form in *anvāḥkhamānē*, VII-VIII, 2, in the passive of the causal *pāyamīnā*, V, 8. — Bh. Participle present passive of the causal: *abhivādēmanānā*. — S. The medial form in *palakamīnēna*, 3. — R.: *pakamamānēnā*. These two last forms appear to be incorrect.

*Participle past passive.* — I note the forms *ānapayitē*, Kh. VI, 19; Dh., III, 9; *nijhapayitā*, D., IV, 18; *sukhayitē*, VII-VIII, 3. *Anusathē*, Dh., VI, 31, J., VI, 4, seems, as remarked by Dr. Bühler, to be a wrong formation for *anusiṭhē*.

*Participle future passive.* — Kh. in *taviya*; in *iya* in *supadālayē* (?), V, 14. — Dh. in *taviya* in *ichhitaviyē*, det. I, 9, 11; *pajō* (*hitaviyē*), I, 1; in *iya* in *dukhiyē*, det. I, 13; *vaḍhiyē*, V, 23; *supadālayē* (?), V, 22. — D. in *taviya*: *ichhitaviyē*, IV, 14; *kañturaviyāni*, V, 15; in *iya* in *dēkhiyē*, III, 19; *duṣaṇpaṭipādayē*, I, 3. — R. in *taviya*: *vivasētaviyē*, 5. — B. in *taya*, if we are to judge from *ālādhitayē*, 6; but the reading may well be incorrect.

The short inscriptions of Barābar, of Kausāmbī, and of Allabābād (Queen's Edict)



are connected, so far as we can judge, with the orthographic series of the edicts which we have just considered: *i-ā* and *i-n*, respectively, do not appear to be distinguished in them; the *r* changes into *l*; the initial *y* disappears; neither *ñ* nor *ṇ* have any particular signs; the

nominative singular of masculine bases in *a*, ends in *ē*, &c. As for special points, all I see to quote are the forms *ādirikēhi* (for *ājivikēhi*) Bar., I, 2; II, 4; *kubhā* (= *guhā*), *ibid.*, I, 2; II, 3; III, 3; *uigōha*, Bar., I, 2, as at Dehli.

### WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from page 23).

[426] The third group of the texts of the Siddhānta is formed by the ten *pañnas* prakīrṇas.

It is as yet undetermined how old is the position of the *pañnas*, prakīrṇas as the third part of the Siddhānta and what caused their location there. In *Āvi.* there follow upon the *uvāṅgas* first the *chhēaggamāthas* and then the *pañnas*. In *Svi.* and *V.* the *pañnas* come directly after the *uvāṅgas*, but the *chēda* texts (with the exception of *mahānisīha* which is reached after the *pañnas* are done with) have been placed before (between *aṅgas* 4 and 5), as if their position at that point belonged to them. Is the mere fact that the *pañnas* are more numerous the reason that in the present arrangement of the parts of the Siddhānta (see p. 226) they have been placed before the *chhēasuttas*? They are certainly very much inferior to the *chhēasuttas* both as regards inner worth and external extent.<sup>57</sup> The joint name *pañna*, by which they are united, does not occur in any other place in the Siddhānta, except in their own text, so far as I have been able to observe. The word *pañna* is found, it is true, in the *Nandī* as *saṃjñā*, but in another, far more universal signification, *viz.*, as a means of denoting all those texts not contained in the *aṅgas*. In the passage of the *Nandī* 84,000 or even 8,400,000 *pañnagas* are spoken of!

The texts now extant called *pañnas* in the pregnant sense of the word, bear a name, which, denoting "scattered," "hastily sketched" pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic *pariśiṣṭas*. Like the *pariśiṣṭas* they are, with a few exceptions, composed in metre; [427] and in fact in *āryā*, the metre which is usual in the *kārikā* insertions in the *aṅgas*, etc. They are different from the texts, which we have considered up to this point, in that the nom. sing. masc. first decl. regularly ends in *o* and not in *e* (for exceptions see on 5 and 7). This is a proof of their later origin.

In the usual enumeration of the *anaṅgapavittā* texts in *Nandī*, *Pākshikas*, and in the three *Sāmāyārī* we meet with but six of the ten separate titles of the present *pañna* group. In the works just mentioned, the titles of 1, 3, 4, 10 are lacking, texts which bear a decidedly secondary stamp. (The scholiast on the *Nandī* appears also in the case of No. 2 to have had before him quite a different text from the one we possess.)

These ten texts did not originally enjoy the distinction of being the representatives of the *pañna* group; and that they arrived but gradually at this honor is attested by manifold testimony going to prove that considerable dissent at present exists in regard to the representative position claimed by them.

In *Āvi.* the enumeration on this point is in three very imperfect *gāthā*: *saṃpāṇi* *pañnagā*, *naṃdī* 1, *anṇogadāra* 2, *āurapachchakkhāṇa* (2) 3, *mahāpachchakkhāṇa* (9) 4, *dēvimatthāṇa* (7) 5, *taṇḍulavēyāliyaṃ* (5) 6, *saṃthāra* (4) 7, 11 11 *bhattaparinnā* (3) 8, *rāhaṇapadāga* 9, *gapa-vijjā* (8) 10, *aṅgavijjā* 11, *ya* 1 *chaṇḍasaraṇa* (1) 12, *dīvasāgarapannattī* 13, *jōisakaraṇḍam* 14 11 11 *marapaṇasamāhi* 15, *tiṭṭhōgālī* 16, *taha* *siddhapāhuḍapaṇṇam* 17 1 *narayavibhattī* 18, *chamḍāvijjāṇa* (1) 6 19, *pañchakappa* 20 11 11.

<sup>57</sup> Their collective extent is only about 1,900 *granthas*.



Here then are twenty names, with but one exception (10 *viratthas*) all belonging to the present group. There are five names which recur elsewhere in the *Siddhānta* — (1, 2, 13, 17, 20) —; [428] two names which at least were mentioned in connection with the *Siddh.* — 14, 15, —; and finally there are four names found nowhere else except here — 9, 11, 16, 18. It is of especial interest to observe the ascribing of *Nandī* and *Aṇuḡa* to the *pañña* group as being placed before them. This reference recurs in similar fashion in *Svi.*, where the enumeration is but fragmentary and limited to the mention of: *naṇḍi* 1, *aṇuḡadārā* 2, *dēviṇḍatthaū* (7) 3, *taṇḍulaveyāliya* (5) 4, *chamḍāviviyaṇi* (! 6) 5, *ārapachchakkhāṇa* (2) 6, *gaṇivijjā* (8) 7; *pañnagāṇaṃ*. It then speaks of *sēsāṇi* but does not enumerate them. In *V.* the *pañña* texts are treated of on two occasions. In the first case we find, for some reason inexplicable to me, in the discussion in reference to the 15th book of *aṅga* 5, an enumeration of ten texts, which are not stated to be *pañnas*, though the titles of six are found among the titles of the 10 *pañnas*. At the head (the action in question is called *nandī-m-āṇaṃ vaṇḍaṇa*) we again find *naṇḍi* and *aṇuḡa*; then follow *dēviṇḍa* (7) 3, *taṇḍula* (5) 4, *chamḍāvējjha* (! 6) 5, *gaṇivijjā* (8) 6, *marapa* 7, *jhāṇavibhatti* 8, *āra* (2) 9, *maḥāpachchakkhāṇa* (9) 10. Of these No. 7 is doubtless identical<sup>38</sup> with *marapasamāhi* in *Āvi.* and No. 8 corresponds to a section in 2. See below. The second passage in *V.* is that in which the *pañnas* are directly discussed; [429] and in this passage they appear in the forefront together with *nandī* and *aṇuḡa*.<sup>39</sup> Fifteen names are there mentioned, among which are all the ten members of the present list, though arranged differently, but at the end they are called only *icch-āi*: *sāṃpayāṇaṃ pañnagā*: *naṇḍi* 1, *aṇuḡadārāṇi* 2 . . . , *dēviṇḍatthaya* (7) 3, *taṇḍulaveyāliya* (5) 4, *marapasamāhi* 5, *maḥāpachchakkhāṇa* (9) 6, *ārapachchakkhāṇa* (2) 7, *samthāraya* (4) 8, *chamḍāvijjaya* (6) 9, *bhattaparinnā* (3) 10, *chaṇḍasaraṇa* (1) 11 *viratthaya* (10) 12, *gaṇivijjā* (8) 13, *dīvasāgarapannattisaṃgahaṇi* 14, *gachchhāyāra* 15 *icch-āi pañnagāṇi*. Of the three additional texts mentioned here No. 5 is mentioned in *Āvi.* and elsewhere — see p. 428 — as belonging to the *pañnas*; the case is similar with No. 15. No. 14 belongs to the text referred to as No. 13 in *Āvi.*, a text which possesses a considerable antiquity — pp. 268, 389. Is the *saṃgahaṇi* on it mentioned here identical with the *Jambudvīpasamgrahaṇi* of *Haribhadra* mentioned p. 413 (on *upāṅga* 6)? In connection with the above discussion *V.* treats of the *isibhāsiyāṇi* (see pp. 259, 281, 402), and allots to them 50<sup>40</sup> *ajjhayaṇas*. We have already observed that *Haribhadra* on *Āv.* 2, 8 identifies the *isibh.*, quoted there, with the “*dēvēndrastava* etc.,” but on another occasion identifies the *isibh.* with the *uttarajjhayaṇa*. We read therefore in *V.* that the *isibh.* were regarded by some as belonging to the *uttarajjh.* [430] *uttarajjhayaṇeṣu* *ēyāṇi aṃtabbhavaṃti*, to which the *maḥānisibhajōgavihi* is joined in *V.*

In the *Vichārāṃpitasaṃgraha* (see p. 355) as in the three *sāmāyārī* there is an enumeration of the *pañnagas*, which begins with *Nandī* and *Aṇuḡa*. Nineteen and not 10 *pañnas* are here enumerated, but of these only the first three are given a name. The passage, which is interesting for other reasons, reads in the very corrupt MSS.: *aṅga* 11, *upāṅga* 12, *chhēdasamgha* 5 (!) *mūlagamtha* 4 *pramukhāḥ*, *pratiniyatā* *ēva* *gamthāḥ* *kalpabhāṣhyādyuktasūtralakṣhaṇopēṭāḥ*, *yataḥ* *kvā* ‘*pi yōgavidhau dīśyamānēshu naṇḍy-anuyōgadvārā*’-*turapratyākhyānādy-ēkōnaviīśatiprakīrṇakēshu kēśhām chid* *ēva jītakalpa-paṃchakalpādīnām virachayitārō jñāyāntē nāmagrahām*, *na sarvēśhām*, *yēśhām kartārō na jñāyāntē tāni gaṇadharakṛitāni*. Here then, *āturapratyākhyānam* (2), and not *dēvēndrastava* (7), comes after *nandī* and *anuyō*, at the head of the remaining *pañnas*. Here as in *Āvi.*, the *paṃchakalpa* and, in connection with it, the *jītakalpa* seem to be counted among the *pañnas*, whereas — see below — they are generally held to belong to the *chhēdasūtra*.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The *marapasamāhi* is also mentioned elsewhere. See pp. 429, 431. We might well recall the *marapavibhatti* in connection with the *marapa*, or the *marapavīsōhi* in the enumeration of the *anaḡgapavīṭṭha*, or *aṇubāhira* texts in *Nandī* etc. All these texts refer without doubt to euthanasia; cf. *pañna* 2.

<sup>39</sup> The connection with both is, however, very slight, for in *v.* 61 of the *jōgavihāṇa* we find the express statement: *dēviṇḍatthaya-m-āi pañnagā*, the connection of *nandī* and *aṇuḡa* being ignored.

<sup>40</sup> In *aṅga* 4, 44 only 44 *ajjh.* are allotted to them in conjunction with the *dēvalōgachuyabhāsiya*.

<sup>41</sup> Either the *paṃch.* or the *jītak.* appears as No. 6. The *Vichārām.*, however, recognizes only five *chhēdasamghas*. See above.



I have been able to discover no further information that would prove the connection of nandi and aṇḍga with the paṇṇa group. The lists and MSS. of the paṇṇa group, which I possess, pay no attention to these two texts, [431] and limit the paṇṇas to a smaller number, generally to ten.

The enumeration in the Ratnasāgara (Calc. 1880) is as follows; — chaṇḍasaraṇa (1) <sup>1</sup>, saṁthāra (4) <sup>2</sup>, taṁḍula (5) <sup>3</sup>, chaṁḍāvijjīyā (! 6) <sup>4</sup>, gaṇāvijjīyā (! 8) <sup>5</sup>, dēvavijjīyā <sup>6</sup>, vīrathuva (10) <sup>7</sup>, gachhāyāra <sup>8</sup>, j(y)ōtishkaraṁḍa <sup>9</sup>, mahāpachchakkhāṇa (9) <sup>10</sup>. Three names found in Bühler's list (2, 3, 7) do not occur here. To compensate for this omission there are 3 texts mentioned, of which one, No. 6, is quite unknown; the second, No. 8, is found in the V., and the third, No. 9, is referred to even in Āvi. among the paṇṇas.

In the enumeration of Rājendra Lāla Mitra and of Kashinath, see pp. 226, 227, we find the list of Bühler (arranged 1, 2, 3, 9, 5, 6, 8, 7, 4). No. 10 is omitted and replaced by maraṇa-samābi, the acquaintance with which name we had already made in Āvi. and V., and which here occupies the eighth position (between 8 and 7).

I possess a MS. of the dasapaṇṇas which contains a recension varying from that given in Bühler's list. The first page having disappeared, a page which does not belong there has been inserted in its place. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the first part is chaṇḍasaraṇam (1) or not.<sup>42</sup> The arrangement of the following parts is (2, 3, 4, 8, 6, 9,<sup>43</sup> 5). Instead of 7 we have the gachhāyāra, [432] which we find in V. (see p. 429) and Ratnasāgara (p. 431); but there is nothing to compensate for the omission of 10.

The foregoing considerations prove conclusively that it is a matter involved in uncertainty what texts really belong to the paṇṇa group, a fact that must be held to render this secondary character a matter of great probability. All that can be drawn from the contents of the present 10 paṇṇas makes for the same conclusion.

A considerable portion of the 10 paṇṇas refers to the proper sort of euthanasia, the confession necessary for this end and the abjuration of everything evil. Several portions, however, treat of different subjects, viz.: — 5 physiology, 7 mythology, 8 astrology, 10 hymns. That portion which is of mythological content recalls the Atharvaparīśiṣṭa, though the Atharvaparīśiṣṭa must precede the paṇṇas in order of time, since the latter contains the Greek terms hōra and dikkāṇa.

It is difficult to give a review of the contents of most of these small texts, since we possess no commentary. The character of some portions (1, 5, 6—8) is very dissimilar from that of others; 6—8 are of a similar type, which marks them out as a separate inter-dependent group. A peculiar characteristic of this group is that the author speaks of himself in the first person, and addresses his listeners in the plural or singular. In No. 7 a woman is the object of his instruction; and this paṇṇa has a special claim to antiquity since it is said to be identical with the isibhāsiyāim mentioned in aṅgas 3 <sup>10</sup> 4, <sup>44</sup> See p. 429. It is, however, possible that another text [433] of the same name is there referred to. In the summary which I now give I follow the extant usual list of the 10 paṇṇas which is found in Bühler.

XXV. The first paṇṇam, chaṇḍasaraṇam, chatuḥsaraṇam; in 63 vv. The first seven verses<sup>45</sup> refer to the śaḍvāsyakam, the six daily duties necessary for the purification of life. See above pp. 161 <sup>2</sup>, 244.

<sup>42</sup> Though the extent of the chaṇḍasaraṇa with its 63 gāthās, appears to be very large for one leaf, it is, nevertheless possible that the missing leaf may have contained this part, since this MS. has upon each page 19 lines of 74 aksharas so that the 2,800 aksharas of the front and reverse side would be entirely sufficient for these 63 gāthās.

<sup>43</sup> No. 9 has here not 86 but 31 verses.

<sup>44</sup> The first verse reads: sāvajja/ōgaviral ukkittāṇaṁ guṇavaḍo ya paḍivattī | khaliyassa nindapā vapatigiebhāṇaṁ guṇadhārapā chēva || 1 || It recurs in similar form in the Anuyōgaḍvāras, etc.



1. The *sāmāiam*, *sāmāyikam*, explained in the text itself by *sāvajjajōgaviraī*, desistance from all evil.<sup>45</sup> Cf. the use of this word to denote the first aṅga also in up. 1, 57 (*ib.* 123, 125 *sāvajjajōgavahiya*).

2. *chaūvisaīthaa*, *chaturviṃśatistava*, explained *ibid.* by : *ukkittañā*, praise of the virtues of the 24 Jinas.

3. *vaṁḍaṇaa*, explained by *guṇavaṁ paḍivatti*, honor of the guru.

4. *paḍikkamaṇaṁ*, *pratikramaṇaṁ* confession (to the guru), explained by *khaliyassa nimḍaṇā*, censure of past misdeeds, conjoined with the intention of not committing the offence again.<sup>46</sup>

5. *kāussagga*, *kāyotsarga*, expiation, explained by : *vaṇatigichhā*, healing of wounds, further purification of those who have been absolved by confession.

[434] 6. *pachchakkhāṇaṁ*, *pratyākhyānaṁ*, explained by : *guṇadhāraṇā*, the observance of all virtues, or really the casting off of all evil.

The following must be noticed as regards the six *āvaśyakas*, which we will discuss later on when treating of *Nandī*, *Anuyōgadv.*, *Āvaśy.* It was to be expected that the explanations given for 1 and 6 should have changed their respective positions, i. e. *sāmāiya* should have been explained by *guṇadhāraṇā* and *pachchakkhāṇa* by *sāvajjajōgaviraī*. Had this been the case a better logical arrangement would have been effected, viz. : — 1. good action, 2. confession of the commission of misdeeds, 3. compensation for the misdeeds committed, 4. desistance from all further sins. Do not these very names seem to indicate that this was the original arrangement? The two *āvaśyakas*, cited in the second and third place, interrupt the connection between 1 and 4—6, and are consequently probably to be regarded as secondary additions.

In v. 8<sup>47</sup> the fourteen dreams are enumerated which the mother of a *tirthakṛit* dreams before his birth, an enumeration which is tantamount to a list of his fourteen excellencies or virtues.

With verse 9 the text *per se* begins (the preceding portion is doubtless a secondary addition) by the author announcing his purpose : . . . *vaṁḍium Mahāviraṁ | kusalāṇubandhībāṁdhuraṁ ajjhayaṇaṁ kiṭṭhaissāmi || 9 ||* Here we have the older name of the text, since the *chaūsaraṇaṁ*, as will soon be shown, forms but a part of its contents. [435] In a MS. which contains all the 10 *paṇnas* and which is preceded by an introduction in reference to the sacred number four, the name of this *paṇna* is stated to be *kusalāṇubandhājjhayaṇaṁ* and not *chaūsaraṇaṁ*.

In v. 10 is described the three-fold contents of the following portions, and an explanation given for this division that refers to the name adduced in v. 9 : *ēsa gaṇō aṇavarayaṁ kāyavvō kusalahēu tti || 10 ||* At the head stands 1. the *chaūsaraṇagamaṇaṁ* (from which the customary title of this *paṇna* has been borrowed), i. e. the prayers by means of which four-fold protection can be obtained : the *arihaṁta* (arhant, v. 13—23), the *siddha* (v. 23—29), the *sāhu* (*sādhū*, v. 30—40) and the *dhamma* (v. 41—48). Then follows 2. *dukkadagarihā*, a penitential system (v. 49—54) of confession to the guru, and 3. *sukaḍāṇumōḍaṇa*, the joy arising from a good deed (v. 55—57). Then come promises of reward and a verse (62) which has compassion on him, through whom *chaūraṁgō Jipadhammō na kaō, chūraṁgaṁ saraṇaṁ avi na kayaṁ*. The concluding verse contains the summons *iya . . vira ! bhaddaṁtam ēam ajjhayaṇaṁ jhāṇsu (dhyāya)*.

<sup>45</sup> *sahā vadyēna pāpēna vartaṁta iti sāvadyāb, yōgā manōvākkāyavyāpārās, tēshāṁ viratir nivrittib.*

<sup>46</sup> *na punaḥ karishyāmi 'ty abhyupagamaanam*; hence the name, the meeting, *pratiṇaṁ kramaṇaṁ*. The *pratikramaṇaṁ* is (see Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 117) divided into five parts; 1. *daivasikam* (we must accept this and not *dēvasikam* as the reading in Jacobi's text) i. e. to be done daily; 2. *rātrikam* nightly; 3. *pākshikam* semi-monthly; 4. every four months; 5. annually.

<sup>47</sup> *Āvaśy.* 2, 276, see Jacobi on *Kalpasūtra Jin.* § 4.



The commentary considers that this implies also a reference to the name of the author Vīrabhadra, presumably a sādhu, one of the 14,000 who joined Vīra.<sup>48</sup>

[436] There is a commentary by Sômasûndara from the Tapâgachha; according to the Gurvâvall of this gachha (see Kl. 256) born samv. 1430, died 1499, A. D. 1374—1443.

In contradistinction to the triad of the Buddhists buddha, dharma and saṃgha, we find here a quadripartite arrangement. The saṃgha is divided into two parts, the earlier and the present saints, the siddha and the sādhu. The Buddhistic saṃgha, as is expressly stated in that of the Avesta, has reference merely to the pious of the present, who, it may be remarked, are divided in the Avesta according to sex: yēhē hātām . . . yāoihūm chā tās chā tās chā yazamaidē. The "Holy Ghost" of the Christian trinity, the origin of which we ascribed (Ind. Streifen 3, 334) to gnostic connection either with the trinity of the Parsees or with that of the Buddhists, embraces all time.

XXVI. The second pañnam, āurapachchakkhāṇam, āturapraty°, c. 70 vv. with an insertion in prose after v. 10 treats<sup>49</sup> of the *renunciatio* of the *moribundus*, the pañḍiyamarāṇam, the genuine euthanasia, cf. Bhagav. 2, 1. 48, 70 (my treatise, 2, 266—7, 290). The introduction consists of enumerations of the five ānuyvayas (pāṇivahavēramaṇa etc.), and of the guṇavvayas and sikkhās.<sup>50</sup> In v. 8 there is a citation from the third pañna: jō bhattaparinnāḥ (bhaktaprakīrṇakē) uvakkamō vittharēṇa niddiṭṭhō<sup>51</sup> sō chē 'va bālapaṇḍiya maraṇē nēō jahājuggam || 8 || In v. 10 the proclamation of the [437] real intention of the author: ittō paṇḍiya! paṇḍiyamarāṇam<sup>52</sup> vuchchham samās:ṇam || 10 ||

The prose paragraph which follows contains a general formula for confession and renunciation, beginning with the words: ichhāmi bhaṃtē uttamattṭham (! uttamārtham pāpānām prakāram, gloss) pratikramāmi, and closes with 63 jhāṇa, dhyāna, formulas, beginning: annāṇam jhāṇē.<sup>53</sup> Joined to these are corresponding formulas composed in gāthās. The methods of counting the verses vary greatly in the different MSS., since in some the prose part is counted in as 13 verses, so that the total sum is 84 verses; and differences of another nature are also apparent. The scholiast on the Nandī, it may be remarked in passing,<sup>54</sup> in his enumeration of the anaṅga-pavitṭha texts, held another text than the present one to be the āurapachchakkhāṇam!

[438] XXVII. Third pañnam, the bhattaparinnā, bhaktaparijñā, in 172 vv., treats of the bālapaṇḍiyamarāṇam. Cf. the citation just made from v. 8 of the second pañna. This pañna contains ethical precepts<sup>54</sup> which refer constantly to the Jināsāṇam, Jinavayaṇam, the Jinapañiya (prañīta) doctrines, while at the same time it cites its own title; cf. (v. 9—11, 14, 18, 35, 169, 171). In the verse before the last, this pañna is said like pañna 1 to refer back to (the

<sup>48</sup> yō 'sau Virabhadrasādhuḥ śrī Virasaktāḥ chaturdaśasahasramadhyavartī tasyā 'dam ētad adhyayanam, ēvaṃ śāstrakartuḥ samāsagarbham abhidhānam uktam; asya chā 'dhyayanaśya Virabhadrasādhukṛitavajñāpanēna yasya jinasya yāvantāḥ sādhuvaḥ pratyēkabudhā (see pp. 265, 334) api tāvaṃta ēva prakīrṇāny api tāvaṃti bhavaṃti 'ti juāpitaṃ bhavati (! see below on the Nandī).

<sup>49</sup> In the Vichārāmṛitasāṅghā — see p. 430 — the āurap.° is placed after nandī and anuyōga, at the head of the pañnas.

<sup>50</sup> See Windisch in *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* 28, 229 (1874).

<sup>51</sup> itaḥ pañḍitānām viśēṣatō 'pi pa 'ṇam prochyatē saṃkshēpataḥ.

<sup>52</sup> jhāṇē is always construed here with the accus., i. e. probably as 1 p. sing. ātm. of a denominative (dhyāṇay)? — A collection of examples of these dhyāṇas is to be found in the introduction of Harshakusāla's commentary on the fourth pañna: dhyāṇabhēdās tu likhyantē: annāṇajhāṇē, atra māsatūsadriṣṭāntaḥ. Harshakusāla recognizes the number of these formulas as 61. The words before jhāṇē appear in thematic form, as pūrvapadāni, and not as accus. Cf. the jhāṇavibhatti above, p. 428.

<sup>53</sup> The scholiast has here: chūritrasya vidhiḥ; gilāpakirapāṭiyam giyatthā pachchakkhāviṃti dipē 2 davvahaṇam karēttā nintē a savvadā papayāḥ bhattathēraṇaḥ; jāpattā pittinhaṇa bhavacharimapachchakkhāṇam kāravē(ṇ)ti tti ityādi yatra varṇyatē; mahatpratyākhyāṇaḥ yatō 'ktaḥ. Even if the name āturapratyākhyāṇam is not directly mentioned, the meaning and the position of these words between the explanations of the titles: charapaviḥ and mahāpachchakkhāṇam makes most decidedly for the conclusion that this very corrupt statement of contents, the metre of which cannot be restored, belongs to the title āura° which in the text is between these two titles. On giyatthā see below (pp. 450, 464, 478), on the chhēdasutta.

<sup>54</sup> Directions as to how a man should abstain from food, Kash.



doctrines of) Virabhadra, though it is perhaps better to assume that Mahāvīra himself is referred to in this verse:—ia jo īsara-jīṇa-vī-rabhaddabhaṇiṇaṇsāriṇim (!) iṇam-ō ! bhattaparinnam dhannō padhamāni nisunamāni bhāvanti || 171 || sattarisayam Jīṇaṇa va gāhāṇaṇ samayakbittapannattam ! ārahantō vihiṇā sāsayaṇukkham lahaṇ mukkhām || 172 || According to this concluding verse the text should contain only 170 verses, but perhaps the two concluding verses are a secondary addition. The plural of the verbs in v. 171 in opposition to those in the singular jō . . . dhannō is at least very peculiar. Instead of the Sanskrit °sāriṇim (°sāriṇām B! both times with m) °sāriṇim is doubtless the better reading.

XXVIII. Fourth pañnam, saṁthāra, saṁstāra, in 122 vv., treats of the bed upon straw. Cf. Bhagav. 2, 1, 70, 74 (my treatise 2, 203, 207) as a preparation for the paṇḍiyamarāgam, the proper euthanasy. The title saṁthāra is frequently referred to throughout the text; cf. v. 1, 3, 4, 15, 21, 27, 30 etc.), thus e. g.: saṁthārammi nibaṇḍham gaṇaparivāḍim nisāmēha || 11 ||. This was the case with pañna 3.

[439] In v. 32 — 44 the qualities of the man are described who intends to ascend the saṁthāra, the second hemistich recurring throughout as a refrain; . . . āruhaṇ jō saṁthāram suvisuddhō tassa saṁthārō. In v. 56 fg. there are cited all manner of instances of those who died saṁthāram ārūḍhā. Thus, the flower-gatherer (? pupphachūlā) Ajjā in Pōyaṇapura v. 56, Sukōsalarisi v. 63, examples from Ujjēṇi v. 65, Rōhidaṇam nayaram v. 68, Pāḍaliputta vv. 70, 73, Kōsambī v. 78, Kuṇḍalanagara v. 80, the names Kurudatta v. 84, Gayasukumāla v. 85, Chīlāiputta v. 86, Maṁkhali v. 87. It concludes: ēva(m) maē abhithuyā saṁthāragāṇḍakhamdham ārūḍhā ! susamaṇanarimāḍakhamdā suhasaṁkamapaṇam sayā dīmtu || 122 ||.

XXIX. Fifth pañnam, taṇḍulavēyāliyam,<sup>55</sup> in verse, prose, and again in verse. The contents are of an anthropological and physiological nature, and are briefly stated in the introduction:—

vochchham pañnagam iṇam taṇḍulavēyāliyam nāma || 1 ||

suṇaha gaṇiē<sup>56</sup> dasa dasā (disā A) vāsayaṇussa jaha vibhajjanti ! saṁkaliē vōgasiē jam chā "yaṇ sēsayaṇ hōi || 2 ||

jattiyamittē divasē jattiyā rāi muhuttam ussāsō ! gabbhammi vāsā jīvō āhāravihim ya vochchhāmi || 3 ||

Then follows the statement that the jīva [440] remained in the womb 277 full ahōrattas and one-half of an ahōratta (cf. Aup. § 104) — (26 verses + 3). The prose treats especially of the life and development of the embryo in the womb, striking parallels to which are found in the statements in Nirukti 14, 6, 7, and in the Garbhōpanishad (*Ind. Stud.* 2, 65). The subject is treated in the form of a dialogue, in antique form, between Mahāvīra and Gōyama. The nominative often ends in e and not in o, so that we may suppose an older source is the base of this recital. Then follows an enumeration of the dasa dasā (disā A), ten "ages of man" (cf. Ath. 3, 4, 7): bālā, kiṭṭā (A, kiḍā B, viḍḍā C), maṇḍā, balā, pannā, hāyaṇi, pavamchā, pabbhārā, mummuhī (A, ma<sup>o</sup> B, su<sup>o</sup> C), māyaṇi. These are then treated separately in metre. The text then returns to prose, and treats, in connection with the āyus, of the divisions of time: āvaliyā, khaṇa up to the kōḍākōḍiṇu, i. e. millions of years, after which it discusses the multiplicity of bodily relations and of the nature of the body in general. Next come the dry measures based upon the māgahaḍ pathhō, cf. Ath. par. 35, 3 (my treatise on the Jyōt. p. 80; Aupap. § 80, 98), measures of length, of time, the number of the bones, sinews and other parts of the body, of all manner of diseases, of women, &c. Here and there we find verses inserted though they are not counted in continuously with the rest. At the conclusion we find 18 verses:—

ēyam sōṇam sarirassa (metre!) vāsāṇam gaṇiyapāgaḍamahattham ! mokkhapaṇmassa iha

<sup>55</sup> It is uncertain how we are to translate or explain this. In aṅgas 2, 1, 2 vēyāliya is = vaidārīka, in dasavāliya = vaikālīka. In ms. or fol. 1075 the title is translated by taṇḍulavaitālīkam; and also in Kashinath (the state of a child in the womb, its birth, &c.).

<sup>56</sup> jyotiḥśāstrē, gloss.



(metre!) samattañ sahaṣṣapattassa (metre!) || 17 || āyañ sagaḍasariñ jāi-jarā[441]maraṇa-vēyaṇabahuṇā | taha pattaha<sup>57</sup> kāuñ jē<sup>58</sup> jaha muchchaha savvadukkhāṇā || 18 ||

XXX. Sixth pañnañ, chaṇḍāvijjhayañ,<sup>59</sup> in 174 vv. In the introduction, a dāragāhā (v. 3), with a conspectus of the contents. Vv. 4 — 19 treat of vinaya in general, vv. 20 — 35 of the qualities of a teacher, āyariyaṇa, vv. 36 — 51 of the scholar, sisagāṇa, vv. 52 — 65 of the impediments (?), niggahagāṇa,<sup>60</sup> in the way of the viṇaya, vv. 66 — 98 of perception, nāgaṇa, vv. 99 — 114 of the conduct of life, charaṇaṇa, v. 115 fg. of death, maraṇaṇa. All these sections are clearly separated by a verse which marks the end of one and the beginning of another (20, 35, 52, 66, 98, 115). Thus, e. g. v. 20: viṇayassa gaṇavisēṣā ēḥ mācē vaṇṇiā samāseṇāñ | āyariyaṇāñ cha gaṇē āgamaṇā mē nisāmēha || 20 || In v. 173 the contents is repeated or recapitulated as in the dāragāhā; and the concluding verse is closely connected with that of pañna 6:

tahapattaha kāuñ jē jaha muchchaha gabbhavāsavaṣaṇāñ | maraṇapaṇabbhavaṇṇamaṇa-duggaivipivāyagamaṇāñ || 174 ||

XXXI. Seventh pañnañ, dēviṇḍattha, dēveṇḍrastava; in 300 vv. A systematic enumeration of the 32 dēviṇḍas, and of all the gods according to their [442] groups, dwelling places, &c.<sup>61</sup> The Nom. Sing. M. of Decl. I ends frequently in *e*, perhaps because the contents partially follows the statements in the aṅgas and upāṅgas. The divisions are here, as in the case of pañna 6, distinctly separated; and the author here, too, speaks of himself in the first person, and addresses not unfrequently (cf. p. 458) a suṇḍari, suaṇu, as the one for whom his work is intended.<sup>62</sup>

A patent contradiction to this secular method of treatment is found in Haribhadra on Āśy. 2, 6, where the author proclaims himself to be the composer of a nijjuttī: isibhāsiṇāñ, and explains this word by dēveṇḍrastavādināñ. We have seen above (pp. 259, 281, 429) that on 8, 4 he referred it to the uttarajjhāṇa. That our text should be so honoured as to be brought into connection with a work of such an important title as the isibhāsiya (cf. aṅgas 3, 10, 4, 44) and to have been thought worthy of a nijjuttī at the hands of the author of the Āśyaniryukti (whoever this may have been), seems utterly impossible if we take into consideration the secondary character of this small mythological manual (see above, pp. 280, 432). It is, however, worth our attention to note the fact that also in Svi. V. (see above, p. 428 fg.) the pañnas are frequently said to begin with a text of this name.

[443] The table of contents in v. 7 ff. reads: kayarē tē vattisañ dēviṇḍā? kō va kattha parivasā? kēvaiyā kassa thī? kō bhavaṇapariggahō kassa? || 8 || kēvaiyā nu vimāṇā? bhavaṇā nagaṇā cha huṃti kēvaiyā? puḍhaviṇa cha vāhuttam uyyattavimāṇa vinnō (?) vā || 9 || kāraṇti cha kālēṇā (?) ukkōsañ majjhimañ jahannañ cha | ussāsō nissāsō uḍḍhī (?) visaḥ va kō kēsiñ? || 10 || and closes: dēviṇḍanikāyāṇāñ thaḥ (iha) samattō aparisēṣō || 300 ||

XXXII. Eighth pañnañ, gaṇaviyya, gaṇavidyā, in 86 vv. The contents is of an astrological character.<sup>63</sup> It begins: vucchhañ balābalavihiñ navabalavibisuttasañchin pasatthañ | jīva-

<sup>57</sup> Cf. pattihi in Hāla.

<sup>58</sup> See Hém. 2, 217, Hāla 524 in Bhuv. (p. 189).

<sup>59</sup> The name is obscure: viyyaya in A, but vijjhaya in B, Nandī, Pākehika and in the three sāmāchāri; once in Āvi. °vijjhāya, in Svi. °vivviya (a poor MS.) and °vejha in V; Kashinath has: chaṇḍāvijaya, an account of witchcraft, magic and mysticism (!). — The right Sanskrit equivalent of the title is Candrakā-ndhya which, as Ogha-niryukti 1142 shows, is the same as rādhā-ndhya 'aim-striking.' — L.

<sup>60</sup> niggayagāṇa vv. 3, niggahagāṇa in vv. 52 and 173.

<sup>61</sup> Panegyrics on the Tīrthakara's by Dēva and Indra (!), Kashinath.

<sup>62</sup> The introduction states the situation in explicit terms: kōi (kōi?) paḍhamapaṇisammi sāvaḥ samayanichehiya-vipahāṇū (?) metre!) | vannañ vayan uyāram jīyamāpē Vaddhamāṇammi || 3 || tassa thupaṇṭassa (✓ stu, Cl. 9) jīvañ sāmāyakañ piyāsu haṇiṇāñ | pañjalīṇā abhinūhī suṇā vayan Vaddhamāṇassa || 3 || Likewise in v. 7: sā piyañ bhāṇā, and in v. 11: paḍipuchhiḥ piyācē bhāṇā: suaṇu! tañ nisāmēha. Further on frequently: vaṇṇihimi or vaṇṇehiñ (! varṇayishyāmi), vucchhañ, vucchhāmi, &c.

<sup>63</sup> The avachāri on the Nandī explains as follows: gaṇavidyā jyōtishkanimittāḍiparijñānarūpā, sā hi samyak pariñāyamānā pravrajānasāmāyikāropapāsthāpāñ: rutoddēśanujāgūpārōpāpādiśānujāvivhārādiprayōjanēhu upa-yōgiñ.



yapabhāsiyam ipam pavayanasatthammi jahadittham || 1 ||, and treats according to the dāragāhā (v. 2): 1. of the days, divasa, vv. 3—8, — 2. of the lunar days, tihi, vv. 9, 10, — 3. of the nakshatra, vv. 11—41, — 4. of the karaṇa, vv. 42—46 — 5. of the planets, gahadivasa, vv. 47, 48, — 6. of the hours, mūhutta, vv. 49—58, — 7. of the omens, saṅgabalam, vv. 59—63, — 8. of the horoscope, laggabalam, vv. 64—72, — and 9. of the signs, nimitta, vv. 73—85. — The context corresponds in character with the statements of the Atharvaparīśiṣṭa. The names of the nakshatras represent a secondary stage<sup>64</sup> as upāṅgas 5—7. The karaṇas are, however, recognized here as in up. 6, though the fourth [444] is called, as in up. 6, not taitila, but thilōṇa. In the discussion in reference to the lagna the word hōrā is found (v. 66) and, as it appears (the passage is corrupt), also the word dikkāṇa (vv. 67, 69), so that we have a patent instance of Greek influence.

The second collection of the dasapaṇṇa (see above, p. 431) allots only 31 vv. to the gaṇivīyā. Of the verses here only the following recur there: 1—14, 21—32, 35, 37, 74, 82; §§ 4—8 are entirely wanting, § 3 has instead of 31 vv. only 14, and § 9 instead of 13 only 2.

XXXIII. Ninth paṇṇam, mahāpachchakkhāṇam, in 143 vv. A general formula designed for confession and renunciation. It begins: ēsa karēmi paṇṇam tiṭṭhayaṇam aṇuttaragaṇam | . . . || 1 || . . . | saddahē jinapannattam pachchakkhāmi (a) pāvagam || 2 || jam kiṃ chī duchchari-yaṃ tam ahaṃ nimdāmi savvabhāṇam | sāmāiyam cha tivihim karēmi savvam nirāgāram || 3 || The verses frequently close as groups with the same refrain; e. g. paṇḍiyamarāṇam marīhāmi (future) vv. 41—48, pāvagaṇ marīhāmi v. 50, rakkhāmi mahavvāṇe paṇcha vv. 68—76, sāhamti (or sāheṇ) appaṇo attham vv. 80—84, vōsirāmi, tti pāvagam vv. 116—120. The formula uses the first person alone: nimdāmi, garihāmi, vōsirāmi, vōsirē, khāmēmi, pachchakkhāmi (!). It concludes: ēyam pachchakkhāṇam aṇupālēṇa suvihiṇo sammam | vēmāṇiya vva dēvō haviyya abavā visiyyiya || 143 ||. It, therefore, opens up as the prospect of the reward of correct performance of confession, entrance among the vēmāṇiya gods or complete dissolution (visīryēta).

## PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

(Continued from Vol XIX. page 378).

### PART II.

### TRANSLATION.

#### No. 6.

Song sung when the wedding presents are being carried for the bride or the bridegroom.

Five sets of presents for the bride and five for the bridegroom:  
(Even) the king has admired them from the balcony (of his palace).

Five sets of presents for the bride and five for the bridegroom,  
The wedding guests have been brought from the country of Jasā.<sup>1</sup>

5 Their praises have been sung in good words. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Joy, joy to him by whose side the pipes are being played.  
Let us make an ovation with a tray full of pearls.

Come forth, mother of the bridegroom, his aunts, his sisters all:  
The petted bridegroom will now mount his horse,

10 And he will have a splendid following.  
Graceful flower girl, tripping gracefully along,  
Who will buy thy daisies?

His father,<sup>3</sup> Mōharwānji, will be sure to buy them;  
For he is in pressing need of them.

<sup>64</sup> The name jithamūla (see Ind. Stud. 10, 293) is found here (v. 11); see p. 380.

<sup>1</sup> It is not plain what country is meant.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is not quite clear.

<sup>3</sup> The bridegroom's.



- 15 His father is overjoyed and spends money (freely)  
In order to keep up his prestige.  
The bridegroom's mother has caused a beautiful *sâñi* to be woven for herself,  
And a bodice of cloth of gold.  
Father, what shall we admire most in this procession ?
- 20 I bring my procession (of guests) from the city of Bombay (Mumbâi).  
Send for jewellers from Surat,  
Send for boxes full of *jhâl*<sup>4</sup> and *jhumrân*<sup>4</sup>  
And adorn the bride and the bridegroom with them.  
Brother, what shall we admire most in this procession ?
- 25 I bring my procession (of guests) from the City of Sûrat.  
Send for goldsmiths from Sûrat,  
And get boxes full of bangles and bracelets.  
Indulge every desire of the marrying couple.  
Now, father, you who are a man of influence,<sup>5</sup>
- 30 Get together good wedding guests.  
The flower girl enters the narrow street,  
And brings garlands of buds.  
Flower girl, we shall buy what you bring.  
We married<sup>6</sup> women shall unite in buying (your flowers).
- 35 Get married women to sing songs,  
And indulge every desire of the marrying couple.  
Sôrabji will now ride his horse,  
And by his side (will walk) his brother who is a *désâi*<sup>7</sup>.  
Let me scatter mustard seeds under the horse's feet,
- 40 And wish the rider every blessing.  
Let me sprinkle some *jîrân*<sup>8</sup> under the horse's feet :  
I would not entrust any one with the rider even for a moment.  
Let me place (some) *damu*<sup>9</sup> under the horse's feet,  
Sôrabji will mount his horse with his face to the East.
- 45 Let me sprinkle some salt<sup>10</sup> under the horse's feet.  
This is the first time in my life that I do such a (meritorious) thing.  
Let me break (some) eggs<sup>11</sup> under the horse's feet.  
May the rider be as (prosperous as) his ancestors.  
Now my Sôrabji has mounted his horse,  
And has bowed his head to Dâdâr Hôrmaïda.

\* Ornaments for the ear.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning is not quite clear.

<sup>5</sup> Women under coverture, as distinguished from widows.

<sup>7</sup> The headman of a community invested with certain magisterial powers.

<sup>8</sup> Seeds resembling fennel seeds.

<sup>9</sup> *Damu* is a sweet smelling herb.

<sup>10</sup> Mustard seeds *damu*, and *jîrân*, are not, so far as I know, considered auspicious, but salt is believed to carry prosperity with it.

<sup>11</sup> Eggs play an important part in Pârsi festive ceremonies : whenever a person is to be welcomed, a tray is prepared with a good many things, which are believed to be auspicious. These are : a cocoanut, an egg, a handful of rice, a little water, and some sugar made up into little cakes. As soon as the guest steps up to the door the mistress of the house, or if she happens to be a widow, some relative of hers, goes forth with the tray in her hand, and first taking up the egg waves it over the head of her guest, and breaks it against the steps or the pavement ; then she does the same with the cocoanut, and finally sprinkles the rice and sugar cakes over the favoured head. This done, she waves her hands over her guest's head, and uttering some blessings cracks her finger joints against her own temples (*vide ante*, Vol. XIX. page 375, note 13, part 1), and bids the guest step in with the right foot foremost. The cocoanut, egg, &c., are believed to carry off all evil with them ; and they make it a point to break the egg and the cocoanut, from which it appears that some sacrifice is meant, and the egg does duty for a live offering, which latter the Pârsis cannot admit into their nuptial rites, out of respect for the feelings of the Hindus whose customs they have largely adopted.



## No. 7.

## Another Song sung when the mother-in-law welcomes her son-in-law.

The mother-in-law welcomes her son-in-law, ornaments adorning her head ;  
Seizing upon an auspicious moment, she welcomes the bridegroom and adorns his neck with  
a garland (of flowers).

With an oblation of flowers and cocoanuts and rings<sup>12</sup> is the bridegroom received, and is  
made to sit under the *māṇḍar*.

Śrinbāi, thy husband has come, and wants some place to put up at.

Give him an orchard to put up at, and his mother's heart will rejoice.

5 Give him a garden to put up at, and his father's heart will rejoice.

Give him a palace to put up in, and his sister's heart will rejoice.

Give him (a place near) a small well to put up at, and his paternal aunt's heart will rejoice.

Give him (a place near) a sacred river<sup>13</sup> to put up at, and his maternal aunt's heart will rejoice

Give him a yard to put up in, and his paternal uncle's heart will rejoice.

10 Give him a mango plantation to put up at, and his maternal uncle will rejoice.

Let us bestow upon the bridegroom mango and tamarind plantations,

And let us bestow towns and villages on him.

Let us give him eighty-four market places, and let us give him extensive forests.

(But the bridegroom says) "I care not for your mango and tamarind plantations, nor do I  
wish to have your towns and villages ;

15 I need not your eighty-four market places nor your extensive forests ;

I am come only to take away Pharāmji's daughter, for then only will my life be worth living."

The bridegroom is being decorated with twist<sup>14</sup> and has been brought down to marry a virgin.

Sprinkle showers of rose-water and hand packets of *pāṇ* round (to the guests).

Sprinkle showers of saffron on, and hand bouquets of flowers round (to the guests).

20 The guests are welcome, guests of her who has been waiting (for them).

## TEXT.

## गीत ६.

## वरणीनुं गीत.

पांचे वरणी ने पांचे आदरणी.

जठरा<sup>15</sup> परयी राजाए वखाणी.

पांचे वरणी ने पांचे कलीभाणी.

जसा देवयी ते जाण भाणी.

5 एरे वखाणी सवदो वाणी अबल पालव जाणीए.<sup>16</sup>

धन धन रे कूखे वांसली वागे.

भरी मोतीनी ठाळे वधावीए.

वरणी माए रे मासी, बेन फुड चालो आपणे जइए.

लाडकरो<sup>17</sup> सपरसजी<sup>18</sup> घोडे चडसे.

10 साहाबोलो तेनो खुब सोभसे;

<sup>12</sup> The mother-in-law receives her son-in-law when he comes down to marry her daughter in the following manner :— She goes forth with a tray in her hand, in which are placed a diamond or any other kind of ring, or some other ornament for the bridegroom along with *kaṅkū*, some grains of rice, some dry dates and almonds, cocoanuts, and a cone-shaped packet of sugar. The mother-in-law makes a mark with the *kaṅkū* on the bridegroom's forehead, and presses some grains of rice on to it. Then she puts a garland of flowers round his neck, and puts the ring on his finger. This done, she throws a few grains of rice over his head and passing her hands over his face or his head cracks her finger joints against her temples (*vide* the preceding note).

<sup>13</sup> कासा is the word used in the text and is made to rhyme with मासी, a mother's sister.

<sup>14</sup> During the marriage ceremony the bride and bridegroom are made to sit opposite each other, and twist is wrapped round and round both their persons by the priests, who continue repeating prayers and burning incense on a fire. This practice is now being gradually dropped by the Parsis, but is still prevalent among the Hindus.

<sup>15</sup> जठरा I interpret this word झरुखा balcony.

<sup>16</sup> This last phrase is unintelligible, separately अबल means first or best, पालव an embroidered border, and जाणीए we know.

<sup>17</sup> See ante, note 33, part I.

<sup>18</sup> सपरसजी is the common name by which all bridegrooms are called before they are married.



- लटकारी रे मालन लटके चाले,  
कोण लेखे रे तारी मोपरी.  
लेखे लेखे रे एना मेहरवानजी बाबा,  
तेने छे गरजो उतावली.  
15 एनो बाबो रे हरखे बलामां खरचे,  
नाम पोतानां राखचे.  
वरनी माए ते सोभत साडी वणावी,  
कसबी अलेचानी कांचली.  
बाबा साजणमां धुं रे वखाणुं.  
20 मारुं साजण मुम्बाइ शेहेरनुं आणुं.  
सुरत शेहेरना झवेरी बोलावो.  
दाबडा भरी भरी झाल झुमरां लावो.  
मारां वहुवरने ते जोरे पेहरावो.  
वीरा साजणमां धुं रे वखाणुं.  
25 मारुं साजण सुरत शेहेरनुं आणुं.  
सुरत शेहेरना सोनीरा बोलावो.  
दाबडा भरी भरी चुरा वारा लावो.  
मारां परणतांना कोड पोंहचरावो.  
हवे बाबाजी बळवंतवाळो,<sup>19</sup>  
30 तने सारा साजणीआ मेलवावो.

- सांकडी घेरीमां मालगरी<sup>20</sup> आवे.  
काचा कळीओना हारो लह आवे.  
मालण तने लावो ते अमे लहधुं.  
अमो सोवासणो मळीने लहधुं.  
35 सोवासण लोक कण गीत गवडावो.  
मारा परणतांना कोड पोंहचरावो.  
घोडे चडघेरे सोराबजी भाइ.  
तेनी आगळ वीरो देसाइ.  
घोडाना पगतले छांटुं रे राइ.  
40 घोडाना चडताने भरुं भलाइ.  
घोडाना पगतले छांटुं रे जीरुं.  
घोडेना चडताने घडीओ महीं धीरुं.  
घोडाना पगतले मेलुं रे इमनो.  
घोडे चडघे सोराबजी उगमनो.  
45 घोडाना पगतले छांटुं रे मीठां.<sup>21</sup>  
मारी जणमारे ए कामो रे वीठां.  
घोडाना पगतले भांजुं रे इंडां.  
घोडेना चडताने वरावोनां मीहणां.  
घोडे चडीओरे मारो सोराबजी.  
50 ते दावार होरमजइने लागो रे पावे.

## गीत ७.

## सासु जमादने हरगवा नीसरे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

- वर सासु ते हरगवा नीसरी, मस्तके बांध्या मोड रे.  
वेळा ते जोइ वर हरगीओ, गळे सोभाव्यो हारडो.  
फुल नारल वीडीए वर हरगीओ. मांडव मांहे बेसाज्यो.  
वर आव्यो रे क्षीरीनबाइ तारो मांगे उतारा ठार रे.  
5 उतारा आपो वारीना मन हरो ते वरनी माडीनां.  
उतारा आपो बागना मन हरो ते वरना बापनां.  
उतारा आपो मेहेलना मन हरो ते वरनी बहेननां.  
उतारा आपो फुइना मन हरो ते वरनी फुइनां.  
उतारा आपो काशीना मन हरो ते वरनी मासीनां.  
10 उतारा आपो झांपाना मन हरो ते वरना काकानां.  
उतारा आपो आंवांना मन हरो ते वरना मामानां.  
आपो ते आंवां आमळी आपो ते नगर गाम रे.  
आपो चोरीभासी चौटडां, आपो ते बोहीळां रान रे.  
नहीं लेड ते आंवां आमळी नहीं लेड ते नगर गाम रे.  
15 नहीं लेड चोरीभासी चौटडां नहीं लेड ते बोहीळां रान रे.  
लेख लेख ते फरामजीनी शिकरी मारां ते जीव्यां परमाण रे.  
वरने काचां सुतरे सणगार्या, कुमारीसे परणवा उतार्या.  
छांटो छांटो ते गोलाबनां छांटणां पाण ते वीरां आपो हाथमां.  
छांटो छांटो रे केसरनां छांटणां फूल तोरा ते आपो हाथमां.  
20 मारा साजणीआ रे भले आव्या, ना जोती ते वाटी रे.<sup>22</sup>

## MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE TRIBES INHABITING THE SHAN STATES.<sup>1</sup>

The natives of the Shân States belong to the following tribes :—

- (i) Shâns, who belong to the great Tai family, and occupy generally the valleys of the Shân plateau.

- (ii) Palaungs, who occupy the highlands.  
(iii) Kachins, a hill tribe.  
(iv) Karens in very small numbers.  
(v) A few Panthays.  
(vi) Lâs and Wâs, who occupy a tract of country to the east of the Salween river.

The descendants of the great Tai family of Shâns are the main occupants of the country and

<sup>19</sup> This phrase is rather ambiguous.

<sup>20</sup> Poetical form of मालन.

<sup>21</sup> मीठां is the plural form of भीटु salt, but it is grammatically incorrect.

<sup>22</sup> ना जोती ते वाटी This phrase is grammatically incorrect, it should be वाट जोतीना.

<sup>1</sup> [Printed originally as a Government paper, by Mr. W. R. Hillier, but as the vernacular words were then given only in Shân characters, this is practically the first useful publication of these very valuable, though somewhat unskilfully written, notes.—Ed.]



rule the States. Their language is both spoken and written, and, like Chinese, is a tonal language. They are Buddhists in religion. Agriculture is their main occupation, and rice the staple crop. It grows luxuriantly both in puddled land and on the hill slopes, yielding good crops.

The Sháns are divided in the Northern Shán States into Northern Sháns or Tainü, and Southern Sháns or Taitaü. Northern Sháns are again divided into Tainü (Northern Sháns) and Tainamk'am (Namkham Sháns) or Taik'è (Chinese Sháns). The Tainü proper and the Taitaü dress alike. The Taitaü are often also called Taileng (Red Sháns). The Tainamk'am and the Taik'è dress mostly in dark blue (both men and women). The mode of living and habits of all classes are alike, the only difference between them being in dress and accent.

At birth no particular ceremonies are performed. The mother is not secluded. No rules of diet are enforced on the woman during pregnancy; but the mother is for one month after the birth of a child forbidden the following,—

- (1) *sámbhar* flesh,
- (2) barking deer's flesh,
- (3) fish called *punúng*,
- (5) oranges,
- (5) vermicelli,
- (6) sessamum oil,
- (7) *p'akkút* (an edible fern),
- (8) *p'akut* (onion),
- (9) *makk'úsóm* (tomato).

The above articles of food are said not to agree with a newly-born infant. Immediately after child-birth, the mother has her stomach bandaged, and sits with her back exposed to a fire made of any wood, which, when punctured, does not exude any milk or gum. The woods generally used are,—

- (1) *mainim* (oak),
- (2) *maikót*,
- (3) *maik'ók* (tree fern),
- (4) *maimout*,
- (5) *maikā*<sup>2</sup> (chestnut).

The mother is considered unclean for seven days, and before entering upon the duties of the household has to bathe and put on clean garments. Pine-wood (*maipék*) is burnt and the mother inhales the smoke, and also inhales *samóngndk*,<sup>3</sup> which is said to prevent a rising of blood to the head, and so to prevent bleeding from the nose and mouth. Should the mother bleed from the mouth or nose, she is given a

decoction of turmeric or some monkey's blood. The husband observes no special diet during the pregnancy of his wife, or after her delivery, but it is considered undesirable that he should,—

- (1) drive pigs.
- (2) carry the dead.
- (3) bore holes.
- (4) fill in holes in the ground.
- (5) mock others.

After a month the child is bathed in water, into which, if the child is a boy, have been put silver, gold, precious stones, a 10-*tóld* weight, a 5-*tóld* weight, a 2-*tóld* weight, and other standard weights down to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a *tóld*. If the child is a girl, silver, gold, and all the ornaments of the female sex are put in the bath water. If the child is of well-to-do parents  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *tólds* weight of gold is tied as a pendant round the child's neck, and if of poor people four annas weight of silver. The child is now named by one of the elders, who ties a cord, consisting of seven threads, round the wrist.

The name is given in the following order:—

If a boy (son);—

- 1st son = Ai.
- 2nd son = Ai Yi.
- 3rd son = Ai S'am.
- 4th son = Ai S'ai.
- 5th son = Ai Ngo.
- 6th son = Ai Nók.
- 7th son = Ai Nu.
- 8th son = Ai Nai.

If a girl (daughter);—

- 1st daughter = Nang Yé.
- 2nd daughter = Nang Yi.
- 3rd daughter = Nang Am.
- 4th daughter = Nang Ai.
- 5th daughter = Nang O.
- 6th daughter = Nang Ók.
- 7th daughter = Nang It.<sup>4</sup>

These names are kept by both boys and girls, unless changed under the following conditions:—

- (1) If the boy enters a *kyauung* (Buddhist monastery).
- (2) If after three or four years the child (boy or girl) is renamed with a name indicating the day of birth.
- (3) If illness supervenes, when the name is changed in the following manner;—

A ceremony is performed by which the child is supposed to be exchanged for—

<sup>2</sup> *ā* = aw in law.

<sup>3</sup> Burmese *samóngnet* = *nigella sativa*.

<sup>4</sup> [The Burmese naming customs are simply those of

the Hindus borrowed direct from India, hence these primitive customs of the Sháns are peculiarly interesting.—Ed.]



- (a) A piece of coarse cloth, and is then called Master (or Miss) Coarse Cloth, Ai Man or Nang Man;
- (b) A portion of silver, when the name becomes Master (or Miss) Silver, Ai Ngeun or Nang Ngeun;
- (c) A pair of scales, when, if the child weighs more than a viss (Rs. 100 in weight),<sup>5</sup> the name becomes Ai (or Nang) Swoi<sup>6</sup> S'a, Master (or Miss) More-than-one-viss; or,
- (d) The child is put into a roaster and a pretence is made of roasting it, after which it is called Master (or Miss) Roast, Ai Kā or Nang Kā; or,
- (e) The child is thrown away, and picked up again by some member of the family, and after a little time given back to the parents and called Master (or Miss) Picked-up, Ai (or Nang) Kip; or,
- (f) If there is a visitor in the house the child is given to him, and then taken back and called Ai (or Nang) K'ek, Master (or Miss) Visitor; or,
- (g) If it be full moon day, the child is called Ai (or Nang) Mōn, Master (or Miss) Full Moon; or,
- (h) If the child have birth marks, it is called Ai (or Nang) Mai, Master (or Miss) Marks.

The above changes of name are made to restore the child to health, and if they fail to do so, the child is then taken to the *kyaung* (Buddhist monastery) with some offerings and called Ai (or Nang) Lū, Master (or Miss) Offering.

All the names under head (3) are subject to further change under heads (1) and (2).

A boy, when old enough to talk and learn, is sent to a *kyaung* (in this case a monastic school), which he attends till he learns off the first prayer, when he is made to repeat it thrice in the presence of the head *pōngyī*, (Buddhist monk and teacher), exchanging his ordinary clothes for those of a *pōngyī*, and remaining in the *kyaung* under a name given by the *pōngyī*. This name begins or ends with one of the following letters, according to the day of his birth,—

Sunday = a, ā, or ā, as *Sanā*, &c.

Monday = ka, k'a, nga, or kā, as *Kāliya*, &c.

Tuesday = sa, s'a, or āa, as *Santa*, &c.

Wednesday = ya, la, or wa, as *Wilās'a*, &c.

Thursday = pa, p'a, or ma, as *Pansikta*, &c.

Friday = s'a, or ha, as *S'āna*, &c.

Saturday = ta, t'a, or na, as *Nanta*, &c.

The name thus given is retained for life. In the case of girls the name is given by an elder of the village, and not by a *pōngyī*.

Adoption is practised, but is followed by no special ceremony. If the adopting father have no issue, then the adopted son gets all the property. If there be issue, either before or after the adoption, the adopted son gets half the share of the rightful issue or issues, who get equal shares. The same rule is followed with regard to the property of the real father of the child adopted.

No ceremonies are performed at Puberty, either in the case of boys or girls.

Marriage is permissible with any caste or creed. If a person of either sex dies without marrying, the body, before burial, is banged against a tree-stump, which is, for the time being, considered to represent the husband or wife. This ceremony is performed in the belief that, if omitted, the person would, in his or her next existence, again die unmarried.

A young man, taking a fancy to a young woman, visits the latter's house and woos her, and, if the liking be mutual, she accompanies him to his house as his wife. On the following morning the parents of the young man visit the parents of the young woman with an offering of salt and tea, make known to them the fact of the union of their respective children, beg that their own child may be forgiven for the intrusion, and request the fixing of a day for the marriage ceremony. This request being granted and the day fixed, the young woman returns to her parents. Sometimes the young man on proposing to the girl is referred to her parents, in which case he sends his parents with an offering of salt and sugar to propose for the girl and obtain the sanction of her parents to fix a day for their wedding.

On the day appointed the relatives of both parties, and the parties themselves, collect in the house of the girl.

The bridegroom, taking with him a bundle of tea (one viss) and a bundle of salt (one viss) tied together, and in them as much money as he can afford to give the parents of the girl as compensation, places his presents before them, and proposes for their daughter. The two bundles are then untied by the parents and the money extracted,

<sup>5</sup> [The regulation viss 3·65 lbs. (avoirdupois); but this viss must be about 2½ lbs. only.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> oi as in voice.

<sup>7</sup> San is a qualifying prefix and not part of the name

proper. [In the above we have the ordinary Brahmanical system of nomenclature. The remaining customs previously indicated have many parallels among non-Brahmanical natives in India.—Ed.]



after which one of the elders of the village takes the tea and the salt out into the main road, and holding them above his head calls on heaven, earth and sun to witness the union of the two parties. He then re-enters the house, and ties a cord of seven threads round the left wrist of the bride and one round the right wrist of the bridegroom. This is called the matrimonial bond.

The bridegroom next distributes money to the elders of the village and all sit down to a feast.

The bride with all her worldly goods now accompanies the bridegroom to his house, but they are stopped on the road by bachelor friends of the bridegroom, who has to pay his way through them.

Formal marriage is, however, dying away, and marriage now often means cohabitation by mutual consent.

Divorce is by mutual consent of both parties, who give each other letters<sup>\*</sup> of freedom to remarry, &c.

If the wife claims a divorce and the husband is not willing, the wife has to pay Rs. 30 to be divorced. If the husband claims a divorce, he forfeits all his household property to his wife.

The forbidden degrees of consanguinity may be thus stated. A man shall not marry his,—

- (1) mother,
- (2) grandmother,
- (3) sister,
- (4) aunt,
- (5) wife's mother,
- (6) wife's grandmother,
- (7) wife's aunt.

And *vice versa* with a woman. All other ties are allowed.

A man may have several wives. A woman cannot have more than one husband. Polygamy is sanctioned, as man is believed to be the superior and master of woman. A man obtains a wife by wooing and with her consent; sometimes by purchase; and in case of rulers, as an offering of peace, friendship, &c.

A man is prohibited from cohabiting with his wife,—

- (1) during menstruation,
- (2) while she is in the act of suckling her child,
- (3) when she is ill,
- (4) on new moon and full moon days,
- (5) in the open, or in a *kyau* or *sayat*,<sup>\*</sup>

A widow is free to marry again and act as she pleases, no one in particular having any claim to her.

<sup>\*</sup> [On this Lieut. Henry Daly remarks that the letter is only given by the man, not by the woman. Lieut. Daly is the Superintendent of the Northern Shân States.—Ed.]

The causes of disease are held to be,—

- (1) irregularities of diet,
- (2) change of water and climate (air),
- (3) evil spirits.

Diseases from (1) and (2) are treated by medicines (mostly herbs) and shampooing, from (3) by applying irritants, such as chilles to the eye. Children are never killed. Abortion is brought on by shampooing.

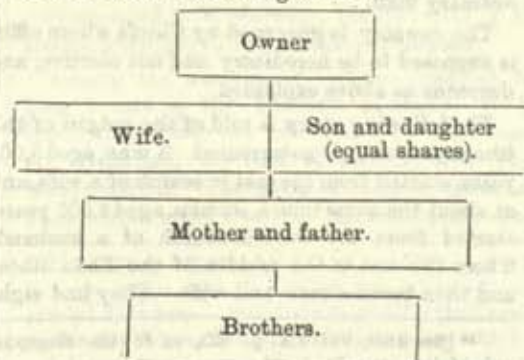
Death is considered to be the result of disease and the dead are buried. The corpse is dressed in new clothes. Clothes with a burn in them are never used under any circumstances for burial purposes, the body being buried naked rather than in such clothes. There is no belief in ghosts.<sup>\*</sup> The grave diggers, before getting out of the newly dug grave, sweep it out with brambles or thorns to prevent the *nâts* (spirits) from remaining in the grave.

Persons who have handled a corpse are required to bathe before re-entering the village.

No mourning garb is worn by a widow.

The officials (*Sābwās*, *Myōzās*, *Tamōns* and *Myōkhams*) decide all cases of murder. The murderer has to pay the following compensation. To the next kin of the victim, Rs. 333; to the official deciding the case, Rs. 333; to the *amats*, Rs.  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; to the *sarès*, Rs.  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; to the bailiff and messengers, Rs.  $\frac{2}{3}$ . If he cannot pay these sums his relations have to do so; if his relations cannot, his village; if his village cannot, his circle. If he belong to another clan or state, and refuse to pay the fine, then war is declared between the two states. If two brothers fight and one is killed the whole family are made to forfeit their worldly goods (household). When a murderer pays the compensation he is set free and no slur or stain is attached to him.

Individual property is recognized and inheritance takes the following course:—



<sup>\*</sup> This equals the Indian *dharmaśāstra*.

<sup>\*</sup> [Lieut. Daly says that "this statement is, I believe, incorrect."—Ed.]



It will be thus seen that property descends to the children and wife, the wife taking 50 per cent. and the children equal shares of the remainder. The eldest son gets the household property, arms, and precious stones. If there be no children the wife is heir; if no wife, the parents; and if the parents are dead, the deceased's brothers divide.

A title or seat (*Sābwaship*, &c.) descends to the sons in order of birth.<sup>10</sup> If there be no sons to the daughter's husband, if she be married; if not, to the brothers.

Everything is eaten, only human flesh being forbidden. Men, women and children all eat together. Cannibalism is practised very seldom, and only by the Bo, or leader of an army. If he be tattooed in a peculiar manner, he eats the flesh of an enemy who has been shot. This is said to render the charm of the tattooing stronger and more permanent.

The ground is tilled with a crude plough. The first produce (a portion) is prepared and taken as an offering to a *kyaung* before any is eaten by the household.

Each man is said to tell his prayers before setting out on a warlike expedition. The wife of the warrior,—

- (1) rests and does no work on every fifth day;
- (2) fills an earthen goblet with water up to the brim and puts some flowers into it every day. A decrease of the water or the withering of the flowers is looked upon as an evil sign (death);
- (3) sweeps clean, and lays out, her husband's bedding every night;
- (4) is prohibited from sleeping in his bed during his absence.

Mutilation of enemies is carried on to a great extent. The heads are always cut off and brought to the Chief, who gives a reward for every head, according as the head is that of an important or ordinary man.

The country is governed by Chiefs whose office is supposed to be hereditary and not elective, and descends as above explained.

The following story is told of the origin of the Shāns and of their government. A man, aged 5,000 years, started from the east in search of a wife, and at about the same time a woman, aged 5,000 years, started from the west in search of a husband. These two met in the middle of the Shān States and then became man and wife. They had eight

sons and seven daughters, who multiplied in their turn and gave rise to a large population. The eight sons and their respective children clamoured for the rulership over the descendants of the daughters, when their language became confused and they then separated and went their respective ways, with their children and clans. The names of the eight sons were—

- (1) Ai.
- (2) Ai Yi.
- (3) Ai S'am.
- (4) Ai S'ai.
- (5) Ai Ngo.
- (6) Ai Nu.
- (7) Ai Nôk.
- (8) Ai Nai.<sup>11</sup>

Not being able to agree as to who should be the Chief, and quarrelling amongst themselves, the eldest two sons and their children heard of the existence of two kings to the north, and went there to invite them to come and rule the Shān country. These two kings are said to be the sons of K'un Sang, the Chief of the Heavens, who sent them to deliver the Shān country. The emigrant Shāns invited them to come and rule their country, and promised to supply and give them every comfort, and to obey and follow their commands.

On the way home the party met a man called Sang P'an,<sup>12</sup> who expressed a desire to follow the two kings, and they in turn promised to provide for him.

After a short distance they met another man, who called himself Tūriya, and was a songster. He also joined the party, and they all arrived at Sanpūralit, now in the south-east.

The eight essentials of a city (*angkhāmōngpit pōng*) were attended to, namely,—

- (1) Market.
- (2) Water-supply.
- (3) Palace buildings.
- (4) [?]
- (5) Fields.
- (6) Monastic buildings.
- (7) Heads of armies (*bōs*).
- (8) Roads.

The names of the two first rulers are—

- (1) Mahā-K'attiya Yāza.
- (2) Mahā-S'amp'engna Yāza.<sup>13</sup>

The first improved agriculture and the second introduced weapons.

<sup>10</sup> [See ante, Vol. XX. p. 422, as to the Manipūri rule of descent.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> [Compare the male nomenclature above.—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> This man and his generations represent the Amat class, and the two "kings" the Sābwā class.

<sup>13</sup> [For (1) read Mahā-Kahatriya-Rāja and for (2) read (?) Mahā-Sampunna-Rāja. However, compare these names and that of Sanpūralit with the following from the *Mahāyāzawin* (*Mahārdjavādhā*), or Chronicle of the Burmese kings:—"Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year



On arrival they found an engraved stone, with inscriptions said to have been written by the deities to guide them in ruling the country.

All Sabwās are said to be descendants of the two first rulers and the officials of Sang P'an and Tūriya.

The earth is supposed to have been brought from the depths by a species of white-ant. The depth is 84,000 *yāsands*,<sup>11</sup> the height 84,000, and the shape square. Nine spirits from above came down and then established earth, water, heavens, and religion. They divided the world into 16 divisions. The story of the division is as follows:—

A lotus with four leaves flowered between three stones. Then the Myinmo mountain, which was 84,000 *yāsands* within the waters, and 84,000 *yāsands* above, then appeared. It was surrounded by seven mountains, namely, (1) Wikant'o, (2) Yōkkantala, (3) Eks'engdala, (4) Nēmengdala, (5) S'udatsana, (6) As'ana, (7) Gandama. These are the world, which was divided into four great islands, namely, (1) Pōp'a Widēha, or the Eastern Island; (2) Amyagawya, or the Western Island; (3) Guru-Utang, or the Northern Island; (4) Sampudipa, or the Southern Island. This last was subdivided into 16 countries. These having been formed, nine Brahmans came down from heaven and created man, animals, trees, flowers, fruits, grain, and water.<sup>12</sup>

#### MATERIALS FOR CALCULATING THE DATE OF SUNDARA-PANDYA.

The island of Srirāṅgam near Trichinopoly bears two ancient temples, one of Vishṇu which is called Ranganātha, and one of Śiva which is called Jambukēśvara in Sanskrit and Tiruvāṇaikōyil in Tamil. Within the second of these two temples, my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, discovered an inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, which promises to settle the date of this king within narrow limits. The inscription is engraved on the south wall of the second *prākāra* which I was not permitted to enter. The subjoined transcript of its first lines is made with the help of another identical inscription, the date of which is lost, on the west wall of the third *prākāra*.

#### TEXT.

1 Svasti śrīḥ ॐ Svastī Samasta-jagad-ādihāra  
Sōmakula-tilaka Madhurāpura-Mādhava Kēraḷa-

of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers Mahāpurṇa and Chūlapurṇa with a sandalwood monastery situated at Vēṇijjagāma, otherwise called Lēgaing, in Sānāpuranta." Lēgaing is in the Mian District of Upper Burma. Mahāpurṇa and Chūlapurṇa are otherwise known as Mahāśambhava and Chūlaśambhava, sons of Lahaduka, adopted son of Thadonāganaing, first mythological king of Tagaung. The legends given, *ante*,

varṇsa-nirmūlana Laṅkādvipa-luṇṭana-dvitiya-  
Rāma Chōlakula-śaila-kulīsa Karnāṭarāja-  
vidrāvāṇa Kāthaka-kari-kōṭapākala vividha-ripu-  
durgga-mardana Vira-Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla-vipina-  
dāvadāhana Kāñchi-puravar-ādhiśvara-Gaṇa-  
pati-hari-

2 na-sārdḍōla Nellūrapura-virachita-virā-  
bhishēka prapata-rāja-pratishṭhāyaka mahā-  
rājādhirāja-paramēśvara ॐ Kō=Chchadaipaṇ-  
mar-āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravartigaḷ emman-  
ḍalamun=konḍ-araliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiya-  
dēvar[ku] yāṇḍu 10vaḍu pattāvadu Rishabha-  
nāyargu apam-[pa]kshattu Budan-kijamaiyum  
prathamaiyum perṇa A[ṇi]-

3 Jattu-nāl.

#### TRANSLATION.

A. — Sanskrit portion.

Hail! Prosperity!

Hail! The support of the whole world, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the Mādhava (Kṛishṇa) of the city of Madhurā, the uprooter of the Kēraḷa race, a second Rāma in plundering the island of Lankā, the thunderbolt to the mountain (*which was*) the Chōla race, the dispeller of the Karnāṭa king, the fever to the elephant (*which was*) the Kāthaka (*king*), the destroyer of the strongholds of various enemies, the jungle-fire to the forest (*which was*) Vira-Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla, the tiger to the deer (*which was*) Gaṇapati (*who was*) the lord of Kāñchi the best of cities, he who was anointed as a hero in the town of Nellūr, who re-established those kings who prostrated themselves before him, the mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara:—

B. — Tamil portion.

In the 10th—tenth—year (*of the reign*) of (*this*) king (*kō*) Jātavarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to conquer every country,—on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Anurādhā, which corresponded to Wednesday, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.

Among the enemies of whose conquest the king boasts in the Sanskrit preamble of his inscription, there are two names of individuals, *viz.* Gaṇapati, the lord of Kāñchi, and Vira-Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla. The dates of each of these are known from other sources. An inscription of the

Vol. XVIII, p. 272ff. and Vol. XIX, p. 457ff. read with this one go far towards settling the origin of these garbled Shān tales. Sanpūralit is possibly the Chandapuri on the Mékong of Yule and other writers.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> A *yāsand* (*yāṇa*) is the measure of the distance the eye can reach.

<sup>12</sup> [The Indian origin, probably through Buddhist tradition, of the above folktales is obvious.—Ed.]



Kakatiya king Ganapati of Orugallu (Worangal) which is found in the *Ēkāmranātha* temple at Kāñchipura, and which I shall shortly publish in this *Journal*, is dated on Tuesday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyāishtha of Śaka 1172, the cyclic year Saumya, which corresponds to Tuesday, the 8th June 1249 A. D. According to a Telugu chronicle (Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 483) and an inscription of his successor (Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. Appendix, p. xx), king Ganapati died in Śaka 1180. Vira-Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla is very probably identical with Kaṇḍa-Gōpālādēva, whose date is established by three other Kāñchi inscriptions, the beginnings of which are subjoined:—

## No. I.

*On the south wall of the so-called "rock" (malai) in the Arulāla-Perumāḷ temple.*

Svasti śri Sakara-yāṇḍu 1187 perṭa Tiribuvaṇachchakkarava[r]ttigal śri-vijaya-Kaṇḍa-Gōpālādēvarḱku yāṇḍu 15vaṇḍu Miduṇa-nāyaru apara-pakshattu trayēdasiyumu Saṇi-kkijamaiyumu perṭa Rōṣaṇi-nāl.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 15th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious and victorious Kaṇḍa-Gōpālādēva, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (the *nakshatra*) Rōhīṇi, which corresponded to Saturday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna.

## No. II.

*On the north wall of the second prakāra of the Ēkāmranātha temple.*

Svasti śri Sakara-yāṇḍu 1187 perṭa Tiribuvaṇachchakkarava[r]ttigal śri-viśaiya-Kaṇḍa-Gōpālādēvarḱku yāṇḍu 1[6]vaṇḍu Simha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu tritīyaiyumu Saṇi-kkijamaiyumu perṭa Uttirāḍattu-nāl.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of etc., which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (the *nakshatra*) Uttarāṣāḍhā, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.

## No. III.

*On the same wall as No. I.*

Svasti śri Sakara-yāṇḍu 118[7] perṭa Tiribuvaṇachchakkarava[r]ttigal śri-viśaiya-Kaṇḍa-Gōpālādēvarḱku yā[ṇḍu] 1[6]vaṇḍu Simha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu tritīyaiyumu Saṇi-kkijamaiyumu perṭa Uttirāḍādi-nāl.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of etc., which corresponded to the Śaka year 118[7], — on the day of (the *nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhādrapadā, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.

According to an inscription of the Dharmesvara temple at Manimangalam in the Chingleput district, Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla bore the surname Madhurāntaka-Pottappi-Chōla. A comparison of the dates of Nos. I. and II. shews that his accession must have taken place between the months of Mithuna and Simha in the Śaka year 1172. The units of the two dates of No. III. are not absolutely certain. If the published reading is correct, the details would be identical with those of No. II, with the exception of the *nakshatra*. In this case either Uttirāḍam or Uttirāḍādi might be a mistake for the other.

The manner in which the year of the accession of Sundara-Pāṇḍya might be fixed on the basis of these new data, will be as follows:—The upper limit for the date of the inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya is Śaka 1172, as the fight between him and Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla might have taken place in his 10th year, in which his inscription is dated, and also in Śaka 1172, the year of the accession of Kaṇḍa-Gōpāla. The lower limit is Śaka 1190, as the fight between him and Ganapati might have taken place in his first year, and also in Śaka 1180, the year of the death of Ganapati. The details of the date of the inscription must accordingly be applied to each of the Śaka years 1172 to 1190, and the year of the accession of Sundara-Pāṇḍya will fall between Śaka 1162 and 1180.

The Sundara-Pāṇḍya of the Jambukēśvara inscription may, accordingly, be identical with Marco Polo's "Sender Bandi," who was reigning in A. D. 1292, and with that "Sundar Bandi," who, according to the Muhammadan historians, died in A. D. 1293 (Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 141; *History of Tinnevely*, p. 33). The "Pāṇḍya king Sundara," who is mentioned in a Sinhalese chronicle (*J. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XLI. Part I. p. 266) as a contemporary of Parākramabāhu of Ceylon (1153 to 1186 A. D.), does not appear to have been a reigning king, but a mere prince and general of a Pāṇḍya king Kulāśekhara, whose predecessor was a Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, and whose successor was a Vira-Pāṇḍya. That there was at least one still earlier Sundara, may be gathered from the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla, who boasts to have conquered "the crown of Sundara" (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 99; Vol. II. p. 108).

E. HULTZSCH.

After the above note was in type, I received a letter from Mr. S. B. Dikshit, dated Dhulia, 11th March, in which he states that Śaka 1182 expired is the only year that answers for the details of the inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya.

E. H.

Nundidroog, 16th March 1892.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## ECLIPSE-CUSTOMS IN MADRAS.

A peculiar sanctity is attributed to eclipses in general. Among the Bráhmans it is considered most sacrilegious to take food during the period of the eclipse. The food should be taken generally fully eight hours before the first contact, and at first contact everybody, including children, should bathe. A bath in the sea or a river is considered the most efficacious. Previous to bathing, the family priest generally goes through certain rites with a view to washing away all the sins of the party. After the bath, alms are freely distributed to the poor, and when the last contact is over, or after the clearance of the eclipse, there is a second bath, and then the worshippers may take their food.

A peculiar feature in eclipse customs is, that when the eclipse falls on a day, the presiding *nakshatra* of which is the same as that of a person's horoscope, there is fear of its having an evil influence on his futurity. To ward off this the priest has to perform counteracting ceremonies, and to distribute alms freely to the poor, or break a few of both ash-coloured and white gourds. The person influenced for evil as above is also advised to tie round his forehead a small palmyra leaf, on which are written a few Sanskrit verses, in expiation of his or her sins, as the case may be.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

## GLIMPSES INTO A BHIL'S LIFE.

I once purchased a quiver, filled with arrows, which had been in the possession of a Bhil of some standing. In a pocket in the quiver were found three documents in the vernacular, of which I now give a partial rendering. They are very characteristic of the people to whom the owner belonged.

First came a scrap of a letter to the following effect:—“In the Jêrá (? जेरा) District, Jamná Bhanbhôji's son is charged with theft from the house of Mansâ Minâ. She states that so far her

son has never stolen anything. If she has lied to her uncle, let her be convicted before the *pañchâyât*. Convey our welfare. *Kâlak badî pañchamî*, St. 1934 (Oct. 1877). Witnesses to the good conduct of Jamná Bhanbhôji's son—Thâkursî Patêl, Baldêvâ Patêl, Dungarsî Patêl, Bhagwânâ Patêl. Signed by Chaunnâ Patwâri: the above statement of Jamná Bhanbhôji is correct.”

Next comes a small scrap of paper giving the name of eighteen persons, all Hindus, who owed the writer Rs. 40-4-0 between them, in sums varying from 12 annas to Rs. 5.

Lastly is a short daily “account of expenditure with one Ali Bakhsh from *Asauj* (Sept.) *sudî 13mî*, St. 1934 (1877).” It is in five columns, headed respectively flour (*âtâ*), pulse (*dâl*), *ghî* molasses (*gur*) and tobacco, with an occasional note of cash borrowed, and extends from *Asauj sudî 13mî* to *Kâlak badî 8mî*, or 11 days.

On *Asauj sudî 13mî* the owner must have laid in a stock, for we find him procuring:—*âtâ*, 10 *sêrs*; *dâl*, 1 *sêr*; *ghî*, 1 *sêr*; *gur*, 1 *sêr*; *tamâkhâ*, 6 *pâtî*; *paissâ*, 3 *pâtî*. He bought his *âtâ*, *dâl*, and *ghî* regularly every day thereafter, and his *gur* and tobacco occasionally only. Money he seems to have borrowed in very small quantities. He bought his *âtâ* alternately 1 *sêr* 8 *chitâks*, and 12 *chitâks*: his *dâl* nearly always 6 *chitâks*: and his *gur* nearly always 3 *chitâks*. Including his stock on *Asauj sudî 13mî*, he purchased altogether *âtâ*, 35 *sêrs*, 2 *chitâks*; *dâl*, 6 *sêrs*, 12 *chitâks*; *ghî* 4 *sêrs*, 3 *chitâks*; *gur*, 2 *sêrs*, 10 *chitâks*. He also bought 6 *chitâks* of sugarcane. The ruling rates for these articles were *âtâ*, 16 *sêrs*: *dâl*, 10 *sêrs*: *ghî*, 3 *sêrs*: *gur*, 10 *sêrs*. His total expenditure was Rs. 4-14-6, including 1 anna and 3 pies borrowed in cash, in these eleven days, of which nearly one-fourth was on the first day for some reason, leaving an expenditure of Rs. 3-12-0 in ten days, or (say) Rs. 11-4-0 in a month; wherefrom it is to be assumed that our unknown friend was a man of substance in his village.

R. C. TEMPLE.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

HANDBOOK OF THE HAKA OR BAUNGSHÉ DIALECT OF THE CHIN LANGUAGE, by LIEUT. D. J. C. MACNAEB, B. S. C., Political Officer, Haka.<sup>1</sup>

That the wild Chins and other mountaineers on the Burman Frontier are at present receiving an especial measure of attention is due to the possession by them of no peculiarly in-

teresting qualities, but solely to their persistent and inveterate habit of raiding. These raids have taken place with entire impartiality, both against other hill-men living without the pale, and against the more civilised inhabitants of the plains. As has been pointed out by Mr. McCabe with reference to the cognate Nâgâ tribes, each

<sup>1</sup> Rangoon, printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1891.



village is frequently foreign country to its neighbours, and raid and counter-raid are carried on with little intermission and in the most blood-thirsty manner. This state of things could not, of course, be permitted to continue in the presence of a civilised power, and as nothing short of annexation was shown to have the slightest effect on these wild hill-men, their country has been received into the British Empire, and measures have been taken to establish in the hill country the *Pax Britannica*, which already prevails in the neighbouring plains. This has, of course, necessitated the presence amongst the wild Chins of British officers, who, in accordance with the wise foresight of the Government, have been encouraged to make themselves familiar with the language of the people whose destinies they control. The present manual, which is designed for the use of military and other officers in Hákà and its vicinity, is the work of Mr. Macnabb, the Political Officer stationed at that place, and is one of the first results of the new régime. The language is that known as the Baungshé or Hákà Chin, which language we are told in the Preface is spoken over a considerable tract of country. Slight dialectic variations, it is true, occur in different parts, but these do not appear to be so important as one might be lead *à priori* to suppose.

One direct result, indeed, of the internecine warfare referred to is the creation of many petty dialects, which, in the case of the Manipûris, have caused travellers to state that the language spoken in certain villages is unintelligible to their neighbours twenty or thirty miles away. Whilst, however, admitting that the conditions of life in the wild forest-covered mountains of the Arakan Yômà are favourable to the propagation of petty dialectic changes, it may reasonably be doubted whether there is much real divergence in the language spoken by different villages of the same tribe. Slight variations in the pronunciation of certain vowels, or in the retention or elision of final consonants, will frequently make alterations in words, which, though sufficiently small in a written language, will often render sentences unintelligible to obtuse savages, and even to educated Europeans, who are not well versed in the language.\* Of course, also, the absence hitherto of books or writings amongst these savages is eminently conducive to the growth of different dialects, but again there is a strong counteracting tendency in

the pertinacity with which the Mongoloid races retain intact the root words of their languages.†

In the present case it may be taken that we have before us the language spoken by a large and important body of these hill-men, and the information concerning it, now for the first time brought to the public eye, cannot fail to throw an interesting light on the ethnic relations generally of the Chins and their cognate races. Before however examining the philological aspects of the Baungshé or Hákà Chin Language it may be well to point out a few apparent errors in the book before us. I shall do so in no cavilling spirit, being well aware of the difficulties and pitfalls which await him who for the first time reduces a foreign language to writing; but without laying claim to any knowledge of the language itself, a comparison of the sentences and vocabulary in this book with those already published of Lushai and its cognate dialects will show, that there are a few mistakes, which may with advantage be corrected in a second edition.

Mr. Macnabb has, in writing Chin, wisely chosen the Roman character in preference to the Burmese one, and has selected with slight alteration the Government system of vowel transliteration. This is a most fortunate circumstance, as it both facilitates comparison of the language with others, and enables the learner to grasp at once the various sounds used in speaking. It is to be hoped that the same course will be followed by pioneers in the other hill languages and dialects, and that the error of the American Missionaries in using a garbled version of the Burmese alphabet (itself drawn from Aryan sources), in writing Karen, will not be repeated.

Objection may be taken to two divergences from the Government system, namely the transliteration of short *o* as in 'upon' by *ô*, and of short *a*, as *u* in 'full,' by *û*. In the former case it would obviously be preferable to write the *o* without any mark at all, since the sound in 'upon' is simply that of the ordinary short *o*, (not found in Burmese).‡

The transliteration of the undefined vowel by *û* is unquestionably wrong and misleading. This vowel is etymologically *a*, as is shown, for instance, by the words for 'rupee' (*tánkâ*), 'reward' (*lák-saung*), and 'path' (*lámû*), which are the derivatives respectively of the Hindustani word *tankâ*, the Burmese *lak-saung* (*let-saung*), and the

\* [e. g., the Hindi *bāññā* is the Pañjābī *baññā*, words instantly recognizable as the same on paper, but not so in speech.—ED.]

† [The experience of British officers in the Chin Hills is clearly that of those who have to deal with savage languages generally. E. g., the remarks of the late

Bishop Pattison on the languages of the Pacific Islands, and the experience of Mr. Man in the Andamans.—ED.]

‡ [The representation of *o* in 'upon' by *ô* is, of course, clearly misleading, but I think it requires a diacritical mark nevertheless. "Ordinary short *o*" is usually understood to have the sound of *o* in 'opaque,' found



Tibeto-Burman root *lam*. If it is considered necessary in writing to distinguish this vowel from that in the word 'man' some simple diacritical mark such as *u*<sup>s</sup> would probably suffice, or perhaps Mr. Sweet's Anglo-Saxon *æh* might do.

Again, is it correct to talk of *t* preceding *s* or *z* as an aspirate? The latter expression is usually applied to a breathing of some kind, and indeed the sounds referred to are simply inchoate palatals and not aspirated sibilants.

It is doubtless through an oversight that such pre-Hunterian words as 'a-*leen*,' 'warm,' 'a-*keek*,' 'cool,' 't*like*,' 'to catch,' occur in the book. These should apparently be written *alēn*, *akik*, and *tlaiik*.

On examining the vocabularies in the book, one of the first things to strike the eye is the prefixing of *k* to all verbal roots, which seems at first strange, as no known cognate language possesses this peculiarity. A comparison, however, with Lushai, (which will be shown to be the language most nearly related to Baungshê Chin), shows that this *k* or *ka* is in reality the shortened or reduplicated form of the first personal pronoun *kēmī*. This particle is, of course, a distinct word, and has nothing to do with the verbal root; and it is, therefore, unfortunate that it should have been confused with the latter. The error has doubtless arisen from the difficulty, which has been pointed out by Professor Sayce,\* in "getting a savage or barbarian to give the name of an object without incorporating it into a sentence or bringing it into relation with something else." It is, indeed, demonstrable that Mr. Hodgson, though aware of a precisely similar construction existing in Gyarung and other languages, has, in the case of vocabularies of dialects cognate to Baungshê Chin, been misled by this very particle *ka*, which he has mistaken for the well known *ka* prefix found throughout the Tibeto-Burman family. In the present case the confusing of the pronoun *ka* with the root has led to several mistakes in the sentences; e. g., on page 6:—"Have you ever met me" should be *kēmī na mū-bal-maw*, and not *k'mū*; and on page 22:—"You are lying" should be *nangma na hlen* or *na hlen*, and not *na k'hlen*.

in Burmese, and not the sound of *o* in 'upon.' The late Mr. A. J. Ellis in his report on the Andamanese Language (*Presidential Address, Philological Society, 1882*) denoted *o* in 'upon' by *ō*.—ED.]

\* [Mr. Ellis used *ā* in writing Andamanese. But the Andamanese have five *a* sounds, and unless Chins are blessed with an equal number I would suggest *ā* for *a* in 'man.'—ED.]

\* *The Science of Language*, Vol. I. [I can endorse this from personal experience. It took Mr. Man and myself about a year to discover the peculiar pronominal prefixes

The word for 'fowl' is given throughout as *arr*, but *prima facie* it would seem somewhat doubtful whether there is any *r* sound in this word, which is obviously a corruption of the widespread root *wā*, meaning a bird or fowl. In no cognate language has this root a final *r*, nor is there anything to show that the *ra* suffix which has been pointed out by Mr. Hodgson in Tibetan and other languages occurs in Baungshê Chin. Without, therefore, presuming to lay down how these people pronounce the word, we would suggest that it is possibly *ā* pronounced in the 'heavy tone,' as it is called in Burmese. The fact also of its being a shortened or cut down form of the original root *wa* lends probability to its being pronounced in this tone.

It may here be remarked that no mention is made of tones in this book, but this can hardly be because they do not exist in Baungshê Chin. It would, indeed, be scarcely credible that this language, surrounded as it is on all sides by those using tones, should be destitute of these adjuncts, which are indeed universal amongst the South-Eastern Mongoloids. At the same time the subject of tones presents unusual difficulties to the European, whose ear can frequently scarcely distinguish between words in different tones, unless the fact of that difference is specially brought to his notice. Moreover, little has been done as yet towards solving the question of the best method of rendering tones when using the Hunterian system of spelling; so that in a handbook like the present one it was perhaps as well to avoid the subject. At the same time we should have been glad to be informed positively as to the existence of tones in Baungshê Chin, and if so, how many could be distinguished. Similarly, it would be interesting to know whether these Chins ever modify their vowels similarly to the German *umlaut*. The use of modified vowels is very common amongst the Mongoloid hill-men, not to speak of the Tibetans, and *a priori* it would seem probable that they exist in the Baungshê dialect. In their case no difficulty exists in writing, since the forms *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō* and *ū* are universally understood. Possibly the word *shert* 'to build,' (a stockade), should be written

of Andamanese, owing to this very cause. The savage will always say 'my leg,' 'your leg,' 'his leg' in preference to 'leg,' and when he speaks, as the Andamanese do, of *darchāgdā*, *ugarchāgdā*, and *archāgdā* for the above expressions, and then proceeds to drop the final *dā* in composition, the unassisted learner is apt to be puzzled; more especially when, as in Andamanese, there are seven varieties of these prefixes, having but little in common with each other and the ordinary words for 'I, you and he.'—ED.]

\* *Mongolian Affinities of the Circassians*.



*shôt*, for it is very unusual, if not quite unknown, in this class of languages, to find an *r* prefixed to a final consonant. Similarly it may be surmised that *swark*, 'to come out' should be written *swāk*.\*

In the list of the first ten numerals given at the end of the book the prefix *pa* occurs before each number. A reference to the text, however, shows that this *pa* is, as in Lushai, merely a numeral co-efficient, the Chins and Lushais placing it between the noun and the number, instead of last of all, as is the case in Burmese. The prefix *fan* before *kūl* or *kuē*, 'twenty,' is apparently a numeral co-efficient for some special class of nouns, as on page 25 there occurs the expression *mi-pa-kuē* for 'twenty men.' It would seem not improbable there are other numeral co-efficients in Baungshê Chin besides *pa* and *fan*. The suffixing of these particles immediately to the noun is, it may be remarked, a favorable example for Dr. Bleek's theory of the origin of grammatical gender.

To pass to particular words, the translation of *kūt* as 'arm' is apparently wrong, since in Lushai and other cognate dialects it means 'hand,' and, in fact, in the Vocabulary at the end of the book the word *abūn* is given for 'forearm.' Similarly on the same analogy it seems open to doubt whether the Baungshê Chins do not possess a distinct word for 'leg' apart from *ke*, 'foot.'

The word *pā* which properly means 'father' is given for 'man,' both on page 3 and in the Vocabulary, but a reference to the Sentences shows the word used for 'man' is *mi*, an extremely widespread root. *Pā* is possibly used, as in other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, as a suffix meaning 'male.'

The word *ngā*, given in the Vocabulary on page 15, evidently means 'to know' and not 'to say,' and in practical use it would seem to correspond with the Burmese *tāt*. Burmese and Chin, are, of course, far from being the only languages, which use the verb 'to know' in the same sense as 'to be able.'

Exception may be taken to the giving of different adjectives (such as those of colour, 'deep,' &c.) in the form of nouns, i. e., with short *a* prefixed. In the Tibeto-Burman family there are no such things as true adjectives, their place being taken by verbs; and the fact that in certain languages they are suffixed to the noun makes no difference.

The words given respectively for 'brother' and 'sister' probably denote either 'elder or younger brother or sister,' as it would be difficult to point to any language in the remotest degree cognate

to Chin, in which these relations are not distinguished by separate words, according as they are older or younger than the speaker.

Before leaving the subject it may be as well to point out that in a few cases the Chin sentence, as given in the manual, does not correspond with the English, even according to the freest translation. Thus, on page 20:—*Hì byè hì tã-tēmaw* obviously means "Is this word (or saying) true," and has nothing to do with the English sentence "I wish to get true information about this." Similarly in the next line:—*Nangwa pakat-tè byè-sin kan-dū* should apparently be translated "I wish to speak to you alone," and not "Do you think your information is true?"

With regard to the place of Baungshê Chin in the Tibeto-Burman family, it must plainly be grouped with those of the other hill-men inhabiting the Arakan Yoma Mountains from Manipur to their southern extremity. The principal languages or dialects comprised in this group are Manipuri, Lushai (Dzo), Kami, Shandu, and the languages of the Wild and the Tame (or Southern) Chins.

Professor Sayce in his *Science of Language* has, it is true, adopted another classification, making two groups of them and including Burmese and Karen in the second group. A comparison, however, of the vocabularies and grammar of these hill tongues shows them to possess many special points of resemblance, which differentiate them, as a whole, from the Burmese.

These tribes are, in fact, in all probability a later immigration than the dwellers in the plains, and are more closely connected with Sub-Himalayan tribes, such as the Limbu, than is the case with the Burmans. The Manipuris, having for some time past masqueraded as Hindus, have altered their language more than is the case with the hill-tribes south of them, but they nevertheless belong to the same group. Of the different languages spoken in it Baungshê Chin has a markedly close affinity with Lushai, as the following list of words identical in both proves:—

Bear	<i>vōm</i>	Day	<i>tsūn</i>
Beat	<i>vel</i>	Dog	<i>ū-i</i>
Before	<i>'mai</i>	Door	<i>in-kā</i>
Behind	<i>'nū</i>	Eye	<i>myit</i>
Bird	<i>vā</i>	Fall	<i>llā</i>
Bite	<i>shī</i>	Fire	<i>mē</i>
Blood	<i>t'i</i>	Fish	<i>ngā</i>
Boar (wild)	<i>ngāl</i>	Fly	<i>tō</i>
Burn	<i>kang</i>	Fowl	<i>ā</i>
Cold	<i>shik</i>	Go	<i>kal (kāl)</i>
Come	<i>hūn</i>	Good	<i>atā</i>
Daughter	<i>fānū</i>	Hand	<i>kūt</i>

\* Compare also *mark*, 'to divorce' with the Lushai *māk*.



Head	<i>lū</i>	Seed	<i>asi</i>
High	<i>asang</i>	Sit	<i>tā</i>
House	<i>in</i>	Slave	<i>shāl (shāl)</i>
Inside	<i>asūn</i>	Snake	<i>rāl</i>
Iron	<i>tir</i>	Son	<i>afā</i>
Looking-glass	<i>kla-lung</i>	Stone	<i>lung</i>
Make	<i>tī</i>	Sweet	<i>aklūm</i>
Many	<i>tan (tām)</i>	Thatch	<i>āi</i>
Near	<i>anai</i>	This	<i>hi</i>
Necklace	<i>tī</i>	Tooth	<i>hā</i>
Nose	<i>ngā</i>	Weep	<i>tap</i>
Old	<i>ali</i>	Well (be)	<i>dām</i>
Pumpkin	<i>mai</i>	Which	<i>koi</i>
Rain	<i>rua shūr</i>	Widow	<i>nū-mē</i>
Reap	<i>ā</i>	Wish	<i>dū</i>
Red	<i>shen</i>	Yellow	<i>eng</i>
Ripe	<i>min</i>	You	<i>uangmā</i>
See	<i>mū</i>		

In addition to the above list, which is taken almost at random and is very far from being exhaustive, there are many other words, such as *kāimū* and *kāmū*, 'I,' which differ very slightly. Both from the number and nature of the allied words and from the character of their resemblances, it is apparent that the Baungshê Chins and Lushais must at no distant period have formed one race.\* Words like those for 'brass,' 'gong,' 'looking glass,' &c., which are the same in Lushai and Baungshê Chin, can only have been incorporated into these languages recently, whilst the fact that the Chin word for 'rupee,' *lankā*, is derived, like the Lushai, direct from the Hindustāni and not through Burmese, points to the inference that when first introduced to this coin these Chins were probably living to the west of their present habitat; i. e., in the Chittagong Hill-Tracts, where the Lushais still reside. At the same time it may be inferred, from the words for 'gun' in Chin and Lushai being different, that they had already separated when fire-arms were brought to these hills. It is noteworthy, also, that these Chins have an indigenous word for 'sen,' which would hardly be the case if they had resided long where they now are.

One of the points, in which Baungshê Chin agrees with Lushai, is in the use of the sound of *f* in certain words, this being a somewhat rare sound in Tibeto-Burman phonology. The sound of *f* is also used in Kami, which language together with Lushai, possesses the peculiar guttural breathing known in Arabic as 'ain. No mention

of this latter sound is made in Mr. McNabb's work, so it may be that it is not found in Baungshê Chin.<sup>10</sup> The sound *f* would seem to correspond with the *varga ch, ts* and *s* in the other Tibeto-Burman languages.<sup>11</sup> Both the *f* and 'ain sounds are very sparingly used, and it is possible that they are foreign sounds introduced into the dialects, in which they occur by contact with some Muhammadan race.

The terminals *l*, *r*, and *p* still exist in Baungshê Chin, as in Lushai, though it is curious to note that, amongst the former, final *l* is not unfrequently elided. The example of the Chinese and Burmans shows that, with increasing laziness of pronunciation, these letters as terminals are apt to disappear.

One of the most noticeable points in the grammar of Baungshê Chin is that the present tense of the verb consists of the naked root without even a euphonical suffix.<sup>12</sup> It is, of course, open to doubt whether this omission is due to a really primitive method of conjugation, as in Chinese, or whether there was formerly some suffix, which has come to be elided. Perhaps the latter hypothesis is on the whole the more probable, as no other case apparently exists in the Tibeto-Burman family of this want of a suffix, and it can scarcely be contended that Baungshê Chin has alone retained the earliest form of conjugation.

The future particle is *lai*, which is, curiously enough, almost the same as that (*laik*) used in Southern Chin to denote compulsion, — 'must.' The latter is, however, compounded of the verb *lē* 'must' and *ai*, the future particle, in the same way as the Burmese *ra-mān* (*yā-mā*). In one sentence, indeed, on page 19, *na ngai-lai* is given for 'you must obey,' but it can hardly be supposed that the particle of the future of compulsion has been given throughout in mistake for the simple future. The termination in Lushai is, it may be remarked, *ang*. The negative interrogative particles are respectively *lo* and *mau*, as in Lushai. The latter of these is evidently the Chinese *mo*, but the only analogy to the former outside this special family of languages is apparently the Dravidian *illei* or *alla*.

The present participle *lyo* in Baungshê Chin is probably allied with the Burmese *lyak* (*lyet*). It does not seem to have analogies in the other hill languages.

<sup>10</sup> The Kami *afā* 'tooth' is probably identifiable with the Tibetan *so*, Burmese *sai*.

<sup>12</sup> It is curious to note that the use of the pronouns with the noun and verb is the same in Baungshê Chin as in ancient Egyptian: though in the latter language they were suffixed and not prefixed. [But is this a remarkable peculiarity?—ED.]

\* [I would, however, be cautious as to this assumption on philological grounds only.—ED.]

<sup>11</sup> [It should be remembered, however, that the sound of *ç* is seldom properly taught in India, with the result that the ears of the majority of Anglo-Indians are not so attuned as to catch it in learning a new language.—ED.]



The suffix *ā* (the same as the old Burmese postposition *ā*) seems to have a wide range of meaning. Thus, after a noun it means 'by,' 'at' or 'to.' On page 16 after a verb it is used for 'in order to.' On page 29 it is similarly used for 'when.' In the examples in this latter case, under the head of "Imperfect Tense," there would, however, appear to be some confusion in the use of the *ā* particle, unless indeed we are to understand that Baungshê Chin is destitute of a particle to express conditions of time. In this case, the sentence—"When I saw him he was running away," would read literally in Chin "I saw him, he was running away :"—a sufficiently primitive method of expression.

On page 36 the form given as a perfect tense passive, 'I have been brought,' is, if correct, a very remarkable one; since the passive meaning is given by infixing a particle *di* between the root and the ordinary perfect suffix *sang*. The formation of a passive in this manner is, however, so contrary to the genius of the Tibeto-Burman languages,<sup>13</sup> that we may be excused in doubting the correctness of this form, which apparently does not occur in the Chin sentences.

No example is given of the relative participle which presumably exists in Baungshê Chin, but on page 20 there is an example of a curious construction instead of it, the expression 'the men who come and go' being translated *mī-klung, mīkāl*, literally 'man-arrive, man-go.'

In conclusion, a few words in Baungshê Chin may be selected for notice. Amongst those specially allied to Manipûrî are *lamb* 'a path' and *arāl* 'to fight,' which correspond with the Manipûrî *lambé* and *lāl*. The retention of the *b* suffix is especially noticeable, since although the root *lam* is widely diffused in the Tibeto-Burman family, there are apparently no other examples in it of this particle being suffixed to it.

Baungshê Chin has, like Magar and Karen, the form *tī* for water, as compared with the Lushai *tū-i*. It seems, however, unreasonable to regard this, with Captain Forbes, as a separate root, for a simple throwing forward of the accent in the word *tū-i* would probably suffice to alter it into *tī*. Further we have a precisely analogous alteration in the word for 'to laugh,' which in Lushai is *nū-i*, but in Baungshê Chin *nī*, and in this case there can be no doubt that the root is the same.

Generally speaking it would seem very extraordinary that the Baungshê Chins, who probably at no distant epoch formed one tribe with the Lushais, should yet have retained a different root from the latter for so common a word as 'water.'

In the matter of prefixes we have, in the word *rāl* for 'snake,' an example of the throwing off the *pa* prefix (cf. Tibetan *brāl* or *prāl*), and, in that for 'butterfly,' *plip*, an example of its addition, (Cf. Burmese *lip-pya*, (*lêk-pyā*).

In 'rūk, 'mad,' we see the simple root *ru*, (*yā*), (as in Burmese), altered first by the aspiration of the initial semi-consonant, and secondly by the addition of the *k* suffix. An example of the *t* suffix is seen in *rīt* 'heavy' compared with the Burmese *lê*. If *kleng* 'to exchange' be the same as the Burmese *lê*, we have in one word both the *k* prefix and a nasal suffix, which alterations, however, as Mr. Hodgson has so ably pointed out, are common enough in this family of languages. 'Ren, "to bind," may be identified with the Burmese *k'ran'* (*chan*), and is a good example of the close relation between *h* and *k* or *kh* (*k'*) in these languages: as also is *kld*, 'to release' or 'to send,' cf. Burmese *lwat* (*lut*) with the same meanings.<sup>14</sup> In the word for 'pony' (*rang*) the Baungshê Chins have dropped the initial nasal of the Burmese *mrang* (*myin*); and the same is seen with the word for 'elephant' *wi*, as compared with the Akyab Chin *mwi*. An example of vowel change is the Baungshê Chin *byè* (Kami *bê*), 'speech' compared with the Burmese *pyaw*, whilst the word *rwā* for 'bamboo' shows that the Burmese *wā* possessed formerly an initial semi-vowel *r*.

It is easily seen from a comparison of words that Baungshê Chin in many cases prefers *k* where Lushai has *t*, and indeed it would appear from other cases that these mountaineers generally are as prone to confuse these sounds together as the South Sea Islanders.

In comparing the Baungshê *klang-var* with the Lushai *tlang-val* 'a bachelor' we find, in addition to the above interchange of *k*, one of the semi-vowels *r* into *l*. A further instance of the latter appears in the Baungshê *rī* and the Lushai *lê*, 'again.' In the Chin *k'ek* as compared with the Lushai *k'up* 'a knee,' we see that a phonetic corruption has taken place precisely similar to that in colloquial Burmese.

R. HOUGHTON, C. S.

<sup>13</sup> This construction is, however, used in Turkish, e. g., *ser-it-mek* 'to be loved.'

<sup>14</sup> Compare also Baungshê Chin *kian* (to lose) with Lushai 'lo, and *te* 'to fear' with the Limbu *ke*. The

Manipûrî *kum* 'three' is probably connected with the Baungshê *tūn*, through a lost *kūn*; since, though the equation *t-k-h* holds good in these languages, there is no example of *t* changing directly into *h*.



## ANOTHER INSTALMENT OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOEENLE.

THE first instalment of the Bower Manuscript was published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1891. The portion which I now publish I have chosen for the second instalment, because it represents another of the subjects which are treated of in the several treatises comprising the Bower Manuscript. So far as I can make out at present, these treatises deal with three different subjects, viz., medicine, divination and conjuration. On medicine there are (apparently) two distinct treatises; a long and a short one. The latter I have published in the *Journal A. S. B.*, as a specimen of medicine. On divination or fortune-telling there are two short treatises; one of these I publish in the present paper. On conjuration, or the use of magic spells, there is one short treatise. This I hope to publish as my next instalment of the Manuscript.

The portion now published consists of five leaves. Their shape and size are exactly like those of the portion previously published; that is, the leaves are a narrow oblong, measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A specimen, being the obverse of the second leaf, is published in the lower part (No. II.) of Plate I, issued with the *April Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The treatise to which it belongs is referred to in my paper "On the Date of the Bower Manuscript" (*ante*, p. 29)<sup>1</sup> as the "second portion, called B." I have there ascribed the writing of this portion, which is in a fine, ornate hand, to a scribe distinct from him who wrote the portion given in my first instalment. The most striking differences are the two following. In the first place, the palatal *ś* is made in the form of a square with a circular loop at the lower left-hand corner, exactly like the modern Nāgarī *m* (म), while in the portion given in the first instalment that letter has a rounded top, and no circular loop, but a minute forked tail. The latter is the older Gupta form, while the former already closely approaches the form shown in the Horiuzi MS. and in the Sīradī alphabet, in which the letter is also square, but the loop is replaced by a dot. Both forms may be seen on Plate I, above referred to. In the second place, some letters, (especially *a*, *k*, *g*, *r*, and occasionally *t*, *ḍh*), are provided with a very distinct hook at the bottom of the main perpendicular. This hook looks exactly like the mark of the vowel *u*, as attached to other letters, such as *m*, *s*, *p*, &c. Accordingly, when the vowel *u* is to be joined to those hooked letters, it assumes a different shape, — that of a more or less large curve, turned to the left. Examples may be seen on the same plate.

Though written on five distinct leaves, the work inscribed on them only occupies eight pages. The obverse of the first leaf contains, as I have already stated elsewhere<sup>2</sup>, the concluding portion of a medical treatise, but whether of the long one, or of some other, I am not, as yet, quite certain. At the bottom of this obverse page, there is the remark *ity=atra śvṛtē śvṛt=ādhipatyē śatasy=ādihikarṇē svāhā*, the meaning of which I do not understand. It is in large cursive letters, in a hand distinct from that which wrote the medical treatise, as well as from that which wrote the treatise on divination; which commences on the reverse of the leaf. It seems to be, however, the same handwriting as that which is seen in some other portions of the manuscript. The most natural conclusion that one can draw is, that the treatise on divination was written after the treatise on medicine, as it commences on the back of the latter.

The fourth leaf is inscribed only on the obverse. It consists of no less than four layers of bark, but they are all so thin and flimsy, that a considerable portion is broken and frayed. Even the obverse is only partially inscribed, and the reverse is probably thought by the scribe to be unfit for writing on. In any case nothing of the text is lost. That part of it which commences on the obverse of the fifth leaf, follows immediately after that which is written on the obverse of the fourth. In fact, the material used for this portion of the manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Also in *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LX., Part I., pp. 80, 81.<sup>2</sup> See *Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for April 1891, p. 5.



is of the same (if not more) inferior description as that employed in the first portion, previously published.<sup>3</sup> This also explains why only one half of the reverse side of the second leaf is inscribed. For here, too, no material portion of the text is lost.

The leaves are of varying thickness. None of them consists of less than four layers; but the second is of extraordinary thickness. It is difficult to count its layers; but there certainly do not seem to be less than twelve.

The part of the manuscript which I now publish is practically complete. The entire treatise which it contains must have consisted (as I shall show later on) of sixty-four verses. Of these the manuscript gives fifty-nine. Three of the missing verses should have been on the reverse of the second and the obverse of the third leaves. On the former page a "vāhula," numbered 224, is omitted; on the latter page two "bhadrās," numbered 412 and 124 are missing. There should be altogether six "vāhulas" and six "bhadrās"; but there are extant only five "vāhulas" and four "bhadrās." However, the numeral mark 412 is given in the manuscript (see fl. 3a<sup>2</sup>),<sup>4</sup> though the corresponding "bhadrā" verse is missing. It seems quite clear from these circumstances, that the omission is merely an error chargeable to the scribe of the manuscript. The two other missing verses should have been at the end of the manuscript. They should have been the two "kharīs," numbered 211 and 121. If they ever existed in the present copy, they must have been written on the obverse of a sixth leaf; for the extant "kharī" verse 112 closes the reverse of the fifth leaf. In that case, one leaf of the manuscript is lost, and this leaf might have contained the usual colophon, giving the names of the work and its author. But it seems to me doubtful whether a little work of this kind would have contained the usual colophon; and it is not improbable that the manuscript is complete, and that the omission of the two last verses is chargeable to the scribe, in the same way as the loss of the other three verses. The last words on the reverse of the fifth leaf are written in the middle of the line, leaving sufficient blank space to write more matter, if the scribe had intended to write any more. Moreover the whole is followed by a scroll, apparently indicative of the end. All this seems rather to suggest the alternative of the omission being due to the scribe; probably the original, from which he copied, was already incomplete.

There are many other points to show that the manuscript was not written with much care. Thus on fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> and 2a<sup>5</sup> the words *prathamā māli* and *tritiyā māli* are omitted; on fl. 5a<sup>1</sup> and 5a<sup>3</sup> we have *dvitīya* for *tritiyā*; on fl. 5b<sup>4</sup> the scribe has cancelled the words *tritiyā pañcā* 212, though they were correct, and repeated them on fl. 5b<sup>5</sup>, where they are out of place: another blundered case occurs on fl. 1b<sup>6</sup>. Not unfrequently there occur *pādas*, or quarter-verses, which are short by one syllable. Generally it is the 3rd *pāda* (5 times: fl. 2a<sup>1</sup>, 2a<sup>6</sup>, 3a<sup>6</sup>, 4a<sup>3</sup>, 5b<sup>6</sup>): twice it is the 4th *pāda* (fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> and 3a<sup>3</sup>); once each it is the 1st (fl. 5a<sup>5</sup>) and 2nd *pādas* (fl. 5b<sup>3</sup>.) In most of these cases the fault is certainly due to the carelessness of the scribe. Thus in fl. 3a<sup>6</sup> probably *kālēna* should be read for *kālē*, in fl. 5a<sup>5</sup> *vipula* for *pūla*. But one or two cases are doubtful: in them the fault may be due to the anomalous nature of the language. Thus in fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *chaiva artha* should be read for (sandhi) *chaivārtha*; again in fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> the synonymous *nityataḥ* should be read for *nityāt*. Occasionally the opposite case occurs, of a *pāda* having one syllable in excess. This always occurs in the 4th *pāda*, and in all probability is one of the anomalies of the language; (see below). There is only one exception; it is in fl. 5b<sup>5</sup>, where the excess occurs in the 3rd *pāda*, and is undoubtedly only a blunder of the scribe; as the sense of the verse shows that he should have written *aśubha* instead of *śubhāśubha*.

Undoubted clerical errors of another kind are the following: fl. 1b<sup>4</sup> *svā* for *svāhā*; fl. 2a<sup>3</sup> *kalyāṇi* for *kalyāṇī*; fl. 2a<sup>5</sup> *arthā* for *arthō*; fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *nayam* for *nāyam*; fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *prāpsasi* for *prāp-  
-yasi* and *arthaś=cha* for *arthañ=cha*; fl. 2b<sup>1</sup> *dharmāśya* for *dharmāśya*; fl. 2b<sup>3</sup> \**muktas* for

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> The first number refers to the leaf, the letter to the page of the leaf, and the raised number to the line of the page; thus 2a<sup>6</sup> = 2nd leaf, obverse page, 5th line.



*muktās*; fl. 3a<sup>1</sup> *chanunayishyasi* for *chānunayishyasi*; fl. 3a<sup>1</sup> \**vrīttis=cha* for *vrīttēś=cha*; fl. 3a<sup>1</sup> \**nā* for *na*; fl. 3a<sup>6</sup> *sarvanhitha* for *sarevathā*; fl. 3a<sup>6</sup> \**saśēshyasi* for *saśēshyati*; fl. 3a<sup>7</sup> *sahāyēs* for *sahāyais*; fl. 4a<sup>2</sup> *kāraṇē* for *kāraṇē* (here shown by the metre); fl. 4a<sup>2</sup> *ya* for *yā*; fl. 5b<sup>4</sup> *dharmma* for *dharmmaḥ*; fl. 5b<sup>4</sup> *vandhās=cha* for *vandhāś=cha*. Those cases, however, which are marked with an asterisk, may also be due to the anomalous character of the language.

Occasionally the scribe noticed a mistake and corrected it by interlinear insertions in minute and hastily drawn letters. Thus in fl. 3a<sup>4</sup> *na saśayā*, fl. 4a<sup>3</sup> *api*, fl. 4a<sup>6</sup> *si cha*, fl. 5a<sup>3</sup> *bha* are added interlinearly. Ordinary corrections, by alterations of already written letters occur; e.g., in fl. 2a<sup>7</sup>, 5b<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere.

The language of the manuscript in the early extra-scholastic Sanskrit of North-Western India with all its usual anomalies in orthography, grammar, prosody and vocabulary. Of these I have noted the following instances:—

1. In Orthography: spelling: fl. 1b<sup>5</sup> *siṅgha* for *siṅha*, fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *avi* for *api*, fl. 4a<sup>3</sup>, 5a<sup>1</sup>, &c. *dukkha* for *duḥkha*: confusion of sibilants; fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> *samānvitā* for *śamānvitā*. Doubling of consonants: before *r*: throughout with *t*; e. g., fl. 1b<sup>6</sup> *ṣattravas*, fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *yattra*, &c.: before *y*: *gūṭtyakāraṇaḥ* (for *yāti=akāraṇaḥ*): before *v*: fl. 5a<sup>1</sup> *addhēvaṇaḥ*. Sandhi: fl. 2b<sup>2</sup> *dvitīyō kūṭah* for *dvitīyāḥ kūṭah*, fl. 4a<sup>1</sup> *grihaiva* for *griha ēva* (*grihē ēva*), fl. 2a<sup>5</sup> *tatōttamaḥ* for *tata uttamaḥ* (*tataḥ uttamaḥ*), fl. 5b<sup>2</sup> *suhṛidēva* for *suhṛidaiva* (*suhṛidā ēva*). Omission of final consonants: 3b<sup>4</sup> *kiñchi* for *kiñchit*, 1b<sup>3</sup>, 2a<sup>3</sup>, 2b<sup>4</sup> *kāraṇā* for *kāraṇāt* (abl. sing.). Omission of visarga: before *s*: fl. 3a<sup>7</sup> *sumittrai saha* for *sumittraiḥ*, fl. 3a<sup>7</sup> *dēvatai sprihā* for *dēvataiḥ*; fl. 2a<sup>2</sup> *nishphala sa* or *nishphalaḥ*; before *p*: fl. 1b<sup>3</sup> *prāsakā* and *yuktā patantu*. Neglect of sandhi: fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *drīṣyātē āgamō*, fl. 2b<sup>3</sup> *vijēshyasi ṛipūn*, fl. 3a<sup>6</sup> *arthaḥ anirvvedan*.

2. In Grammar: declension: nom. sing.: fl. 1b<sup>1</sup> *namō āchāryēbhyaḥ*: often visarga omitted in *pausa*; fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *uttama*, 2b<sup>1</sup> *prīti*, fl. 2b<sup>1</sup> *atiparikshaya*, fl. 5a<sup>4</sup> *sandēha*, fl. 5a<sup>3</sup> *lābha*, fl. 5b<sup>9</sup> *saṃupasthita*: nom. neut.; fl. 3b<sup>2</sup> *janmaḥ*, fl. 4a<sup>2</sup> *karman*: acc. sing.; fl. 3b<sup>2</sup> *pratyarthina* (for *pratyarthinaḥ*): acc. plur. masc.; (as a rule ending in *ān*, etc.) fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> *bhōgān*, fl. 2b<sup>3</sup>, 5a<sup>2</sup> *ṛipūn* *sarvān*, fl. 5a<sup>6</sup> *bhōgān vipulān*, fl. 5b<sup>2</sup> *kāmān*, fl. 5b<sup>4</sup> *yajñān*, but regular in fl. 5b<sup>4</sup> *vividhān*: instr. sing. fem.; fl. 1b<sup>2</sup> *śaśhṭhiyē* (for *śaśhṭhiyai*): gen. plur.; fl. 1b<sup>3</sup> *sarvavādīnān* (for *vādīnān*): loc. plur.; fl. 1b<sup>4</sup> *ṛishishu* (for *ṛishishu*). Conjugation: imp. for pres.; fl. 4a<sup>1</sup> *tishṭha* (for *tishṭhasi*): ātm. for parasm.; fl. 2a<sup>2</sup>, 3b<sup>6</sup>, 4a<sup>3</sup> *prāpsyasē* (but fl. 3b<sup>6</sup> also *prāpsyasi*), fl. 2a<sup>3</sup>, 3a<sup>1</sup>, 3b<sup>5</sup> *chintayasē*: parasm. for ātm.; fl. 2a<sup>7</sup> *pratīksha* (for *pratīkshasva*). Syntax: exchange of cases: nom. for acc.; fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *prāpsyasē* (for *prāpsyasē*) *n-āyam uttama* (for *na imam uttamam*), fl. 3a<sup>6</sup> *sō 'rthaḥ prāpsyasē* (for *tam arthaḥ*), fl. 4a<sup>6</sup> *labhas=tu lapsyasi*, fl. 2a<sup>6</sup> *arthaś=cha grihya*: nom. for instr.; fl. 3b<sup>4</sup> *visṛijyas=tvam* (for *tvayā*), fl. 3a<sup>6</sup> *sa saśēshyasi* (for *tēna*: but see above): nom. for gen.; fl. 3a<sup>1</sup> *vrīttis=cha kshayaḥ* (for *vrīttēś=cha*: but see above); acc. for gen.: fl. 2a<sup>1</sup> *janir=upadravom* (for *upadravasya*): gen. for dat.; fl. 1b<sup>2</sup> *marutānān namaḥ*: loc. for dat.; fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> *labhasē* (for *labhasāya*). False concord: neut. and fem.; fl. 1b<sup>4</sup> *vrītis=satyam* (for *satyā*); fl. 3a<sup>7</sup> *viruddhaḥ sprihā* (for *viruddhā*): masc. and neut.; fl. 1b<sup>6</sup> *nichōchcham bhayaḥ* (for *nichōchhō*), fl. 3a<sup>3</sup> *uposthitam viśishṭas=te* (for *viśishṭan*): perhaps sing. and plur.; fl. 2a<sup>5</sup> *mahān=arthā* (for *arthō*), fl. 2b<sup>3</sup> *muktas=tē kilviśā* (for *muktāḥ*).

3. In Prosody: occasionally the fourth pāda has one syllable in excess; see fl. 2b<sup>1</sup>, 4a<sup>3</sup>, 4a<sup>6</sup>, 5a<sup>6</sup>.

4. In Vocabulary: new words or new meanings:—

*karitra* 'tools' (?), fl. 2a<sup>6</sup>.

*chāṅga* 'clever,' fl. 2b<sup>3</sup> (for *changa*, perhaps false reading).

*dēva* 'god,' fl. 2a<sup>1</sup> (for *daiva*).

*dēvata* 'deity,' fl. 1b<sup>4</sup>, 3a<sup>7</sup> (for *daivata*).

*putratvatā* 'sonship,' fl. 2a<sup>7</sup> (with double abstract suffix).



*prāguṇa* 'safety,' fl. 5a<sup>4</sup> (but also *prāguṇya* ibidem; perhaps a false reading).

*vr̥iti* 'diagram,' 'a dice-board,' fl. 1b<sup>4</sup>.

*spriha* 'desire,' 'envy,' fl. 2a<sup>7</sup> (for *sparka* or *sprihā*).

To these words should be added all the technical names of groups of verses or throws of dice; thus:—

*navikkī* 'an eulogy,' fl. 1b<sup>6</sup> (a vernacular form of Skr. *navikā*, from *nava*; see my *Gaudian Grammar*, § 195).

*paṭṭabandha* 'a decoration,' 'investiture,' fl. 2a<sup>1</sup>.

*kālaviddhi* 'the regulation of time,' fl. 2a<sup>1</sup>, (apparently a synonym of *vidhi*; otherwise it would mean 'the piercing').

*śāpaṣa* 'imprecation,' 'abuse,' fl. 2a<sup>2</sup>, (a bye-form of *śāpa*).

*mālī* 'garland,' fl. 2a<sup>4</sup> (a vernacular form of Skr. *mālikā*, cf. *Prākṛita Prakāśa* V, 24, Hēmachandra III, 32, 34, and my *Gaudian Grammar*, § 195).

*vahula* 'manifoldness,' fl. 2a<sup>5</sup>.

*kūṭa* 'a puzzle' (?), fl. 2b<sup>1</sup>.

*bhadra* 'cow,' fl. 2b<sup>3</sup>.

*śukti* 'power,' fl. 3a<sup>2</sup>.

*duṇḍubhi* 'kettle-drum,' fl. 3a<sup>6</sup>.

*vr̥isha* 'bull,' 3b<sup>4</sup>.

*pr̥eśhyā* 'maid-servant,' fl. 3b<sup>6</sup>.

*vīṭī* 'yellow sandal,' fl. 4a<sup>3</sup> (in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*; or perhaps for *vīṭī* 'a ball').

*karna* 'ear,' fl. 4a<sup>5</sup>.

*sojā* 'armour' (?), fl. 5a<sup>2</sup> (perhaps for *sojjā*).

*kāṇa* or *kāṇatantra*, fl. 5a<sup>4</sup> and fl. 5a<sup>5</sup> (or *kaṇatantra* fl. 5a<sup>6</sup>), 'one eyed,' also 'a crow.'

*chuñchuna*, meaning unknown, fl. 5b<sup>1</sup> (see below).

*pāñchī*, fl. 5b<sup>3</sup> or *pañchī* fl. 5b<sup>4</sup> 'consisting of five' (see below).

*khari* 'she-ass,' fl. 5b<sup>5</sup>.

As we shall see presently, all these words are technical names of certain throws of dice and of corresponding groups of verses. The meanings above given are merely the original meanings of the words, and in some cases they are doubtful: probably it matters little what the meanings were, or why the throws were so called. The main point is, that the words are names of certain throws of dice. *Duṇḍubhi* is the only one among them which I have found noted in Sanskrit dictionaries in that sense: in the *Petersburg Dictionary* it is given as "the name of certain throws in games with dice."<sup>6</sup>

The subject of the manuscript I believe to be divination or fortune-telling by means of dice. The work is a small treatise or handbook for instruction, or for the guidance of adepts, in the art of prognostication. This art is to be exercised, as the introduction of the treatise shows, with the help of dice (*prāsaka*), of which there are three, respectively named, or probably marked, with the figures of a pitcher (*kumbhaka*), a discus or wheel (*arin*), and an elephant (*mātāṅga*). They are thrown on a diagram or board (*vr̥iti*), divided into fields, which are marked with one of the four numeral figures, 1, 2, 3, 4. There must have been twelve fields, of which three were marked with the figure 4, three with 3, three with 2, and three with 1. So far as I can make out, the order in which these fields were arranged was immaterial. Every

<sup>6</sup> *Pañchī* or *pañchikā* is at present used as the name of a game played with five dice, and *chuñchulī* is given in the Sanskrit dictionaries as a game of hazard played with seeds of tamarind, instead of dice.



properly made throw of the three dice would, of course, indicate a group of three fields or of the corresponding inscribed figures. Of such groups there would necessarily be three different classes, according as the same number occurred in the group thrice or twice or once; thus the group might be 444, or 443, or 432. It follows that there would be 20 possible groups, and that every throw of the dice would indicate one of these 20 groups. Each of these 20 groups or throws is designated by a special name; and the list given below is that of these names.

Further, within each group the numeral figures constituting it may be arranged in different ways; e. g., the group 443 admits of the three variations, 443, 344, 434. Again the group 432 admits of six variations, viz., 432, 423, 342, 243, 234, 324. In fact, every group, containing the same figure twice, admits of three, and every group containing the same figure only once, admits of six variations; while a group, containing the same figure thrice, admits only of one arrangement. Now, there are four possible groups of the latter kind (444, 333, 222, 111); but there are twelve possible groups containing the same figure twice, and four possible groups, containing the same figure only once. It follows that the number of possible arrangements or variations of the 20 groups is 64, (i. e.,  $4 \times 1 + 12 \times 3 + 4 \times 6$ , or  $4 + 36 + 24$ ).

All this is shown in the First Table below. The groups are arranged in the order in which they would naturally suggest themselves. In the Second Table I have given them in the order in which they follow one another in the manuscript; and this order is also shown in the First Table, in the second column, enclosed in brackets. The bracketed numbers in the fourth column give the summations of the figures which compose the several groups.

I.—Table of Groups and Variations.

Classes of Groups.	Serial Number of Groups.	Names of Groups.	Figures of Groups.	No. of Variations.	Total No. of Groups.	Total No. of Variations.
With the same figure thrice.	I.	(I.) Chantayāṇṭa (?).....	444 (12)	1	4	4
	II.	(II.) Navikki .....	333 (9)	1		
	III.	(III.) Paṭṭabandha .....	222 (6)	1		
	IV.	(IV.) Kālaviddhi .....	111 (3)	1		
With the same figure twice.	V.	(V.) Śāpaṭa .....	443 (11)	3	12	36
	VI.	(XII.) Vṛisha .....	442 (10)	3		
	VII.	(VIII.) Kūṭa .....	441 (9)	3		
	VIII.	(VI.) Māli .....	334 (10)	3		
	IX.	(XIV.) Viṭi .....	332 (8)	3		
	X.	(XVII.) Kāna.....	331 (7)	3		
	XI.	(XIII.) Prēshyā .....	224 (8)	3		
	XII.	(XVI.) Sajā .....	223 (7)	3		
	XIII.	(XIX.) Pāñchi .....	221 (5)	3		
	XIV.	(XV.) Karṇa .....	114 (6)	3		
	XV.	(XVIII.) Chuñchuna .....	113 (5)	3		
	XVI.	(XX.) Khari .....	112 (4)	3		
With the same figure once.	XVII.	(VII.) Vahula.....	432 (9)	6	4	24
	XVIII.	(IX.) Bhadrā .....	421 (7)	6		
	XIX.	(X.) Śakti.....	341 (8)	6		
	XX.	(XI.) Dundubhi.....	321 (6)	6		
Total.....					20	64



II.—Table of Order of Groups in MS.

I. 444 12	V. 443 11	VIII. 441 9	XII. 442 10
II. 333 9	VI. 334 10	IX. 421 7	XIII. 224 8
III. 222 6	VII. 432 9	X. 341 8	XIV. 332 8
IV. 111 3		XI. 321 6	XV. 114 6
	30		XVI. 223 7
			XVII. 331 7
			XVIII. 113 5
			XIX. 221 5
			XX. 112 4
			60

As already remarked, each (properly made) throw of the dice would indicate three fields, or one group of three figures; but in most cases, it would not show what particular variation of the group was to be understood by the throw. Some mark would be needed to show in what order the figures indicated by any particular throw should be read. It is for this reason that the three dice are marked by the emblems of a pitcher, discus and elephant, and that the order of these three emblems is laid down in the introduction. The direction intended to be given in the introduction (as I take it) is that the dice should be thrown on the fields of the diagram, and then the throw read off in the order of the marks of the dice; that is, the figure indicated by the pitcher-die is to be placed first, that of the discus-die is to come second, and that of the elephant-die is to come last. With the aid of this rule, there would be no doubt as to which group and variation any particular throw indicated.

The fortune-teller would first make his diagram or lay his board; he would then make a throw of his dice; from the throw he would know the group and its name, and from the order of the dice he would know the particular variety of the group. For every variety he would know a verse; and the verses would suggest to him what he should prognosticate in any given case. I remember, some years ago, when I was spending my summer vacation in Darjeeling, a travelling Kashmiri (or Afghan) came to the hotel in which I was staying, and told the fortune of any one who wished to consult him by a somewhat similar procedure. I then took no particular notice of him, but I remember that he used a diagram and variously marked oblong dice, by the help of which he made his prognostications. Perhaps some who read this may be able to supplement my information, and tell us whether the same or similar practices in divination as those indicated in the Bower Manuscript are still observed anywhere in India or its northern borders.

One point more may be noticed. The order of the groups in the manuscript is shown in Table II. It may be asked why the groups should be arranged in that order in preference to the more obvious logical order shown in Table I. Perhaps there may be no better reason for it than accident; but the Table shows a curious fact which may possibly account for it. The first four groups may be regarded as the key-groups; and the total of the sums of the figures composing them gives a key-total of 30. Now, if the figures of the remaining groups are severally summed up, and the sums arranged in an order decreasing by 1, it is found that the key-total 30 is repeated four times: and in this order the manuscript arranges the groups. The arrangement, however, is not quite perfect: group X. ought to precede group IX., and groups XVI. and XVII. ought to precede group XV. This circumstance, though it may be due to an error of the scribe, prevents the explanation from having more than the character of a doubtful conjecture.

The Nāgarī transcript gives the text as it stands in the manuscript, broken letters being



printed in full. *Aksharas* which are wholly wanting, are indicated by dots, which are in numbers equal to the missing *aksharas*. *Aksharas* which are now wanting, but which were still extant when I first made my transcript, are enclosed within straight brackets.

In the Roman transliteration, broken *aksharas* of the MS. text are indicated by round brackets, and entirely missing portions, by dots, or longs and shorts. Any restoration of a missing text is enclosed within straight brackets.

In the translation, conjectural portions or explanatory additions are indicated by round brackets.

## I. TEXT.

### Transcript.

#### First Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 ॐ नमो नमिहरेभवाय—नमो आचार्येभ्यः नमो ईश्वराय—नमो माणिभद्राय [नमस्सर्व्वयक्षे].
- 2 नमः सर्व्वदेवेभ्यः शिवाय नमः षष्ठीये नमः प्रजापतये नमः रुद्राय नमः नमो वैश्रवणाय नमो मरुतां नमः प्रास-
- 3 का पतन्तु इमस्यार्थस्य कारणा हिलि २ कुम्भकारिमातङ्गयुक्ता पतन्तु यस्सत्यं सर्व्वसिद्धानां यस्सत्यं सर्व्ववाहीनां  
तेन सत्येन सत्यसमयेन नष्टं विनष्टं
- 4 ॐ ॐ लभालभं जयाजयं शिवानुवर्षाय स्वा—सत्यनारायणे चैव देवते ऋषीषु चैव सत्यं मन्त्रं वृत्तिस्सत्यं  
समक्षा पतन्तु स्वाहा सत्यं चैव तु द्रष्टव्यं नि-
- 5 . . . . . मन्त्रौषधीनां च निमित्तबलमन्तरम् सृपतायां देवतं विष्णुनविकायां चण्डयाण्ड ॥ ॥ ४४४  
नमः पुरुषसिद्धय प्रसन्नस्ते जनार्दनः
- 6 निहता राजवस्सर्व्वे यद्विप्ससेकम् नविकी ३३३ न ते शोको न वायासो नीचोच्चं न च ते भयः

#### Second Leaf: Obverse.

- 1 . . . . . प्राप्ससि पहबन्धः ॥ २२२ सर्व्वकामसमृद्धे पि सुखं अनिरुपद्रवं उत्पन्ने तत्तं चैव  
देवं शमय ते भयम् कालविद्धिः ॥ १११ परिहीयते ते बुद्धिः
- 2 . . . . . आरम्भश्चिन्तितो यस्ते निष्पल स भविष्यति ॥ शापदः ४४३ इयाधिभिर्नोक्ष्यसे क्षिप्रं सुखं वा  
प्राप्स्यसे तथा नात्युच्चं नातिनीचं च फलमासादयिष्यसि ॥ द्वितीयशापदः ॥
- 3 ३४ आयासो दृश्यते परो येभ्यश्च तव विग्रहः निष्फलं दृश्यते कार्यं पृच्छसे यस्य कारणा—॥ तृतीयशापदः ॥  
३४ समागमं चिन्तयसे कल्याणि न च युज्यते
- 4 न ते शरीरसन्तापो भोगां चैवोपलप्स्यसि † ३४३ सर्व्वार्थसिद्धिसंपदकामभोगः समान्वितः अचिरं कालेन भवि-  
ष्यति स नित्यात् द्वितीया माली—३३४ अयं सपुण्यो लभसे
- 5 ह्यानन्दः प्रीतिवर्द्धनः अस्वरात्सुमहानर्था त्वरितो वै न लप्स्यसि—॥ ४३३ अयं त्वया महानर्थश्चिन्तितो र्यस्ततोत्तमः  
प्रवासं क्षेमगमनं वान्धवैश्च समागमः बहलः ३२४
- 6 शीर्घमायुर्महानर्थः प्राप्ससे नयमुत्तम धनधान्यं करिषं च भोगानवि च प्राप्ससि द्वितीयो बहलः ४३२ दृश्यते आगम  
यच्च त्वया सुपरिनिश्चितः आत्मानं चैवार्थश्च ततो गृह्यागमिष्यसि
- 7 तृतीयो बहलः २४३ बहलं दृश्यते कार्यं बहुपुत्रत्वतां च ते प्रतीक्षशुभमात्मानं सर्व्वमेतद्विप्स्यसि—चतुर्थो बहलः ४२३  
बहलो विजयस्तुभ्यं मुष्टा मित्रगणाश्च ते स्पृहे सति परस्तभ्य

#### Second Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 न परा स्पृहयिष्यसि—पञ्चमो बहलः ३४२ स्नेहागमस्य ते चिन्ता संसिद्धेश्च परा तव अन्योन्याभिहता प्रीति—किमा-  
गमिष्यति गम्यता कूटः ४१४ राजसी विग्रहो स्तीति धर्म्मस्याति परिक्षय
- 2 लब्धं चैव फलं तस्मा धर्म्ममेव चरिष्यसि द्वितीयो कूटः १४४ चलाचलमिदं स्थानं न सुखं प्रीतिवर्द्धनं विप्रमोक्षसि  
देवे तिगृहीतो पि न संशयः तृतीयः कूटः ४४१ अस्ति क्षेमं भयं नास्ति
- 3 विजयो प्यच्च दृश्यते भोक्ष्यसे कामचांगाश्च कुतश्चिज्जास्ति ते भयम् भद्रा—४२१ परिक्षिणा ह्यनर्थास्ते मुक्तस्ते सर्व्व-  
किल्बिषा विजेष्यसि ऋषू सर्व्वौ लाभस्ते समुपस्थितः



4 द्वितीया भद्रा—२१४ मनसा चिन्ताविषयस्य तु कारणा किञ्चित्कालमुदीक्षस्व ततो हस्तमुपैष्यति—द्वितीया भद्रा—॥ १४२

5 . □ . स्यसि कन्यां वै

*Third Leaf : Obverse.*

- 1 . च चतुर्विधसि प्रीतिसौभाग्यसंयुक्तं धनं शस्यन्ति देवताः चतुर्था भद्रा २४१ वृत्तिश्च नाक्षयस्सर्वा देवतेभ्यो न ते भयम् यथा कुर्वसि कुर्वाणा
- 2 . . . . . प्राप्स्यसि—४१२ ॥ शक्ती ३४१ परिग्रहं चिन्तयसे तच्च शीघ्रमवाप्स्यसि—अर्थकामप्रदातारं शान्धवं प्रीतिवर्धनं द्वितीया शक्ती—॥ १३४
- 3 . . गम चिन्तयसे तच्च शीघ्रं समेप्यसि—अम्मीनै. कृतालेखा नेध्या न भविष्यति तृतीया शक्ती ४१३ उपस्थित विशिष्टस्ते तथा लाभश्च
- 4 दृश्यते कुटुम्बे चानुलवृद्धिर्भविष्यति न संशया—चतुर्थ्या शक्ती ३१४ एकच्छां महीं कृत्स्नां राजा निहतकण्टकः आक्रम्य भोक्ष्यसे शत्रुं गणैस्समुदितस्तदा ॥
- 5 पञ्चमी शक्ति—१४३ न चेच्छसि सुमित्रं त्वं सुमित्रे राग्यसे सदा—कृताकृताश्च ते मित्रा शत्रुत्वं यास्यकारणं ॥
- 6 षष्ठी शक्ति ४३१ समानमं चिन्तयसे सर्वथा स समेप्यसि काले प्राप्स्यसे सो र्धः अनिर्व्वेदं तथैव च पुनर्दुभी ३२१ यत्ते नष्टं विनष्टं वा चौरैरपहृतं च यत्
- 7 परहस्तगतं वापि न चिरात्तदाप्स्यसि—द्वितीया पुनर्दुभी २१३ विमुक्तस्त्वं सहायेस्तु सुमित्रै सह वत्तसे लब्धव्याश्च प्रिया इष्यां विरुद्धं देवतै स्पृहा ॥

*Third Leaf : Reverse.*

- 1 . . य पुनर्दुभी १३२ परितोषः शरीरस्य दृश्यते तव साम्प्रतम् देवतानां च पूजायाः निवृत्तिरुपलभ्यते—चतुर्थ्या पुनर्दुभी २३१ अस्ति ते कालहं घोरं
- 2 शत्रुभिस्तह दृश्यते न तच्च लप्स्यसे क्लेशं प्रत्याधि च विजेष्यसि—पञ्चमी पुनर्दुभी—॥ ३१२ उत्तमो दृश्यते लम्भः पुत्रजन्म तथैव च—ईप्सिताश्चैव कामां
- 3 प्राप्स्यसे नाच्च संशयः षष्ठी पुनर्दुभी १२३ परिभ्रमति बुद्धिस्ते स्थानं चैव चलाचलं मासमाचमुदीक्षस्व ततः सुखमवाप्स्यसि—
- 4 प्रथमो वृषः ४४२ यत्तवास्ति गृहे किञ्चित् गावो धान्यं धनं तथा विसृज्यस्त्वं हिजातिभ्यः वृद्धिस्ते समुपस्थिता—
- 5 . . . . . यः २४४ समागमं चिन्तयसे इरस्थ चैव ते प्रियः समुद्धं सर्वकामेषु न विरेण समेप्यति तृतीयो वृषः
- 6 . . . . . न्धनं प्राप्स्यसे घोरं पुनः स्थानं च प्राप्स्यसि भविष्यति फलं चैव निर्वृतिश्च भविष्यति—प्रथमा मेष्या—

*Fourth Leaf : Obverse.*

- 1 . . . . . सदा वा विद्यां वा यदि याचसे गृहैव निरतस्तिष्ठ सर्व्वे हि तव निष्फलं द्वितीया मेष्या—॥ २४२ दृश्यते चिन्तितो इष्यः
- 2 . . . . . त हि न पूरयति तत्कर्म यस्य पृच्छसि कारणे—तृतीया मेष्या—२४२ य त्वया चिन्तिता वाचा तवर्षस्य तु कारणा विषयस्य लम्भस्ते
- 3 . . . नाच्च संशयः प्रथमा विटी—३३२ सातत्वं त्वं निरावासः कर्मण्यथापि जीविते न त्वं प्राप्स्यसे युक्तं प्रत्य-  
यिभिश्च विजेष्यसि—द्वितीया विटी—
- 4 ३२३ न युज्यसे फलार्थेन निर्व्वेदेन च युज्यसे अन्यच्च स्वरितो गच्छ लप्स्यसे सुखमुत्तमम्—
- 5 तृतीया विटी २३३ दृश्यते ते अनिप्रायो द्विषद् □ □ कारणा समेप्यति ते तत्वेन मरुतस्य वचो यथा—प्रथमकर्णः  
११४ संपूज्य
- 6 सर्व्वकर्मणि सौभाग्यं निरुपद्रवं राजलम्भस्तु लप्स्यसे न चिरादिह भविष्यति द्वितीयः कर्णः १४१ वेत्त्येव परिभ्रष्टा सममथापि . सि च

*Fifth Leaf : Obverse.*

- 1 . . . . . □ . . . . □ द्वितीयः कर्णः ४१. अद्भुतं गमनं चिन्ता पुस्तकेन च समागमः सावद्येन कार्वेण



- 2 . . . . न संशयः प्रथमा सजा—३२२ विज्ञेयसि ऋषू सव्यां प्रत्यर्था बलवांश्च ते लप्स्यसे प्रथमं. स्थानं पश्चाच्छो-  
कमवाप्स्यसि—  
3 द्वितीया सजा—२३२ न च जानीषे कार्याणि पश्चात्तपेन युज्यसे भविष्यति च ते लाभ सुमुखस्तव देवता—द्वितीया  
सजा—  
4 २२३ शरीरे तव सन्देह समतीतो दुरासदः देवतानां प्रसादेन प्राशुण्यं तव केवलम् प्रथमः काण ३३१ प्राशुण्ये  
शरीरस्य  
5 लाभश्चार्थश्च प्राप्तये उपस्थितं च ते कल्याणं मरुतस्य वचो यथा — द्वितीयः काणः तन्त्र ३१३ आरोग्यं पुलाभं च  
प्रेक्ष्यसे नात्र संशयः लप्स्यसे सर्वथा भद्रं  
6 भोगांश्च विपुलां तथा तृतीयः कणतन्त्रः १३३ मिथ्या वदसि यत्किञ्चि मित्रं द्विपसि नित्यदा देवतानां प्रसादाद्वा  
तिष्ठत श्रेयो भविष्यति —

## Fifth Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 प्रथमश्चक्षुणः ३११ भोगानां विप्रयोगस्ते न चिरेणैव दृश्यते अन्यं संप्राप्स्यसे स्थानं मा विषादं करिष्यसि—द्विती-  
यश्चक्षुणः १३१ अर्थसिद्धिद्वयं चैव  
2 कलस्थानं तथैव च प्राप्स्यसे सर्वकामांश्च मरुतस्य वचो यथा—तृतीयश्चक्षुणः ११३ विप्रमुक्तस्त्वमर्थेभ्यो मित्रं च  
सुहृदेव च उत्थानं चिन्तयानस्य  
3 उद्दिप्त इव दृश्यते—प्रथमा पञ्ची २२१ चलाच . . दं स्थानं दृश्यते समाकुलं न च नारम्भसे कार्यं दुक्तेन च  
विमुच्यसे—द्वितीया पञ्ची—१२२  
4 दिशः सर्वा समात्क्रान्ता कालधर्मं कुरुष्वती सुखं ते न कार्यन्ते ते न तेषु कदाचनः [तृतीया पञ्ची]<sup>6</sup>—२१२ पशु-  
बन्धाश्च यज्ञां वै विविधान्यक्षसे तथा  
5 . . ि च समुद्धानि दास्यसे नात्र संशयः तृतीयः पञ्ची २१२ प्रथमा खरी ११२ अतिक्रान्ता परिक्षेष्टा दुक्तेन चैव  
समानतः शुभाशुभादिप्रभुक्तो सि लाभस्ते स—  
6 मुपस्थित— ॥

## II. Transliteration.

## First Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 Om Namô Nandi-rudr-êśvarāya — namô Āchāryēbhyaḥ namô Īśvarāya — namô  
Māni(bhad)r(āya) [namas=sarvva-Yakshēbhyaḥ]<sup>6</sup>  
2 namaḥ sarvva-Dēvēbhyaḥ Sivāya namaḥ Shashthīyē namaḥ Prajāpatayē  
namaḥ Rudrāya namaḥ namô Vaiśravaṇāya namô Marutānām namaḥ  
prāsa-  
3 kâ patantu imasy-ârthasya kâraṇā hili 2 kumbhak-âri-mâtaṅga-yuktâ patantu  
yat=satyam sarvva-Siddhānām yat=satyam Sarvva-vādinām tēna satyēna  
satya-samayēna nashṭam vinashṭam  
4 [ksh]ê(m)-âk[sh]ēmām lâbh-âlābhām jay-âjayaṁ Siv-ânudarsāya svâ<sup>7</sup> — Satya-  
nârāyaṇē ch=aiva dēvatē Rishishu ch=aiva satyam mantram vṛitis=  
satyam samakshâ patantu svâhâ satyam ch=aiva tu drashtavyam ni-  
5 . . . . . mantra-aushadhinām cha nimitta-valam=am=antaram<sup>8</sup> mṛisha-  
tāyam dēvataṁ Vishṇu navikāyam chaṇṭayāṇṭa ॥ 5 ॥ 444 Namaḥ 1  
purusha-siṅghasya prasannas=tē Janârddanaḥ [1]  
6 nihatâ śattravas=sarvvē yadi psasē kain<sup>9</sup> [11] Navikkī 333 Na tē sôkô 2  
na vāyāsô nīch-ôchchaṁ na cha tē bhayaḥ [1]

<sup>6</sup> The bracketed portion is crossed out in the original.<sup>8</sup> Read valam-antaram; am is superfluous.<sup>7</sup> Read svâhâ.<sup>9</sup> Reading of the fourth pâda is corrupt.



## Second Leaf: Obverse.

- 1 . . . . . (prā)psasi [U] Patta-bandhaḥ || 222 Sarvva-kāma-  
samṛiddhē pi sukham janir=upadravaṁ [I] utpannē tatam ch=aiva dēvaṁ 3  
śamaya tē bhayam<sup>10</sup> [U] Kāla-viddhiḥ || 111 Parihiyatē tē buddhiḥ 4
- 2 . . . . . h [I] ārambhas=chintitō yas=tē nishpala<sup>11</sup> sa bhavishyati [U]  
Sāpataḥ 443 Vyādhibhir=m=mōkshyasē kshipraṁ sukham vā prāpsyasē 5  
tathā [I] n=āty-uchchaṁ n=āti-nicham cha phalam=āsādayishyasi — ||  
Dvitiya-śāpata ||
- 3 [4](34) Āyāsō dṛīsyatē ghōrō yēbhyaś=cha tava vigrahaḥ [I] nishphalaṁ 6  
dṛīsyatē kāryaṁ prichchhasē yasya kāraṇā — || Tritiya-śāpataḥ || 344  
Samāgamaṁ chintayasē kalyāṇi<sup>12</sup> na cha yuchyatē [I] 7
- 4 na tē śarīra-santāpō bhōgām ch=aiv=ōpalapsyasi + ||<sup>13</sup> 343 Sarvv-ārtha-  
siddhi-sampada-kāma-bhōgaḥ sam-ānvitah<sup>14</sup> [I] achirēṇ=aiva kālēna bha- 8  
vishyati sa nityāt<sup>15</sup> [I] Dvitiyā malli — || 334 Ayam sa-puṇyō labhasē 9
- 5 hy=ānandaḥ priti-varddhanaḥ [I] atvarāt=su-mahān=arthā<sup>16</sup> tvaritō vai na 10  
lapsyasi — ||<sup>17</sup> 433 Ayam tvayā mahān=arthaś=chintitō rthas=tat=ōt-  
tamaḥ [I] pravāsaṁ kshēma-gamaṇaṁ vāndhavaiś=cha samāgamaḥ [U]  
Vahulaḥ 324
- 6 Dīrgham=āyur=m=mahān=arthaḥ prāpsasē n=ayam<sup>18</sup>=uttama [I] dhana-dhānyaṁ 11  
karittraṁ cha bhōgān=avi cha prāpsasi<sup>19</sup> [U] Dvitiyō vahulaḥ 432  
Dṛīsyatē āgam[ō] yatra tvayā su-pariniśchitaḥ [I] ātmāṇaṁ ch=aiv=ā 12  
rthas=cha<sup>20</sup> tatō grihy=āgamishyasi [U]
- 7 Tritiyō vahulaḥ 243 Vahulaṁ dṛīsyatē kāryaṁ vahu-puttratvatām cha tē [I] 13  
pratīksha śubham=ātmā(n)am sarvvam=ētat=avāpsyasi<sup>21</sup>—[U] Chaturthō  
vahulaḥ 423 Vahulō vijayas=tubhyaṁ tushtā mitra-gaṇās=cha tē [I] 14  
sprihē sati paras=t[u]bhya[m]

## Second Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 na parā sprihayishyasi—[U] Pañchamō vahulaḥ 342 Snēh-āgamasya tē chintā  
saṁsiddhēs=cha parā tava [I] anyōny-ābbihatā priti — kim=āgamishyati 15  
gamyatā<sup>22</sup> [U] Kūṭah 414 Rājatō vighrāḥ st=īti dharmmasya<sup>23</sup>=āti- 16  
parikshaya[I]
- 2 labdham ch=aiva phalaṁ tasmā dharmmam=ēva charishyasi — [U] Dvitiyō 17  
kūṭah 144 Chal-āchalam=idam sthānaṁ na sukham priti-varddhanaṁ  
[I] vipramōkshasi dēvē tigribhītō pi na saṁsayah [U] Tritiyah kūṭah 18  
441 Asti kshēmaṁ bhayaṁ nāsti
- 3 vijayō py=attra dṛīsyatē [I] bhōkshyasē kāma-chāmgaś=cha kutaś=chin=n=āsti  
tē bhayam [U] Bhadrā — 421 Parikshīṇā hy=anarthās=tē muktas=<sup>24</sup>tē 19  
sarvva-kilvishā [I] vijēshyasi pīṇam sarvvām lābhas=tē samupasthitaḥ [U]
- 4 Dvitiyā bhadrā — 214 Manasā chintitā chint=ādipadasya tu kāraṇā [I] kiñ- 20  
chit=kālam=ndīkshasva tatō hastam=upaishyati — [U] Tritiyā bhadrā —  
|| 142
- 5 [par]i[prāp]syasi kanyām vai

<sup>10</sup> In the third pāda one syllable is wanting. Perhaps read *astataḥ*.<sup>12</sup> Read *kalyāṇi*.<sup>13</sup> Here insert *Malli*.<sup>14</sup> The fourth pāda is short by one syllable; read *nityataḥ*.<sup>15</sup> Here insert *tritiyā malli*.<sup>16</sup> Read *n-āyam*.<sup>17</sup> The third pāda is short by one syllable. Read *ārthas=cha*.<sup>18</sup> The fourth pāda in the original is rather indistinct, through corrections having been made in it by the original scribe.<sup>22</sup> The fourth pāda has one syllable in excess.<sup>11</sup> Read *nishphalaḥ*.<sup>14</sup> Probably read *amānvitah*.<sup>16</sup> Read *arthō*.<sup>19</sup> Read *prāpsyasi*.<sup>23</sup> Read *dharmmasya*.<sup>24</sup> Read *muktā*.



*Third Leaf: Obverse.*

- 1 [mi]ttra[m] ch=annayishyasi<sup>25</sup> [i] priti-saubhāgya-saṃyuktaṃ dhanam dasyanti  
dēvatāḥ [u] Chaturthā bhadra 241 Vṛittis=cha nā<sup>26</sup> kshayas=sarvvō 22  
dēvatōbbhyō na tē bhayam [i] yathā kurvāsi kurvāṇ(ā)
- 2 . . . . [a]vāpsyasi — [u] 412 u Sakti 341 Parigrahaṃ chintayasē tach=cha 23  
śighram=avāpsyasi — [i] artha-kāma-pradatāraṃ vāndhavaṃ priti-darśa-  
nam [u] Dvitiyā śakti — u 134
- 3 [Samā](ga)ma[m] chintayasē tach=cha śighram samēshyati [i] aśmīnai . kṛitā 24  
lēkhā n=ēshyā na bhavishyati<sup>27</sup> [u] Tṛitīyā śakti 413 Upasthita 25  
viśiṣṭas=tē tathā lābhas=cha
- 4 dṛiśyatē [i] kuṣumvē ch=ātula-vṛiddhir=bhavishyati na saṃśaya<sup>28</sup> [u]  
Chaturthā śakti 314 Eka-ch-chhattraṃ mahīm kṛitsūam rājā nihata- 26  
kaṇṭakāḥ [i] ākrāmya bhōkshyasē śatruṃ gānais=samuditas=sadā — u
- 5 Pañchamī śakti — 143 Na ch=ēchchasi su-mittraṃ tvaṃ<sup>29</sup> su-mittre 27  
rāmyasē sadā [i] — kṛit-ākṛitās=cha tē mittra śatrutvaṃ yāty=akārapam — u
- 6 Shashthī śakti 431 Samāgamaṃ chintayasē sarvvamthā<sup>30</sup> sa samēshyati<sup>31</sup> [i] 28  
kālē<sup>32</sup> prāpsyasē sō rthah anirvvedam tath=aiva cha [u] Dundubhi  
321 Yat=tē nashtam vinnashtam vā chōrair=apahrītam cha yat [i] 29
- 7 (para-ha)sta-gataṃ v=āpi na chirāt=tad=avāpsyasi — [u] Dvitiyā dundubhi  
213 Vimuktas=tvam saḥāyēs<sup>33</sup>=tu su-mittrai saba varitasē [i] lab. 30  
dhavyās=cha priyā hy=arthā viruddham dēvatāi sprihā u

*Third Leaf: Reverse.*

- 1 [Tṛiti]y[ā] (dundubhi) 132 Paritōshaḥ śarīrasya dṛiśyatē tava sāmpratam [i] 31  
dēvatānam cha pūjāyāḥ nivṛittir=upalabhyatē—[u] Chaturthī dundubhi —  
231 Asti tē kalaham ghōram
- 2 śatrubhis=saha dṛiśyatē [i] na tatra lapsyasē klēsam pratyarthim cha  
vijēshyasi — [u] Pañchamī dundubhi—u 312 Uttamō dṛiśyatē lambhaḥ 32  
putra-janmam tath=aiva cha — [i] īpsitām=ś=ch=aiva kāmam 33
- 3 prāpsyasē n=ittra saṃśayaḥ [u] Shashthī dundubhi 123 Paribhramati  
buddhis=tē sthānam ch=aiva chal-āchalam [i] māsa-mātram=udikshasva 34  
tataḥ sukham=avāpsyasi — [u]
- 4 Prathamō vṛishah 442 Yat=tav=āsti gṛihē kiṃ-chi gāvō dhānyam dhanam 35  
tathā [i] visṛijyas=tvam dvijātibhyah vṛiddhis=tē samupasthitā — [u]
- 5 [Dvitiyō vṛi]shah 244 Samāgamaṃ chintayasē durastha ch=aiva tē 36  
priyah [i] samṛiddham sarvva-kāmēshu na chirōṇa samēshyati [u]  
Tṛitīyō vṛishah
- 6 [424 V]andhanam prāpsyasē ghōram puna sthānam cha prāpsyasi [i] 37  
bhavishyati phalam ch=aiva nirvṛitis=cha bhavishyati — [u] Prathamā  
prēshyā —

*Fourth Leaf: Obverse.*

- 1 [422] . . . . . savā vā vidyām vā yadi yāchasē [i] gṛih=aiva niratas=tishtha 38  
sarvvaṃ hi tava nishphalam [u] Dvitiyā prēshyā — u 242 Yas=tvayā 39  
chintitō hy=arthah

<sup>25</sup> Read *ch=annayishyasi*, i.e., *cha annayishyasi*.

<sup>27</sup> The fourth pāda is short by one syllable.

<sup>28</sup> The words *na saṃśaya* were originally omitted, and have been inserted interlinearly.

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps: *su-mitratvam*. The first anusvara is uncertain.

<sup>31</sup> Read *samēshyati*: cf. verse 24.

<sup>32</sup> The third pāda is short by one syllable. Read *kālēna*, m. c.

<sup>26</sup> Read *vṛittis=cha*, perhaps also *na*.

<sup>30</sup> Read *sarvvatāḥ*.

<sup>33</sup> Read *saḥāyais*.



- 2 . . . . . tā hi [I] na pārāyati tat-karmmaṃ yasya prichchhasi karanē<sup>34</sup>— [II] 40  
Tritiyā prēshyā — 224 Ya<sup>35</sup> tvayā chintitā vāchā tad-arthasya tu  
kāraṇā [I] vishyaty=artha-lambhas=tē
- 3 . . . n=ātra saṃśayaḥ [II] Prathamā vitī — 332 Sātātvaṃ<sup>36</sup> tva[m] ni(r)āyāsah 41  
karmmaṇyaś=ch=āpi<sup>37</sup> jīvitē [I] na tvaṃ prāpsyasē dukkhaṃ praty-  
arthibhiś=cha vijēshyasi<sup>38</sup> — [II] Dvitiyā vitī —
- 4 323 Na yujyasē phal-ārthēna nirvvedēna cha yujyasē [I] anyattra tvaritō 42  
gachchha lapsyasē sukham=uttamam — [II]
- 5 Tritiyā vitī 233 Driśyatē tē abhiprāyō dvipada[s](ya) [t](u) kāraṇā [I] 43  
samēshyati tē tatvōna<sup>39</sup> marutasya vachō yathā — [II] Prathama-karṇaḥ  
114 Sāmpūjya 44
- 6 sarvva-karmāṇi saubhāgya-nirupadravaṃ [I] rāja-lambhas=tu lapsyasē na 45  
chirād=iha bhavishyati<sup>40</sup> [II] Dvitiyaḥ karṇaḥ 141 Aśvāryēṇa pari-  
bhrashtā samagraś=ch=āpi — si cha<sup>41</sup> [I]

## Fifth Leaf: Obverse.

- 1 . . . . . ch . . . . . sh . [II] [D]v[i](ti)yaḥ<sup>42</sup> karṇaḥ 41[1] 46  
Addhvān[am] gamanaṃ chintā dukkhēna cha samāgamaḥ [I] s-āvasēshēṇa  
karyēṇa
- 2 . . . .<sup>43</sup> na saṃśayaḥ [II] Prathamā saṇḍā—322 Vijēshyasi pīpūṃ sarvvām 47  
pratyarthī valavām=ś=cha tē [I] lapsyasē prathamam sthānam paśchāch=  
chhōkam=avāpsyasi— [II]
- 3 Dvitiyā saṇḍā 232 Na cha jānishē kāryāṇi paśchāttapēna yujyasē [I] 48  
bhavishyati cha tē lābha<sup>44</sup> su-mukhas=tava dēvatā— [II] Dvitiyā<sup>45</sup> saṇḍā
- 4 223 Sarirē tava sandēha samatītō dur-āsadaḥ [I] dēvatānām prasādēna 49  
prāguṇyam tava kēvalam [II] Prathamah kāṇa 331 Prāguṇan=tē 50  
sarīrasya
- 5 lābhaś=ch=ārthaś=cha prāptayē [I] upasthitam cha tē kalyāṇam (maruta)sya 51  
vachō yathā — [II] Dvitiyaḥ kāṇaḥ tantra 313 Ārōgyam pul-ām-  
bham cha<sup>46</sup> prēkshyasē n=ātra saṃśayaḥ [I] lapsyasē sarvvathā  
bhadram
- 6 bhōgām=ś=cha vipulām tathā [II] Tritiyaḥ kāṇa-tantraḥ 133 Miśhyā vadasi 52  
yat=kiñ=chi mittram dvishasi nityadā [I] dēvatānām prasādād=vā  
tishthata śrēyō bhavishyati<sup>47</sup> — [II]

## Fifth Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 Prathamāś=chuñchuṇaḥ 311 Bhōgānām viprayōgas=tē na chirēṇ=aiva driśyatē [I] 53  
anyam samprāpsyasē sthānam mā vishādām karishyasi — [II] Dvitiyaś=  
chuñchuṇaḥ 131 Arthasiddhi[r]=d=dvaya[m] ch=(ai)va 54
- 2 kula-sthānam tath=aiva cha [I] prāpsyasē sarvva-kāmām=ś=cha marutasya 55  
vachō yathā—[II] Tritiyaś<sup>48</sup>=chuñchuṇaḥ 113 Vipramuktas=tyam=arthē-  
bhyō mittraś=cha suhrid=ēva cha [I] utthānam chintayānasya

<sup>34</sup> Read kāraṇā, or perhaps kāraṇā.<sup>35</sup> Read yā.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps read sātātvaṃ or sātātvaḥ.<sup>37</sup> Āpi is added interlinearly.<sup>38</sup> The scanning is here irregular; the third pāda is too short and the fourth pāda is too long by one syllable. Moreover, the sense of the fourth pāda requires pratyarthī cha; cf. verse 32.<sup>39</sup> Read tatvōna; the reading of "ti tē" is not quite clear.<sup>40</sup> The fourth pāda has one syllable in excess.<sup>41</sup> The last two syllables (si cha) are added below the line.<sup>42</sup> Read Tritiyaḥ.<sup>43</sup> Pratyeshyasi may be supplied.<sup>44</sup> The syllable bha is inserted below the line.<sup>45</sup> Read tritiyā.<sup>46</sup> The first pāda is short by one syllable; read vipulā; or perhaps puna lābham.<sup>47</sup> The fourth pāda has one syllable in excess. Read tishtha.<sup>48</sup> Originally written tritiyā, afterwards corrected to tritiya.



- 3 udvigna iva dṛīṣyatē—[11] Prathamā pāñchī—221 Chal=ācha[lam=i]dam 56  
sthānam dṛīṣyatē samākulam<sup>49</sup> [1] na cha n=ārambhasē kāryam  
dukkhēna cha vimuchyasē—[11] Dvitiyā pāñchī—122
- 4 Diśaḥ sarvā samāt=krāntā<sup>50</sup> kāla-dharmma<sup>51</sup> kurushva ti [1] sukham te na 57  
kāryam<sup>52</sup>=tē tē na tēshu kadā-chana: [11] Tṛitiyā pāñchī<sup>53</sup> 212 Paśu-  
vandhās<sup>54</sup>=cha yajñam vai vividhān=yakshasē tathā [1] 58
- 5 [arghyā]i cha samṛiddhāni dāsyasē n=attra samśayaḥ [11] Tṛitiyaḥ pāñchī  
212 [11] Prathamā kharī 112 Atikrāntā pariklēsā dukkham ch=aiva 59  
samānataḥ [1] śubh-āśubhād=vipramuktō si<sup>55</sup> lābhas=tē sa-
- 6 mupasthita — 11

## TRANSLATION.

*First Leaf: Reverse.*

Om! Salutation to Nandirudrēśvara! Salutation to the Āchāryas! Salutation to Īśvara! Salutation to Mātibhadra! Salutation to all Yakshas! Salutation to all Dēvas. To Siva salutation! To Shashī salutation! To Prajāpati salutation! To Rudra salutation! Salutation to Vaiśravana! Salutation to the Marutas! Salutation!

Let the dice fall for the purpose of the present object (i. e., of soothsaying)! Hili! Hili! Let them fall as marked by the pitcher, discus and elephant!

By the truth of all the Siddhas, by the truth of all Schools, by their truth and true consensus let Siva declare what is lost and perished, peace and trouble, gain and loss, victory and defeat, svāhā! By Satyanārāyaṇa, the Dēvata, and by the Ṛishis, true is the oracle, true is the diagram. Let the dice fall openly! svāhā! Let the truth be seen!

(The efficacy of oracles and medical herbs . . . . . is far from untruth. In praise of the Dēvata Vishnu.<sup>56</sup>)

(Verse 1.) 444: Salutation to (thee) excellent man! Janārdana is well-pleased with thee. May all thy enemies be killed (if thou so desirest?)!

(Verse 2.) A Navikki: 333: Thou experiencest neither sorrow nor fatigue; nor hast thou any fear of either high or low;

*Second Leaf: Obverse.*

. . . . . thou wilt receive.

(Verse 3.) Even in the midst of the full enjoyment of all desires, one's happiness engenders molestation; (but) when it arises, God will ever allay thy fears.

(Verse 4.) A Kālaviddhi: 111: Thy intelligence is at fault; . . . . .; the undertaking which thou contempest will be fruitless.

(Verse 5.) (The first) Śāpaṭa: 443: Thou wilt quickly be delivered from all diseases, and thou wilt also obtain happiness; (but) the advantage which thou wilt attain, will be neither very great nor very small.

(Verse 6.) The second Śāpaṭa: 434: I see a terrible effort<sup>57</sup> (against those) with whom thou hast a conflict, (but) the work will be fruitless on account of which thou enquirest.

<sup>49</sup> The second pāda is short by one syllable. Perhaps read dṛīṣyatē tē.

<sup>50</sup> Probably read samākkrāntā.

<sup>51</sup> Read dharmmam.

<sup>52</sup> Either read kāryam tē or kāryam tē. The third pāda is short by one syllable.

<sup>53</sup> The italicised words are crossed out in the original.

<sup>54</sup> Read vandhās=cha.

<sup>55</sup> The third pāda has one syllable in excess. Omit śubha and read only śubhād.

<sup>56</sup> The bracketed portion is mutilated in the text; and not quite intelligible to me. Of the syllables chanśayāṇa. I can make nothing. They should represent the name of Mantra 444.

<sup>57</sup> i. e. the throw of the dice indicates to me the effort thou art making.



(Verse 7.) The third **Sāpaṭa** : 344 : Thou contemplatest a meeting, (but) the fair-one does not join thee; thy body is heated with desire, (but) thou shalt obtain no enjoyment.<sup>58</sup>

(Verse 8.) (The first **Māli**) : 343 : The peaceful<sup>59</sup> enjoyment of pleasure and wealth, and the fulfilment of all desires will, in a very short time, be thine, and that for ever.

(Verse 9.) (The second **Māli**) : 334 : This is a valuable thing to ask,<sup>60</sup> viz., happiness that promotes good will; by patience that great object (will be attained), but if thou art impatient, thou wilt not obtain it.

(Verse 10.) (The third **Māli**) : 433 : This is considered a great object by thee; (but) there is a much better object than that : a safe journey into foreign parts and a (safe) return to one's friends.

(Verse 11.) (The first **Vahula**) : 324 : Long life is a great thing; thou wilt not obtain this (which is) the best, (but) thou wilt obtain wealth in money and grain, and tools, and also enjoyments.

(Verse 12.) (The second **Vahula**) : 432 : I see a place where thou hast determined to go; from thence thou wilt safely<sup>61</sup> return with thy goods.

(Verse 13.) (The third **Vahula**) : 243 : Manifold, I see, are the things thou doest in order to obtain many sons (?); (but) look forward to thy own happiness; thou wilt obtain all that.

(Verse 14.) (The fourth **Vahula**) : 423 : Manifold are thy successes, and all thy friends are pleased; while others<sup>62</sup> envy thee;

*Second Leaf: Reverse.*

thou wilt not envy them.

(Verse 15.) (The fifth **Vahula**) : 342 : Thou expectest the return of thy friend, and thou feelest sure<sup>63</sup> of success; (but) love is entertained reciprocally; why should he come? thou shouldst go.

(Verse 16.) The first **Kūṭa** : 414 : There is a quarrel with the king, and that quite ruins thy *dharma*; (but) thou hast obtained thy advantage; therefore thou shouldst solely attend to thy *dharma*.

(Verse 17.) The second **Kūṭa** : 144 : Unsteady is this thy place, nor comfortable, nor a source of pleasure; (but) thou wilt get free of it, even if thou art held fast by a *dēva*<sup>64</sup>: there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 18.) The third **Kūṭa** : 441 : There is comfort; there is no fear; I see here also success; thou wilt enjoy women accomplished in the arts of love; from nowhere hast thou anything to fear.

(Verse 19.) The first **Bhadra** : 421 : Thy evils have disappeared; thy offences are removed; thou wilt overcome all thy enemies; thy gain is imminent.

(Verse 20.) The second **Bhadra** : 214 : In thy mind thou hast conceived a plan for the purpose of obtaining the first place: (but) wait some time; then it will fall into thy hands.

(Verse 21.) The third **Bhadra** : 142 : Thou wilt obtain a virgin,

*Third Leaf: Obverse.*

and wilt conciliate thy friend; the *dēvatas* will give thee wealth together with affection and good luck.

<sup>58</sup> The negative particle is practically misplaced; it must be constructed with the fourth pāda.

<sup>59</sup> I take *sama* in *sam-śvīta* to be the same as *sāmya*; or it may be a misspelling for *sama*.

<sup>60</sup> *Labhas* I take to be the locative singular of *labhava* "one who asks."

<sup>61</sup> *lit.*, "taking thyself and thy goods." I read *arthañ-cha*. The third pāda is short by one syllable, which may be mended by resolving the sandhi and reading *ch-aiṇa arthañ-cha*.

<sup>62</sup> I take *paras* as an adverb "on the other side," and *pari* as the abl. sing., for *parit*. Or, *parā* may be taken as a verbal prefix with *sprihayishyasi*.

<sup>63</sup> *Parā*, nom. sing., scl. *chintā*.

<sup>64</sup> Perhaps read *d'vābhī* (*d'vābhī*) "by the *dēvas*."



(Verse 22.) The fourth **Bhadra**: 241: Thou sufferest no loss whatever in thy business; thou hast no cause of fear from the *dēvatās*; as thou doest thy duties, thou wilt receive (thy desires).

(Verse:—) (The fifth **Bhadra**:) 412:<sup>65</sup>

(Verse 23.) (The first) **Sakti**: 341: Thou art planning a marriage<sup>66</sup>, and thou wilt soon accomplish it, and obtain an affectionate relative who will bestow on thee wealth and pleasures.

(Verse 24.) The second **Sakti**: 134: Thou art planning a union, and that will soon come to pass; the order has gone forth from the *Āsvins*,<sup>67</sup> nor will it be anything unpleasant.

(Verse 25.) The third **Sakti**: 413: I see that something extraordinary is at hand for thee and also a gain; in thy household also there will be an unequalled increase: there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 26.) The fourth **Sakti**: 314: As a king who has overcome all obstacles thou wilt, well furnished with troops, conquer thy enemy and constantly rule the whole earth under thy single sway.

(Verse 27.) The fifth **Sakti**: 431: Thou mayest not desire to have any friend, or thou mayest always delight in having a friend; (but) whether thou makest or dost not make friends, enmity comes without any cause.

(Verse 28.) The sixth **Sakti**: 431: Thou meditatest a meeting; that will certainly come to pass; in its proper time that object will be attained, and there will be no disappointment.

(Verse 29.) (The first) **Dundubhi**: 321c.: What thing of thine is lost or perished, or stolen by thieves, or passed into other hands, that thou wilt recover after a not very long time.

(Verse 30.) The second **Dundubhi**: 213: Whether thou art forsaken by friends, or whether thou art supported by friends, thou wilt obtain thy favourite objects, in spite of the envy of the *dēvatās*.

*Third Leaf: Reverse.*

(Verse 31.) The third **Dundubhi**: 132: I see that thou enjoyest health of body at the present time; from the worship of the *dēvatās* thou obtainest this rest.

(Verse 32.) The fourth **Dundubhi**: 231: I see that thou hast a grievous quarrel with thy enemies; (but) thou wilt suffer no harm from it, and wilt overcome thy adversary.

(Verse 33.) The fifth **Dundubhi**: 312: I see that thou wilt make a very good acquisition; moreover a son will be born to thee; thy wished-for desires thou wilt obtain: there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 34.) The sixth **Dundubhi**: 123: Thy mind is much perplexed; thy position is unstable; only wait one month; then thou wilt obtain happiness.

(Verse 35.) The first **Vṛisha**: 442: Whatever there is in thy house, cattle, grain and money, thou shouldst distribute among the *Brāhmins*; thy advancement is (then) near at hand.

(Verse 36.) The second **Vṛisha**: 244: Thou art planning a meeting, and thy beloved is far away; (but) the fulfilment of all thy desires will come to pass in a not very long time.

(Verse 37.) The third **Vṛisha**: 424: Thou wilt suffer grievous bondage, but thou wilt regain thy place; thou wilt have thy reward and wilt also have peace.

(Verse 38.) The first **Prōshyā**:

<sup>65</sup> This verse, being Mantra 412, is wanting in the MS.

<sup>66</sup> Perhaps *parigraha* may be intended to be more general: 'possession of things.'

<sup>67</sup> *Āminai* I take to be intended for *Āvinai*, the lost akshara may be supplied by reading either *āvin-āina* (i. e., *āvinā āva*) or *āvinair-ākritā*. As the *Āsvins* are always two, probably the latter reading is correct, though an unusual formation. The *Āsvins* are givers of luck. *Likā* refers to the writing of a man's fate on his skull.



*Fourth Leaf: Obverse.*

422 : If thou desirest knowledge or . . . . . , (but) sittest idly at home, thou wilt be altogether unsuccessful !

(Verse 39.) The second **Prêshya** : 242 : The thing that thou hast thought of, . . . . . , it will not accomplish that business with regard to which thou enquirest.

(Verse 40.) The third **Prêshya** : 224 : The speech which thou hast meditated for the sake of that thing, it will bring to pass the acquisition of the thing for thee : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 41.) The first **Vitī** : 332 : Thou hast never to take any trouble, and art clever in thy business ; thou wilt not suffer any misfortune, and wilt overcome thy adversaries.

(Verse 42.) The second **Vitī** : 323 : Thou wilt not meet the object of thy advantage, and wilt meet with disappointment ; (but) go quickly to another place, (and) thou wilt obtain very great happiness.

(Verse 43.) The third **Vitī** : 233 : I see thy purpose ; it is with reference to some biped (man ?) ; it will come to pass for thee as surely as the edict of the deity.

(Verse 44.) The first **Karṇa** : 114 : Thou wilt be honoured with all ceremonies ; and good fortune, peace and the requisites of a king thou wilt obtain ; it will take place after a not very long time.

(Verse 45.) The second **Karṇa** : 141 : By the act of God it has been destroyed, and thy whole property . . . . .

*Fifth Leaf: Obverse.*

(Verse 46.) The third **Karṇa** : 411 : Thou meditatest going on a journey, but thou wilt meet with misfortune ; (thou wilt return) with thy business unfinished : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 47.) The first **Sajā** : 322 : Thou wilt defeat all thy enemies, but thou hast (one powerful adversary ; thou wilt first meet with success, (but) afterwards thou wilt suffer sorrow.

(Verse 48.) The second **Sajā** : 232 : Thou dost not understand business, and thou wilt suffer regret ; but there will be a gain to thee, for thy *dēvatā* is favourable.

(Verse 49.) The third **Sajā** : 223 : A most serious danger of thy life has passed away ; thy safety is solely due to the favour of the *dēvatas*.

(Verse 50.) The first **Kāṇa** : 331 : The safety of thy person, profit and wealth are within thy grasp, and prosperity is at hand as sure as the word of God.

(Verse 51.) The second **Kāṇa-Tantra** : 313 : Thou expectest health and abundant power : there is no doubt about it ; thou wilt certainly obtain prosperity, and abundant pleasures also.

(Verse 52.) The third **Kāṇa-Tantra** : 133 : Thou speakest the untruth sometimes, (and thou showest always ill-will to thy friend ; but wait, and by the favour of the *dēvatas* there will be prosperity.

*Fifth Leaf: Reverse.*

(Verse 53.) The first **Chuñchuna** : 311 : I see that after a not very long time thou wilt be deprived of thy pleasures ; (but) thou wilt obtain another suitable place ; do not give way to despondency.

(Verse 54.) The second **Chuñchuna** : 131 : Wealth and perfection : these two, and also family and rank, and all thy (other) desires thou wilt obtain, as surely as the word of God.

(Verse 55.) The third **Chuñchuna** : 113 : Thou art deprived of thy money and (forsaken) by thy friends and well-wishers ; it appears to me as if thou wert troubled in thy mind about relief.



(Verse 56.) The first *Pañchi* : 221 : I see that thy position is unsafe and troubled ; never mind ! thou shouldst undertake some business, and thou shalt be delivered from thy misfortune.

(Verse 57.) The second *Pañchi* : 122 : All regions are attacked alike ; observe thou a reasonable line of conduct ; otherwise thou wilt not have either happiness or business in them at any time.<sup>68</sup>

(Verse 58.) The third *Pañchi* : 212 : Animal sacrifices and many other sacrifices thou wilt sacrifice ; and complete oblations thou wilt give : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 59.) Thy first *Khari* : 112 : Thy troubles have passed away and thy misfortune likewise ; thou art delivered from thy unlucky star ; thy prosperity is at hand.

### 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 page 106.)

#### CHAPTER IV. (continued).

#### THE AUTHOR AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

##### PART II. — THE LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup> (CONTINUED).

##### II. — THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE LANGUAGE ; ITS HISTORICAL POSITION.

We have now passed in review the majority of the grammatical phenomena which are presented by the inscriptions of Piyadasi, in their different versions. But that is not sufficient. It is on account of the light thrown by them on more general facts, that these particular data more especially claim our interest. We have now reached a stage at which we can investigate these larger problems. Two points of view at once present themselves to us, according as we consider, either directly the condition of the language of which specimens are supplied by the inscriptions, or indirectly the general question of the linguistic state of affairs at the period, to which our texts bring us back. The first problem, again, may be looked at in two

<sup>68</sup> The reading here is corrupt ; but this meaning seems to be plain.

<sup>1</sup> In the original French edition I stated at the conclusion of this study, and I now beg to repeat it at once here at the beginning, that I never intended, when writing these chapters, to examine under all their different aspects the vexed questions about Sanskrit and its history to which they refer. I only wished to bring to light a number of facts — either directly derived from the most ancient epigraphic records or at least connected with them — which to my mind are indeed highly important and which possess direct bearing upon the final settlement of these problems.

While proceeding along this track, I considered it useful to advance resolutely to the ultimate conclusions to which it seemed to me to lead, without dwelling, at least for the time, on the difficulties to which they might give rise, or the conflicts with other lines of argument in which they might result or appear to result. No one, I hope, will contend that the conflict escaped me, or that I meant to dispose of the points in question before having previously settled it one way or the other. But, on this occasion, I have not undertaken a task so vast and so comprehensive. On a ground so thickly overgrown, and so imperfectly surveyed, I fancy it may be advantageous to push on lines of reconnoitring straight forward, in what to some may appear a rather adventurous way. It is highly desirable that those who start from other points of view, and who propose to follow more direct or more beaten paths, should not be too dogmatic, nor dispose in too summary a manner of these side-explorations.

These brief remarks have a two-fold aim. For one, I wish to prevent any misconceptions, and also to check criticisms which, — probably by my own fault, — the present essay has called forth, and which I cannot find to be justified or to be based upon an adequate, faithful rendering of my views. Secondly, they will explain why, after several years, I have allowed it to appear again in its original tenor. Such changes as have been made in this translation concern only minor points ; they aim at nothing but doing away with expressions which were either equivocal or too absolute, so as to mislead the reader as to what I really mean. Everyone knows how easily the preoccupation of one leading idea may carry even a cautious writer to an accidental use of expressions or statements which may distort in some way his real thought, and let it appear too affirmative, or too exclusive. I have tried my best to obviate this danger in the present, in the main, unaltered reproduction of this essay.



different ways. And, to sum up, we have to examine; (1), whether the monuments disclose differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word; (2), if beside dialectic peculiarities properly so called, they do not exhibit other peculiarities based on differences in the systems of orthography; and (3) if it is possible to draw, from the philological facts supplied by our texts, conclusions regarding the contemporary condition of the religious or learned, the Vedic or Sanskrit language. This would be the most logical order in which to deal with the matter, but I propose to discuss the second point first; so as to render the explanation, I hope, both clearer and shorter.

About one fact there can be no doubt:—Our inscriptions do not pretend to invariably represent in their integrity the sounds of the spoken language.

Proofs of this abound. The most general is that nowhere do they observe the rule of doubling homogeneous consonants.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the doubling of consonants, resulting from assimilation, e.g., *tt* in *atthi* for *asti*, *vva* in *savva* for *sarva*, &c., was really observable in pronunciation. It must have been the case no less at this epoch, than in the more recent period when it was graphically represented. Moreover, in the case of doubling a nasal, the duplication is duly marked by means of *anusvāra*, as in *dhāṇma*; and in several words, the sporadic prolongation of the preceding vowel, as in *dhāma* for *dharma*, *kāsati* for *\*karshyati*, *vāsa* for *varsha* is only an equivalent method, largely used to the present day, of expressing a real duplication. The same procedure is followed in texts of more recent date, as at Kaphêrî<sup>2</sup> (No. 15), where, in a single inscription, I find *dhāma*, *pāvata*, *sāva*, *ādha*.

But this is not all. The inscriptions in Indo-Bactrian characters, whether of the time of Aśoka or subsequent to him, do not distinguish graphically the long and the short vowels. This omission might be explained by the want of appropriate signs, but these signs would have been easy to create in an alphabet which has formed itself with the aid of so many conscious and learned additions. If these signs have not been added, it is certain that but small importance was attached to rendering exactly the various shades of pronunciation. The necessary signs existed in the Southern Alphabet, though neither at Khālsi, nor, I believe, at Bairāt or Rūpnāth, were they used for the *ī* or for the *ū*. So far as regards Khālsi, this might be accounted for by the influence of the north-west, which manifests itself here in several phenomena; but the fact would none the less remain that this practice shows not an exact imitation of the pronunciation, but an orthographical system which, at least in some measure, neglects it. Even the versions which do distinguish the long vowels, display so many inaccuracies that they themselves bear witness to the little care which was taken in making the distinction.

One of two things is evident. Either the distinction between long and short vowels survived in the current language, and the texts noted it insufficiently, or it had become lost in speech, and they endeavoured to restore it in writing. Both hypotheses would thus indicate a lax attention to the exact representation of sounds, and the second also a characteristic tendency towards a learned orthography.

Other inconsistencies lead us to an analogous conclusion.

The diphthong *ai* has disappeared in all the Prākṛit dialects with which we are acquainted, and it is no less a stranger to the inscriptions of Piyadasi. Yet Girnar gives us an example: *thēra*, Skr. *sthavira*, is there written *thaira*, and in one passage *trayōdaśa* is spelt *traidāśa*. Can we believe that the diphthong, lost elsewhere, has survived in these two unique instances? Must we not clearly recognize here a half-learned orthography, inspired by the memory of the etymological origin?

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, I cite the cave inscriptions by the numbers of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vols. IV. and V.



It is a universal rule in the Prākṛit, both in the dialects of the inscriptions and in the literary languages, that before *anusvāra* a long vowel becomes short. In four or five instances, however, the long vowel of Sanskrit is retained: *yātūn* (VIII, 1), *susrusatūn* (X, 2), *anuvi-dhiyatūn* (ibid.), *samachēratūn* (XIII, 7) at Gīrnar. It is plain that we have here purely and simply an orthography influenced by the learned language.

These last instances are mere accidents, but they enable us to judge better regarding those in which variations of orthography more nearly balance each other. In a certain number of consonantal groups composed of a mute and an *r*, instead of the disappearance of the *r*, compensated for by the doubling of the mute, we find at Gīrnar the etymological spelling, *pra*, *tra*, *sra*, *rva*, instead of *pa* (*ppa*), *ta* (*tta*), *sa* (*ssa*), *va* (*vva*). This spelling is by no means fixed, — as may be seen from a reference to the text of any single edict, — and it would be of little interest to quote here all the instances, one by one. It will be sufficient to state that we have the spelling *pra* about 45 times, as against the spelling *pa* 25 times: for *tra*, 30 times *ta*, 20 times *tra*: for *rva*, *rva* and *va* each about an equal number of times: for *bra*, once *bra*, against 6 or 7 times *ba*: once *sra* (for *rsa*, *rsa*), against once *sa*. Is it possible to contend that such an indifference represents the real spontaneous condition of the popular idiom, and that pronunciations corresponding to such different stages of phonetic decay, and that side by side in the same words, belonged actually to the same period of the normal development of the language? If it were possible to have any doubts on the point, it would be sufficient to refer to later facts in the linguistic history. When we read, in Hindi, *priya* beside *piya*, *putra* beside *pūta*, *brāhmaṇa* beside *bāmhana*, we have no hesitation. We know that the first of each of these pairs is an instance of learned orthography: that it is only a *tatsama*, that is to say, a word borrowed direct from Sanskrit, and restored to the current of the language. When in an inscription of the 24th year of Vāsithīputa Pulumāyi (Kārli No. 22, A. S.), we meet side by side the spellings *puttasya*, *sōvasakasya*, *vathavasya*, and *budhara-khitasa*, *upāsakasa*, *prajā*, *parigahē*, we are confident that these genitives in *asya*, this spelling of *prajā*, cannot, at such a period, have represented the true pronunciation of the people; that there also they are *tatsamas*. How can we avoid drawing the same conclusion from facts which, although more ancient, are none the less strictly analogous?

It is therefore certain that these Sanskritized forms do not represent the actual stage of the contemporary phonetic decay. One point, however, appears to be open to some doubt. The *tatsamas* of the modern languages actually enter into circulation, and that with either the ancient pronunciation, or with an approach to it. They are words of special origin, but at the same time real words of the current speech. The *tatsamas* of Mixed Sanskrit are, on the other hand, purely orthographical, for they belong to a purely literary language.<sup>3</sup> That is to say while, in the modern tongues, the loans from the ancient language only deal with bases, and consequently have no effect on the grammar, in the Sanskrit of the *Gāthās*, the imitations extend even to the inflexions, i. e. to elements which would escape any arbitrary action of the learned in a really living language.

In which of these two categories are we to class the *tatsamas* of Piyadasi? We must, I think, consider them in the same light as those of the dialect of the *Gāthās*, and recognise them as 'orthographic' *tatsamas*. The examples given above show that little heed was paid to accurately representing the pronunciation and that the etymological form was readily adopted in cases in which the vulgar pronunciation must have been markedly different. That is in itself a strong reason, but we shall see, besides, that the classical language had not yet been so developed into practical application at this epoch as to allow us to assume that it could have penetrated into the stream of popular use. Moreover, in the different versions of the texts, the proportion of these *tatsamas* is very unequal. If it were a case of forms readopted into current speech, such an inequality would be surprising; it is more easily explained by a

<sup>3</sup> I shall refer to the dialect of the *Gāthās* or Mixed Sanskrit in the following chapter.



local predominance of a special orthographical system, or rather of special orthographical tendencies.

The observations which still remain for me to make are of a kind to add further proof to these conclusions.

The orthography of Kapur di Giri, as in Saṅskṛit, distinguishes the three sibilants, *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*. Is it really the case that the dialect of this region retained a distinction which, if we are to judge from the parallel versions, was lost everywhere else? It is sufficient to record the irregularities accumulated in the distribution of these sibilants, to convince the reader that nothing of the sort occurred.

We read *s* instead of *ś* in *manuśa* (II, 4; 5) beside *manuśa* (XIII, 6), and in the futures which are formed in *śati* for *shyati*. We have *s* for *ś* in *yēsu* (XIII, 4), *arabhiyisu* (I, 2), beside *nikramishu*, &c., in *abhisita*, which is never written *abhisita*; and for *s* in *anusichano* (XIII, 2); *amaçhariya* (XIII, 8), *srēta* (I, 2); *ś* for *s* in *paṇḥashu* (III, 6), *śashu* (XIII, 8); *ś* for *s* in *anuśānanāḥ* (IV, 10), *anuśāśisānti* (ibid.). It cannot be imagined that this confusion may be referred to the real usage of the local dialect. It can only be accounted for by one theory, the only one which explains analogous mistakes, whether in manuscripts or in more modern Saṅskṛit inscriptions. The error of the engraver or of the scribe arises in both cases from the fact that he has before him a learned spelling, in the application of which he cannot be guided by the usage of the current dialect, because the distinctions he has to deal with are strangers to it. The locative *paṇḥashu*, a clumsy imitation of locatives in *ēshu*, is very characteristic as illustrating the way in which the sibilants were used at Kapur di Giri.

The fact must not be lost sight of that this method of writing is not an isolated example; it is borne witness to by other parallel ones, which leave us in no doubt as to what conclusions we are to draw from it. It is certain that the distinction between the sibilants did not exist in the dialect of the western coast; yet that does not prevent us finding all three at Nāsik (Nos. 1 & 2, A. S. iv, 114), in dedications, which in every other respect are couched in pure Prākṛit, not even in mixed Saṅskṛit. As at Kapur di Giri, a mistake, *sakasa* for *śakasa*, is there to warn us as to the true character of this use. It is the same in No. 27 of Kanhēri (A. S. v, 85), in which the pretension to learned orthography leads to such forms as *śunhānāḥ*, *sārvvaśat-vānāḥ*.

In the instances which we have just passed in review, we may perhaps be allowed to hesitate as to the origin of the spelling, though not as to the sound which it represents or is intended to represent; the problem becomes more thorny when we consider certain orthographical phenomena, which express accurately neither the learned form, nor the form adopted in popular usage; — which can, in some respects, be considered as intermediate between these two poles of linguistic movement.

Dr. Pischel\* has correctly pointed out that, at Kapur di Giri, the words which I have, according to precedent, transcribed as *dharma*, *darśi*, *darśana*, *karmaye*, *varsha*, *purva*, &c., are really written *dhrama*, *draśana*, &c., the *r* being joined to the consonant *dh*, *d*, &c. He adds that here, as in the coin-legends which observe the same method of spelling, this writing certainly represents a dialectic peculiarity, and that the people for whom the tables of Kapur di Giri were inscribed, actually pronounced the word as *dhrama*, *pruva*, &c. At this point I am unable to agree with his deductions.

He bases his argument specially on certain readings, such as *mruga*, equivalent to *mṛiga*, in the first edict of Kapur di Giri, *graha* and *dridha*, equivalent to *griha* and *dṛidha* in the 13th, *pariprachha*, equivalent to *pariprichchha* in the 8th, *vachha*, equivalent to *viksha*, in the 2nd edict of Girnar. He compares the forms *ru*, *ri*, *rā*, taken by the vowel *ri* in several modern dialects.

\* *Götting. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1891, p. 1316.



I think that this comparison, unless I am much mistaken, goes directly contrary to his conclusion. Modern forms like *graha*, *griha*, *mruga*, *mraṅga*, *mriga*, by the side of which we also find others such as *mirga*, &c., are in no way direct derivatives of the Sanskrit *mṛga*, but are *tatsamas*; that is, nothing but simple equivalents of the form *mṛga*, *griha*, which itself is also used in the modern languages. They are only instances of such approximate spelling as could be realized with the elements really existing in the popular language, instead of borrowing from the learned language a special sign, corresponding to a special pronunciation which has ceased to exist for more than two thousand years. In both cases, the situation is not only analogous, but is identical. I offer for both, one and the same explanation, — that which is incontestable for the more recent one: in *mruga*, *graha*, *driḍha*, *vraḥkha* of the inscriptions, I can see, as in *mriga*, *graha*, *draḍha*, *vraḥsha* or *vraḥkha* of existing languages, only *tatsamas*, loans really taken from the learned language, but represented by an orthography which, by the absence (whether voluntary or not) is of little importance at the present stage of the inquiry) of the sign for the vowel *ri*, was condemned to tentative and approximative devices. These examples in no way argue against my method of treating the groups *dhr*, *pr*, &c., in the words which I have quoted. On the contrary, they present certain precedents of a return towards the learned language, operating even at the price of imperfect orthographical expedients. It is exactly in the same light that we must consider the spellings which now occupy us.

In the first place, the state of affairs at Kapur di Giri, so far as concerns consonantal compounds including an *r*, strongly resembles that which we have established for Girnar. We find there *paṭi* beside *praṭi* (also *prati* and *paṭri*), *sava*, *savatra*, by the side of *sarvā*, *sarvaṇ*, *sarcatra*, &c. Without attempting to compile exact statistics, the fact is, in a general way, indisputable. It is natural to deduce from it the same conclusions as those to which we have come with regard to Girnar. We must not, therefore, treat the orthographical peculiarities of this language with absolute rigour. If the *r* in the words which we are discussing, is taken from the learned language by an arbitrary artifice of writing, why should we be astonished that the writers should have allowed themselves some liberty in the manner of representing it, when they have just as often taken the liberty of omitting it altogether? In Hindi the spellings *dharama*, *karama*, *gandhrava*, in no way correspond to any peculiar phonetic phenomena, but are merely equivalent modes of writing the *tatsamas* *dharma*, *karma*, *gandharva*.

Mr. Beames (*Compar. Gram.* I, 321) has quoted in the ancient Hindi of Chand, spellings such as *śrabba* (= *sarva*), *dhramma* (= *dharma*), *sōvranna* (= *suvarṇa*), *brana* (= *varṇa*), *brannand* (= *varṇand*), *prabata* (= *parvata*), *kramma* (= *karma*), *krana* (= *karṇa*), &c. I do not think that these examples can be appealed to against the argument, which I here maintain. It is more than clear that all these spellings were, at the time of Chand, loans taken from the vocabulary of the learned language. The doubling of the consonant in *śrabba*, *kramma*, &c., sufficiently proves that the true pronunciation of the people was *śabba*, *kamma*, &c. Different motives, metrical or otherwise, may have suggested these spellings, but they prove nothing as to the real pronunciation. Far from being contrary to my opinion, they supply, at a distance of some fifteen hundred years, a phenomenon, strictly comparable with that which we have shown to exist at Kapur di Giri. This resemblance of methods is explicable by the resemblance of the conditions which called them into being. In each case we have a language, which, not having as yet a regulated system of spelling, attempts, with groping and uncertainty, to approximate itself, by the simplest means available, to the practice of a language which enjoys a higher degree of reverence.

If we consider the facts by themselves, would this change of *dharma* to *dhrāma*, of *pūrva* to *pruva*, of *karma* to *krama* be likely or probable? I think not. Alongside of *pruva*, there is at least one passage (VI, 14), in which it seems clear that we must read *purva*. So also we find that coins wrote *varma* alongside of *dhrāma*; that by the side of *draśana* at Kapur di Giri, we have, at Girnar, an example of *darsana*. The form which all these words have invariably taken in the popular pronunciation, *dhanma*, *puvva*, *kahma*, *vassa* or *vāsa*, &c., depends uniformly on



a former pronunciation, *dharmā*, and not *dhrama*, *varā* and not *vrā* &c. If people said *arā*, why should they have said *prā*?

We should doubtless be glad to discover with certainty the cause of these inconsistencies; but our hesitation in this respect proves nothing against conclusions, which appear to me to be satisfactorily proved. It is no use counting all the variations in the mode of writing: by the side of *sarva*, we frequently have *sava*; *mīta* beside *mitra*, *puta* beside *putra*, &c., &c.; we find written *kirtī*, and *vaḍḍhātī*, *vaḍḍhita*, &c. It is not surprising that, in an orthography which is the arbitrary imitation of a learned pronunciation, a certain approximation should have appeared sufficient. The example of Gīrnār proves that we must not take the phonetic value of the signs too strictly. It is clear that in  $\delta$   $\text{ॐ}$  and in  $\text{ॐ}$   $\delta$  the same character  $\delta$  signifies at one time, *vra*, and at another time *rva*. Reasons of graphic convenience may have had their share of influence. A cursive sign for *r* following a consonant had been fixed at this epoch but they had not fixed one for an *r* preceding one. It is easy to prove this in the more recent inscriptions. They retained the first sign, and invented a new one for the second case (of the inscription of Sūś Vihar.<sup>5</sup>) The direct combination of the characters  $\text{ॐ}$  and  $\text{ॐ}$ ,  $\text{ॐ}$  and  $\text{ॐ}$  was sufficiently easy and symmetrical, but the combination of  $\text{ॐ}$  with  $\text{ॐ}$ ;  $\text{ॐ}$  &c., being more complicated, gave greater opportunities for confusion. Without doubt such a consideration can only have been a secondary one, but the special conditions under which, as I have pointed out, this spelling was applied with its etymological tendency, are precisely such as to make its action admissible. They rendered much less urgent both the invention of a new sign, and the use of compound letters which might be awkward to engrave.

We are thus led to recognise in certain cases a graphic method, which not only does not faithfully represent the real pronunciation, but which in endeavouring to approximate itself to etymological writing, treats it with a certain amount of freedom. This forms a very useful basis from which to judge, what is, in my opinion, a more difficult case. I refer to the groups  $\text{ॐ}$   $\text{ॐ}$ , and  $\text{ॐ}$  at Gīrnār, regarding which I regret to find that my conclusions did not meet with the concurrence of Dr. Pischel. This difference of opinion renders it necessary for me to complete the observations outlined on pages 26 and 29 of the Introduction to Vol. I. of the original work.

It is quite clear, as Dr. Pischel allows, that the appearance of the group  $\text{ॐ}$  will not help us to decide between the transcription *pta*, and the transcription *tpa*. Every one agrees in reading  $\text{ॐ}$  *st* and  $\text{ॐ}$  *st*. The exact position of the sign is therefore irrelevant. All the more has the question embarrassed the various commentators, and they have successively proposed various readings. The arguments invoked in favour of *pta* are far from convincing me. I cannot admit that the form *appā* for *ātman*<sup>6</sup> presupposed an intermediate *aptā*. The group *pt* regularly gives *tt* in Prakṛit, as in *gutta*. It is *tp* which gives *pp*, as in *uppala*. Now *apa* is the very form which the most modern inscriptions of the west, near Gīrnār, regularly give us for *ātman*, and I do not think that any one would suggest a pronunciation *aptā* as necessarily intermediate between *ātmā* and *attā*. It is in the same way that *chattārō* is derived directly from *chateārō*, like *satta* from *satva*, and *atta* from *atvā* for *ātmā*. If, under the influence of *t*, the *v* of *atvā* can have become a *p*, the same phenomenon is equally explicable in *chatpārō* for *chateārō*, and *ārabhitpā* for *ārabhitvā*.

<sup>5</sup> For example  $\text{ॐ}$  = *rya*. We catch, I think, this new notation in course of formation in instances such as the sign  $\text{ॐ}$  = *rkhe* (*arkhēviya*) of the coins of Archobios (cf. Sallet, *Die Nachf. Alexanders*, p. 113).

<sup>6</sup> Note by translator.—The following extracts from the statistical portion of this chapter, previously published, see ante, pp. 3 and 10, will assist the reader in following the argument.

GĪRNĀR.—*tm* becomes *tp* in *ṭpa*, XII, 3, 4, 5, 6.  
*to* becomes *tp*: *al'chētpā*, XIV, 6; *ārabhitpā*, I, 3; *chatpārī*, XIII, 3; *dasayitpā*, IV, 4; *hitatpā*, VI, 11; *piṇit'itpā*, X, 4; *taditpan*, X, 1; it becomes *t* in *satiyaput*, II, 2.

KĀPUR DI GĪRĪ.—*tm* becomes *t* in *ala*, XII, passim.  
*tr* becomes *t*.



This being said, while I uphold the transcription *tpa*, after Burnouf and (as Dr. Pischel very properly reminds me) Signor Ascoli, I admit that I can produce no decisive facts to prove that this spelling represents something different from its apparent pronunciation. Neither the use, which Dr. Kern has pointed out, of the Javanese spelling of the group *tp* to express simply the sound *tt*, nor the analogous instances, have any demonstrative force. Nevertheless, the phonetic conditions which Girnar displays in other respects are not such as to lead us to believe that at this epoch, the contact of two mutes, like *tp*, could have been tolerated by the language without assimilation. Several traits, which would seem to prove the more archaic character of the language of Girnar, disappear if we consider them in their true light as simple graphic restorations, and it would be very improbable that a language which so invariably assimilates mutes when they are primitive, as in *samata*, *guti*, &c., should have, at the same time, preserved their original power for groups of secondary mutes, resulting from an earlier phonetic alteration. Without, therefore, being in a position to furnish categorical proof of my opinion, I cannot refrain from being impressed with this belief that the group *tp* at Girnar represents *pp* as its real pronunciation, the etymological origin of which is shadowed forth in the writing by an artifice, which has, so to speak, been arrested half way.

As regards the groups *st*, *st*, I have the same good fortune to be in accord with Signor Ascoli, and the same regrets that I cannot agree with Dr. Pischel. I know, and I have expressly stated, that Hémachandra (IV, 290, 291) teaches in Māgadhi the spellings *st* for *ṣṭa* and *st* for *ṣṭh* of Sāṅskṛit, and *st* for *sth* and *rih*.<sup>†</sup> Dr. Pischel draws attention to the fact that the *Mṛichehha-kasī* has forms like *bhaṣṭaka*, *chiṣṭadi*. I do not wish to insist upon reasons which depend somewhat on individual impression; but I cannot easily believe in dialectic forms such as *pasṭa* for *paṣṭa*, *asta* for *artha*. They are phonetic modifications so isolated, as far as I can see, on Hindū soil, that it seems to me very difficult to admit their existence; but I recognize that such a scruple has no demonstrative force. We shall at least see from what I shall have occasion to say regarding the Prākṛit of the grammarians, that they are entitled to but very weak authority as regards the exact state of the popular language, above all at the epoch with which we are now dealing; and here, for example, the evidence of Hémachandra may very well be taken as only indicating the more or less accidental retention, the more or less arbitrary application, of an archaic spelling. At the same time it must be remembered that the facts thus quoted, agree but imperfectly with those with which it is desired to compare them. Hémachandra mentions this spelling as peculiar to Māgadhi, and we are asked to recognise it again at the other end of India, in Surāshṭra; we do not find it anywhere in the other versions of our inscriptions, which, owing to several significant traits, the nominative in *ḷ*, the substitution of *l* for *r*, may fairly claim relationship with Māgadhi. This is not of a nature to give strength to the authority of the grammarians, at least as regards their geographical terminology.

<sup>†</sup> Note by translator.—As this is not printed together with the statistical portion of the chapter which has already been given *ante*, pp. 3, 4 and pp. 10, 11, the following extracts from that portion will assist the reader to understand what follows.

GIRNAR. — *tḥ* becomes *st* in *uṣṭāno*, VI, 9, 10.

*rih* becomes *th*, as *atha*, *passim*.

*st* becomes *st*: *rāṣṭika* V, 5.

*st* becomes *st*: *adhīṣṭāna*, V, 4; *st*, IV, 10; *niṣṭāna*, IX, 6; *tistānt*, IV, 9; *tistīya*, VI, 13.

*st* is preserved: *ast* *passim*, &c.; — it becomes *st* in *anuvast*, VIII, 4, al.

*st* becomes *st* in *gharastāni*, XII, 1; — and *st* in *stīta*, VI, 4.

KAPUR DI GIRI.

*tt* becomes cerebralised into *t* under the influence of an *r*-sound, in *dharmavutaṃ*, XIII, 10; *nivatiya*, IX, 19.

*tḥ* is written both *tḥ* and *th* in *uthāna*, VI, 15.

*st* usually gives us *th* (*aṭha*, *passim*), but also *th* (*athān*, IX, 20; *anathāshu*, V, 12).

*st* is written *st* in *raṣṭikanam*, V, 12.

*st* is written *th* in *stīṣṭha* IV, 10; *th* in *tisth*, IX, 20, *adhithan*, V, 13; and *st* in *erista*, I, 2, and *tistiti*, IV, 10.

*st* remains unchanged, whether written with the special sign to which Dr. Bühler appears to have given its true value, or with the group *st* as in *samstuta*, IX, 19.

*st* becomes *th*: *chirathitika*, V, 13; *grathana*, XIII, 4; and also *th*, *grathani*, XII, 1.



The groups which the grammarian expressly writes *st*, with the dental *s* (cf. *Sūtra* 289), the *Mrichchhakaṣi*, extending the use of the palatal *ś* peculiar to Māgadhī, writes *śt*, and the verb *tishṭhati*, for which the spelling *chishṭhadi* is expressly enjoined by *Sūtra* 298, is written in the drama *chishṭadi* (Pischel, loc. cit.). Between the grammarian and our inscriptions there is a still wider discord: *śt* is no more written *st* at Girnar, than *rth* is written *st*.

The mere observation of facts such as those which exist at Girnar would be sufficient to awaken our scruples. I find it difficult to believe, as Dr. Pischel has ingeniously suggested, that the absence of the aspiration in *stīta* and *sēṣa*, are a direct inheritance from the primitive period which existed before the birth of the secondary aspiration of Vedic Sanskrit. Should we further conclude that the word *sresta* at Kapur di Giri (1st edict) is also a witness of this same period, when the sibilant *sh* and the other cerebrals had not as yet developed? As for claiming the same antiquity for the Pāli form *aṭṭa* (equivalent to *arta*) for *artha*, the uniform use of the aspirate in all our versions is far from favouring this conjecture. In any case, the Pāli spelling *aṭṭa* being uniformly absent from all our inscriptions cannot be relied upon as a basis for the archaic origin of the *t* in *stīta*. I therefore consider that I am right in doubting whether the popular pronunciation had really eliminated the aspiration, in a case in which, as everyone knows, as everyone can judge by a reference to Prakṛit orthography, the consonant is invariably aspirated, even when the aspiration is not original, i.e., when Sanskrit does not write it as aspirated. Is it really to be believed that the people pronounced *ustāna* (Girnar, VI, 9, 10), when the assimilated form *utthāna* is the only one used, even in the learned language and in its system of etymological spelling? If they really did pronounce *stāna*, *stīta*, can *ustāna* be considered as anything but a purely orthographical approximation to these words, guided and determined by the feeling of etymology? The forms *anusasṭi* (for *anusasti*, the only probable one) beside *sahstuta*, *gharastāni* (instead of *stāni*), beside *stīta*, and at Kapur di Giri, *srēṣṭa* (instead of *śrēṣṭa*) by the side of *śrēṣṭam* (IV, 10), *tistiti* beside *tithē* and *adhithana* (V, 12; al.), *dipista* beside *aṭṭa* (= *astṭa*) are as many errors which it would be hard to explain if we considered the orthography as an actual expression of the existing pronunciation.

Now, Girnar is comparatively near the tract which furnishes us numerous inscriptions for the period following. Would it not be surprising that in none of them, not even in the most ancient, at Sāñchī and at Nānāghāt, has a single trace of so significant a dialectic peculiarity been discovered? What we do find is at Sāñchī (No. 160), the proper name *dhamaṣṭhīri*, while in all the analogous instances, *stṣhin*,<sup>8</sup> &c., the assimilation is carried out. Again at Kārli (No. 22), in a text of the time of Vāsīṭhīputa Sātakaṇi, we find *hitasughasth[ś]tay[ś]*, beside *nīṭhītō*. In this instance forms such as *puttasya*, *sōvasakasya* beside *budharakhitasa*, *upāsakasa*, leave no doubt as to the nature of the spelling. We have here a text couched half in Prakṛit, half in mixed Sanskrit, and we know, without any hesitation, that the spelling *stṣhī* is a *tatsama*, or, which comes to the same thing, an instance of learned orthography. Does not all analogy, every probability, compel us to accept the same conclusion for Girnar?

It is true that this mode of writing, *st* and *st*, appears at Girnar with a certain regularity, but this should not mislead us, after the facts which we have already pointed out regarding groups which contain an *r*.<sup>9</sup> I maintain that *st* and *st* are conservative methods of spelling the groups *tth* and *stth* which arise in Prakṛit from a dental or cerebral sibilant followed by its mute. They have been extended to groups originating from *sth* and *stth* (that is to say a dental or cerebral sibilant followed by an aspirated mute), for the very simple reason that, in the assimilation of Prakṛit these groups result in the same pronunciation as do *st* and *stth*. From

<sup>8</sup> I do not speak of *chīṭhītika* in the inscription of Piyadasi. It is in Māgadhī, and, as we shall see, cannot be taken as an authority for the local dialect.

<sup>9</sup> At Kapur di Giri, the analysis, *st*, which Dr. Bühler has proved for a sign hitherto generally read *th*, has drawn the spelling of the word *sresta* from its isolation: but the inconsistencies which have been cited above in the transcriptions of the Sanskrit groups *stth*, *stth*, still remain not one whit less characteristic and instructive.



this point of view, anomalies like *uṣṭāna* and *anusasṭi* can be easily explained. *uṣṭāna* is only another way of spelling *uṣṭhāna*. The cerebralization, for which *anusasṭi* supplies no pretext, could creep into the pronunciation of *anusatthi* under the influence of the analogy which it suggests with forms like *sifṭha*, *anusifṭha*. A practice of this kind, extending even to words in which it has no etymological justification, is certainly not without example in Hindi usage. I content myself with quoting the use of the groups *gr*, *tr* in Jain Prakṛit,<sup>10</sup> used to represent merely a doubled *g* or *t*, and that even when it is not justified by etymology, — in *pōgralā*, i. e. *pōggalā* (*pudgalā*), as well as in *udagra*. Prof. Weber has not on this account dreamed of suggesting that the pronunciation *ugra*, *udagra* has been preserved, but very rightly concludes that we must everywhere read *gga*.

The preceding remarks do not exhaust the instances in which we are permitted to infer that the orthography of the Edicts of Piyadasi is not strictly phonetic. Other spellings deserve, from this point of view, to be noticed here. Some are significant by their very character and by their inconsistencies; others, either better preserved or altered more than the mean level of phonetic decay permits, reveal in turn either an accidental imitation of the cultivated idiom, or the contemporary existence of a popular language into which the mode of writing of our inscriptions artificially introduces a regularity unknown in practice.

In the first category is contained the use of  $\ddot{\text{t}}$ . This brings me again to Dr. Pischel's remarks. I must confess that I can no longer hold to the opinion, originally expressed by me, that the sign  $\ddot{\text{t}}$  at Khālsi was only another form of  $\text{+}$ . I admit that this sign, literally *kya*, corresponds to a special shade of pronunciation, although it does not appear to be easy to define it. The concurrence of the forms *kaliṅgyā*, *kaliṅgyāsu*, *kaliṅgyāni*, which Dr. Bühler has been the first to identify at Khālsi (XIII, 5, 6), does not throw much light on the problem; but to whatever conclusion we are led, it will remain none the less certain that the engravers have displayed a singular inconsistency. According to Dr. Pischel himself, beside seventeen instances in which the suffix *ika* is written *ikya*, there are seven in which the spelling *ika* is retained. It is very clear that one or other of these two methods of writing does not accord with the exact pronunciation. What are we to say about the Delhi inscriptions, in which we find  $\ddot{\text{k}}$  in two isolated examples, in *ambāvādīkā* and *adhakōśīkāni* (Col. Ed. VII-VIII, 2), whereas everywhere else the suffix invariably retains the form *ika*?

I confess that I find some difficulty in avoiding an explanation, which, at the first glance, will appear singular and rash. In various coins of Spalagadama, of Spalirisos (Sallet, p. 154), and of Gondophares (p. 169), we find *dharmiasa* side by side with the ordinary form *dharmikasa*. On the other hand, the coins of Lysias (*ibid.* p. 154) have alternately *lisikasa* and *lisiyasa*. The pronunciations *ika* and *iya* do not appear to have belonged to the same period of phonetic development, and it is tempting to conclude that the popular pronunciation was *iya*, (or *ia*, which is the same thing), of which *ika* represents the learned spelling; that, in fact, people read the latter *iya*, as seems to be proved by the writing *lisikasa* for *lisiyasa*. The sign  $\ddot{\text{t}}$  ought hence to be considered as a compromise between the real pronunciation, indicated by the *y*, and the *tatsama* orthography represented by the *k*. The spelling *aliṣasādala* must be explained by some play of etymology, which, in order to lend to the foreign name a Hindi appearance, seems to have sought in the first portion of the word for the Prakṛit *alika*, *aliya*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *alika*. I do not underrate the difficulties of this solution. If it were certain, it would lend a singular confirmation to my method of considering the orthography of our inscriptions, but I recognise that it is in no way certain. I only put it forward as a conjecture, which is, in my opinion, a likely one, and I do not propose to take advantage of it elsewhere for any more general conclusions. If we neglect it, and content ourselves with a simple statement of the facts, we find at all events that, at least in this particular point, the

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Weber. *Bhagavatt*, pp. 357 and ff.



spelling of our inscriptions, not being consistent with itself, does not endeavour to accurately present the pronunciation.<sup>11</sup>

Kapur di Giri in several instances uses *j* and *y*, the one for the other: *ja[m]* (equivalent to *ya*), ., 11; *anijah*, VI, 16; *samaya*, I, 2; *kaubôya*, V, 12; XIII, 9; *raya*, V, 11; VI, 14; IX, 18; X, 21; XI, 23; XIII, 1, beside *raja*, VIII, 17, &c. Perhaps even at Girnar we find an analogous case, if we must really really read (XII, 7) *sruñēju*, for *sruñdju*, equivalent to *sruñēyu*. At any rate, *ñayāsu* for *niyāsu*, is purely sporadic, contrary to analogy, and, to all appearance, an arbitrary spelling.

These exceptional spellings follow a double direction. Several bear witness to an effort to approach the etymological forms. For instance, *sudvisati*, against all analogy, retains its final consonant. No one can doubt that Dhauli and Jaugada represent exactly the same dialect, and the same pronunciation, and hence *ekatiya* at Jaugada (I, 2) and *sahmyāpaṭipati* (IX, 16), as compared with *ekacha* and *sahmā* at Dhauli, can only be taken as kinds of *tatamas*. So also with forms like *akasmā* at Dhauli. *Adhigichya*, equivalent to *adhikṛtiya*, for *adhigicha*, at Bhabra, shews us an orthography which is undecided and hesitating.

In other places the writing betrays by inadvertencies that the phonetic level of the spoken language has already fallen below that which is usually marked by the ruling habits of the written one. I refer to softenings like *adhigichya* for *adhikṛtiya* at Bhabra, *libi* alongside of *lipi* at Delhi, *lôga*, *lôgika*, *lahēyu* at Jaugada, or, inversely, to irregular hardenings such as *kaubôcha* at Dhauli, *paṭipātayati* at Jaugada, *paḍham* at Kapur di Giri, or, again, isolated inflexions like *janāo* at Khālsi, *mahiddyo* at Girnar.

It would not be impossible to increase the number of indications of this nature; but, neither the condition of the monuments, nor the accuracy of our facsimiles, would allow us to attain to complete statistics. I stop myself here, and proceed to sum up.

<sup>11</sup> The translator ventures to take the liberty of appending the following note by him on this character, which originally appeared in the *Academy* for October 1890:—

This character has excited considerable controversy. It is admittedly a compound of the sign for *k* and the sign for *y*, and, graphically, it represents *kya*. In the Khālsi inscription it is substituted (but by no means uniformly) for the *k* which we should expect in the termination *ikā*; and it also occurs in the foreign word *alīkyasādala*. It is also found twice in the Delhi columnar inscription. All scholars agree that no completely satisfactory explanation has been given for this form. It seems to me that the following is not unreasonable.

The spelling of Piyadasi's inscriptions presents several instances of false analogy. M. Senart has given strong reasons for believing that when Piyadasi at Girnar wrote *ś*, he meant to represent the sound *ṣṣ*. It was a mistaken attempt to revive an old-fashioned spelling. The scribe knew that Sanskrit *ś* became *ṣṣ* in Prakrit, and hence wrongly assumed that every Prakrit *ṣṣ* was derived from *ś*. Therefore, to shew his learning, whenever he came to a *ṣṣ*, he wrote it *ś*, even in cases when *ṣṣ* represented not *ś*, but *ṣṣ*.

I think that this *īkya* is a similar instance of false analogy. The Māgadhi Prakrit termination *ikā* is liable to have its penultimate vowel lengthened, thus, *ikā*. Then, by a well-known rule, the *i* can again be shortened, the consonant following being at the same time doubled in compensation, thus, *ikkā*. Instances of this are not uncommon in literature; and, judging from the modern languages of India, must have been extremely common in conversation. Prakrit examples will be found in § 203 of Dr. Hoernle's *Gauḍian Grammar* and I need not quote them here. As the Khālsi and the Delhi inscriptions were written in Piyadasi's Māgadhi dialect, we need not be surprised if we find this doubling occurring in them too.

Now Sanskrit *īkya* does become *ikkā* in Prakrit; and I believe that the scribe, coming upon an *ikkā* with a totally different derivation of which he was ignorant, and wishing to shew his learning, represented that *ikkā* also by *īkya*, just as his brother at Girnar represented *ṣṣ* by *ś*, even when it had nothing whatever to do with that compound. If we assume, as suggested by M. Senart, that the scribe endeavoured to connect the foreign word *Alīkyasādala* with the Sanskrit *alīka* (an instance of a common kind of word-play in Sanskrit literature), we find an additional confirmation of my suggestion. The *i* in *alīka* is long; its being shortened shews that the word must have been pronounced *alīkka* in Piyadasi's time. Accordingly, the engraver, coming upon another *kk*, followed his custom and wrote it *kya*.

It will be observed that this accounts for the want of uniformity with which *kya* appears in Piyadasi's inscriptions. M. Senart shews that at Khālsi *īkyā* occurs seventeen and *ikā* seven times. At Delhi there are only two instances of *īkyā*, *ikā* being used everywhere else. So, also, in Māgadhi Prakrit both the terminations *ikkā* and *ikā* appear to have been concurrently and indifferently used, just as at the present day a man of Magadha will say in the same breath, *chhoṭakā* and *chhoṭakkā*, *tanikā* and *tanikkā*, *tanukā* and *tanukkā*.— G. A. G.



It is certain that the orthography of our inscriptions does not always exactly reflect the actual pronunciation. It is unequal to the task when it neglects to notice double consonants or long vowels, and it overshoots the mark when, at Girnar, it retains a long vowel, either before *anuvāra*, or before a group of consonants. Besides this, it elsewhere gives evidence, as, for example, in the notation of the groups which contain an *r*, of a significant indifference in regard to phonic expressions which belong to diverse periods of the development of the language. It is, therefore, sure that this orthography, in a certain number of cases, obeyed (as we call them) learned historic influences. Like the modern languages, like the mixed Sanskrit of the *Gāthās*, it is full of words or methods of writing, which constitute so many graphic *tatsamas*, and which consequently form an artificial and learned element. There is no ground for citing against this proposition the ignorance of the engravers. They may be responsible for certain material errors, for certain inconsistencies, but not for a system of orthography. They applied that system, it is true, but, however imperfect it may have been, it must have been founded by persons who were educated, skilled men. Even at the present day, it is evidently the learned caste that takes these loans, which, entering the popular language, gradually extend themselves to the most ignorant. In its generality, therefore, the principle appears to me to be unassailable, and those facts, which are certain, justify by themselves important conclusions as regards the light in which we should consider the language of our inscriptions.

Other facts, such as those which concern the groups *st*, *sf*, *tp* at Girnar, allow more room for contradiction, and I only claim probability for my opinion regarding them. I have merely one more observation to add. It is specially at Girnar and at Kapur di Giri that we meet these semi-historic modes of writing. If my interpretation of them is accepted as correct, they will add seriously to the balance in favour of the conclusion to which the undisputed facts tend.

This conclusion has a corollary. It implies that the differences of dialect between the popular languages, which are reflected by the various versions of our inscription, are less decided than we should at first be induced to consider them, judging from the appearance of the orthographies. If they are really separated by some characteristics, they have, in general, arrived at nearly equivalent stages of phonetic corruption. The more prominent points of difference, which attract our attention at first sight, have their origin in tendencies, more or less accidental, of word-borrowing or of modes of writing, — in the greater or less use of *tatsamas*. This result is in itself *a priori* so probable, that it might almost be invoked in favour of the conclusions which I have endeavoured to establish. It is, assuredly, scarcely probable that, by its mere natural movement, by its spontaneous development, the same language should, in the same time, have reached, in neighbouring provinces, stages of decay so unequal as a comparison between the orthography of Girnar and, for example, that of Khālsi would suggest. The views which I have put forward explain this anomaly. For inadmissible inequalities of phonetic development they substitute the very simple notion of different orthographic systems in parallel use in different regions. If, as everything tends to shew, the epoch to which our inscriptions belonged was still, so far as regards the art of writing in India, a period of feeling the way and of uncertainty, if it is anterior to the regularisation or at least to the general expansion of the Sanskrit orthography and to the codification of the literary Prakṛits, the parallel existence of these divergent imperfectly established systems is easily explained. I shall shortly indicate what circumstances seem to have conduced to favour their geographical distribution in the manner to which witness is borne by the evidence of our monuments. These circumstances equally concern the distribution of the dialectic differences properly so called.

(To be continued.)



## BHADRABĀHU, CHANDRAGUPTA, AND SRAVAṆA-BELGOLA.

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

In the first fifteen pages of the Introduction to his *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgola* (published in 1889), Mr. Rice has arrived at the conclusions, that the settlement of the Jains at that place was brought about by the last of the *Sruta-Kēvalins*, Bhadrabāhu, and that this person died there, tended in his last moments by the Maurya king Chandragupta, — the Sandrokottos of the Greek historians, — the grandfather of Aśoka. These conclusions, if they could be accepted as correct, would possess considerable interest. And it is worth while, therefore, to examine the grounds upon which they are based.

It is clear that there are local traditions, of some antiquity, connecting the names Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta with Sravaṇa-Belgola. Thus: — Of the two hills at Sravaṇa-Belgola, the smaller one, Chandragiri, is said to derive its appellation from the fact that Chandragupta was the name of the first of the saints who lived and performed penance there (*Introd.* p. 1). On this hill there is a cave which is known as the cave of Bhadrabāhusvāmin; and also a shrine which is called the Chandragupta-basti (*ibid.* p. 2, and map). Two inscriptions, said to be of the ninth century, found near the Gautama-kshētra of the river Kāvēri at Seringapatam, speak of the hill at Sravaṇa-Belgola as having its summit marked by the impress of the feet of Bhadrabāhu and the Munipati Chandragupta (*ibid.* p. 2, note 6). At Sravaṇa-Belgola itself, inscription No. 17, of about the seventh century A. D., mentions "the pair Bhadrabāhu, together with the Munindra Chandragupta." And inscription No. 71, of considerably later date, refers to worship being done to the foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu.

So far, we stand on safe ground, in respect of the names of a Bhadrabāhu and a Chandragupta; provided that we only bear in mind that, as yet, we have nothing to enable us to identify any particular Bhadrabāhu and any particular Chandragupta.

We turn next to inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgola, which undoubtedly mention Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *Sruta-Kēvalins*. No. 40, of A. D. 1163, speaks of "Gautama" [the first of the *Kēvalins*], "in whose line arose "Bhadrabāhu, the last among the *Sruta-Kēvalins*; his disciple was Chandragupta, whose "glory was such that his own *gaṇa* of *Munis* was worshipped by the forest-deities:"<sup>1</sup> and then, after a break, it takes up a line of succession, placed in the lineage (*anvaya*) of Chandragupta, beginning with the *Munīśvara* Koṇḍakunda,<sup>2</sup> whose original name was Padmanandin. No. 54, of A. D. 1128, again mentions Gautama, the *Sruta-Kēvalin*, Bhadrabāhu (apparently the *Sruta-Kēvalin* of that name), and Chandragupta, "who, by being his disciple, acquired such merit as to be served for a long time by the forest-deities;" and then, like the preceding, after a break, it takes up the succession beginning with Koṇḍakunda. No. 105, of A. D. 1398, dealing similarly with the succession from Koṇḍakunda, enumerates, before him, a number of teachers, in respect of whom, for present purposes, it is only necessary to say that the *Kēvalin* Gautama, and five *Sruta-Kēvalins*, ending with Bhadrabāhu, are mentioned, but the name of Chandragupta does not occur at all. And No. 108, of A. D. 1433, mentions Gautama; in his line, the *Yatindra* Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *Sruta-Kēvalins*; his disciple, Chandragupta; and, in the line of the latter, the *Munindra* Koṇḍakunda, whose succession is then continued, as in the other records.

<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned, in connection with an altogether different matter of some interest, that, in the further succession of disciples, this inscription mentions one whose original name was Dēvanandin; who was called Jinendra-buddhi, on account of his great learning; who was called Pūjyapāda, because his feet were worshipped by gods; and who composed the *Jainendra-grammar*.

<sup>2</sup> I give this name as it stands in Mr. Rice's text, — Koṇḍakunda, in Nos. 40, 54, and 105, and Kuṇḍakunda in No. 108. The variation in the vowel of the first syllable is not material. There is a question as to the proper consonants in the second and fourth syllables. For several variants of the name, see Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 158, note 2. In the *pāṭṭavallī* of the *Sarasvatī-Gacchhā*, it appears as Kundakunda (*ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 351, 356).



These inscriptions undoubtedly mention Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *Sruta-Kēvalins*, and allot to him a disciple named Chandragupta. And all that we have to note here, is, that, except through the connected mention of a Chandragupta, they afford no grounds for identifying him with the Bhadrabāhu of the inscriptions quoted in the last paragraph but two above; that they furnish no reasons for asserting that the *Sruta-Kēvalin* Bhadrabāhu ever visited Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, or even came to Southern India at all; and that they give no indications of Chandragupta having been anything but an ordinary Jain teacher.

And now we come to the actual reasons that led Mr. Rice to assert the alleged facts which, in the interests of plain and reliable history, it is desirable either to substantiate or to disprove. They are to be found, partly in a compendium of Jain history called the *Rājavalīkathē*, and partly in Mr. Rice's rendering of another inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, No. 1 in his book.

The essence of what the *Rājavalīkathē* tells us is this (*loc. cit.* pp. 3-6): — "The Bhadrabāhu who came to be the last of the *Sruta-Kēvalins*, was a Brāhmaṇ's son, and was born at Kōṭikapura in Puṇḍravardham. He interpreted sixteen dreams of Chandragupta, the king of Pāṭaliputra; the last of which indicated twelve years of dearth and famine. On the commencement of the famine, Chandragupta abdicated in favour of his son Siṃhasēna, and, taking initiation in the Jain faith, joined himself to Bhadrabāhu. Bhadrabāhu, having collected a body of twelve thousand disciples, migrated to the south, and came to a hill in the Karnaṭaka country. There he perceived that his end was approaching; and so, giving *upadēśa* to Viśākhāchārya, he committed all the disciples to his care, and sent them on to the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. He himself remained on the hill, and died in a cave there, tended only by Chandragupta, who performed the funeral rites, and abode there, worshipping the foot-prints of the deceased saint. After a time, Siṃhasēna's son, Bhāskara, came to the place, and did obeisance to Chandragupta, and built the city of Belgoḷa near the hill. And eventually, Chandragupta himself died there."

In connection with this account, — the value of which most people will be able to appreciate for themselves, — it is sufficient to point out two things. One is, that, whatever may be the sources on which it is based, this Jain compendium is a composition of the present century (*loc. cit.* p. 3). And the other is that, by a further extract from the same work, we learn (*ibid.* p. 9) that the Chandragupta in question was not the well-known grandfather of Aśoka, — the Sandrokkotos of the Greeks, — at all, but a son, otherwise quite unknown, of Aśoka's son Kunāla. Mr. Rice himself noticed this little difficulty, and got round it by suggesting (*ibid.* p. 10) that 'the introduction of two Chandraguptas seems to be due to some confusion in the traditions, and is an unnecessary variation, perhaps intended to conceal the defection of Aśoka (from Jainism to the Buddhist faith).' But, by such a process as this, — accepting as reliable an account that is perfectly valueless for historical purposes, and then directly perverting its statement, on a point of leading importance, by deliberately substituting a man's grandfather in the place of his grandson, — almost anything whatever in the way of imaginary history might be evolved.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Rice through the process by which, using what seems to be an actual fact, *viz.* that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *Sruta-Kēvalins*, was a contemporary of the great Chandragupta, he arrived (*loc. cit.* pp. 12, 14) at about B. C. 297 for the date of the events recorded, on his interpretation, in the inscription that still remains to be considered; or through the steps by which he established a connection of the real Chandragupta with Southern India through the Early Guptas, the Mauryas of the Koṅkan, and the Gatta chieftains of the Kanarese country (*ibid.* pp. 10-14). We will turn now to the inscription itself.

The real purport of the inscription, No. 1 in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa volume, is as



follows: — "After the time when (the Jain *Tīrthamkara*) Mahāvira attained *parinirvāṇa*, there "was a certain Bhadrabāhusvāmin, who belonged to a lineage that had been made illustrious "by a succession of great saints who came in continuous order from the venerable *Paramarshi* "Gautama, and his disciple Lohārya, and Jambu, Vishṇudēva, Aparājita, Gōvardhana, Bhadrabāhu, Viśākha, Prōsthila, Kṛittikārya,<sup>3</sup> Jayanāman, Siddhārtha, Dhṛitishēṇa, Buddhila, and "other *Gurus*. At Ujjayini, the Bhadrabāhusvāmin, thus introduced, mastered the science of "prognostication, became a knower of the past, the present, and the future, and announced a "period of distress that would last for twelve years; and the entire *saṃgha* set out from the "north and migrated to the south, and, by the directions of the saint, came to a country "containing many hundreds of villages, and rich in people, wealth, gold, grain, cows, buffaloes, "and goats. Then, on the mountain Kaṭavapra,<sup>4</sup> the *Āchārya* Prabhāchandra, perceiving "that the end of his life was very near, and being much afraid of journeying any further, "dismissed the whole *saṃgha*, with the exception of one unnamed disciple, and engaged in "*saṃnyāsa* until he died."

In interpreting this record, Mr. Rice made two important mistakes. (1) He took the Bhadrabāhusvāmin who announced the period of distress, to be identical with Bhadrabāhu I., the *Sruta-Kēvalin*, who is mentioned in his proper place between Gōvardhana and Viśākha. But, according to the inscription itself, seven of the *Dvā-Pārvas*, and after them a break of unspecified duration, intervened between the two Bhadrabāhus, — in perfect accordance with the lists of Northern India. And (2), in consequence of a mislection in line 6, he translated the inscription as meaning that the *Āchārya* who died at Kaṭavapra, was Bhadrabāhusvāmin himself, i. e., as the result of his identification, Bhadrabāhu I., the *Sruta-Kēvalin*, and that the disciple who tended him was Prabhāchandra; to which he attached a note that Prabhāchandra was explained to him as the clerical name assumed by Chandragupta.<sup>5</sup> But all this is distinctly not the case; the reading, in line 6, is, — not *āchāryyaḥ Prabhāchandrō nām=āvanitala*<sup>6</sup>, "the *Āchārya*, with<sup>6</sup> Prabhāchandra also, [dismissed the *saṃgha*, and engaged in *saṃnyāsa* till he died], — but *āchāryyaḥ Prabhāchandrō nām=āvanitala*<sup>6</sup>, "the *Āchārya*, namely Prabhāchandra, [dismissed the *saṃgha* and engaged in *saṃnyāsa* till he died]."

In short, so far from recording that the *Sruta-Kēvalin* Bhadrabāhu died at Sravaṇa Belgola, tended by a disciple named Prabhāchandra, who might be assumed to be king Chandragupta of Pātaliputra, the inscription simply states that an *Āchārya* named Prabhāchandra died there, during or shortly after a migration of the Jain community to the south, which was caused by an announcement of famine made, at Ujjain, by a certain Bhadrabāhusvāmin who came after an interval of unspecified duration, — but plainly a long one, — after the *Sruta-Kēvalin* Bhadrabāhu. And thus the only possible substantial foundation for the fabric reared up by Mr. Rice ceases entirely to exist.

We may now proceed to examine the real historical bearings of this inscription. It

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Rice gives "Kshatrikārya." I do not overlook the fact that the name occurs as "Kshatriya" in No. 105 in Mr. Rice's book, and in the extract from the *Māghanandi-Srāvakāchāra* given *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 22, and as "Khatriya," explained by "Kshatriya," in the *pañcāvali* of the *Sarasvatī-Gacchha* (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 348). But Mr. Rice's lithograph distinctly has the name that I give. — Since writing these remarks, I have seen impressions of the inscription, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch. They shew that the name really is Kṛittikārya.

<sup>4</sup> The original says, "on this mountain named Kaṭavapra"; i. e. on the hill on which the inscription is engraved, i. e. on Chandragiri itself.

<sup>5</sup> See also *Introd.* pp. 6, 7, where, however, he says only that, "according to No. 1," i. e. the present inscription, Chandragupta "appears" to have taken the name of Prabhāchandra on retiring from the world, in conformity with custom.

<sup>6</sup> The passage was supposed to include the word *and*, in the sense of *saha*. — The inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1874, in this *Journal*, Vol. III. p. 153 (see also *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. lxxvi., lxxvii., 309); and the first extract from the *Rājāvalikathe* was also given. But Mr. Rice did not then find the name Prabhāchandra in the inscription. And in respect of the extract from the *Rājāvalikathe*, he then wrote — "This is a strange story. How much of it may be accepted as historical is not easy to say."



is not dated. But the lithographic Plate which is given by Mr. Rice, shews that the engraving of it is to be allotted to approximately the seventh century A. D.: it may possibly be a trifle earlier; and equally, it may possibly be somewhat later.<sup>7</sup> And, interpreting the record in the customary manner, viz. as referring to an event almost exactly synchronous with the engraving of it, we can only take it as commemorating the death of a Jain teacher named Prabhāchandra, in or very near to the period A.D. 600 to 700. Who this Prabhāchandra was, I am not at present able to say. But he cannot be Prabhāchandra I. of the *paṭṭāvalī* of the Sarasvatī-Gachchha (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 351), unless the chronological details of that record, — according to which Prabhāchandra I., became pontiff in A. D. 396, — are open to very considerable rectification. And I should think that he must be a different person, for whose identification we have to look to southern records not as yet available.

As regards Bhadrabāhusvāmin, all that should have been of necessity plain at the time when Mr. Rice dealt finally with this inscription, is, that he is not the *Sruta-Kēvalin* Bhadrabāhu. Now that Dr. Hoernle has published the *paṭṭāvalī* of the Sarasvatī-Gachchha, he is easily capable of identification. He is undoubtedly Bhadrabāhu II., the last but one of the Minor-Āṅgins who is represented as becoming pontiff in B. C. 53 (*ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 349-51.)

The same *paṭṭāvalī* enables us to locate properly the Chandragupta of the Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa traditions and inscriptions. Such of them as make him a disciple of the *Sruta-Kēvalin* Bhadrabāhu, are plainly mistaken. He is evidently Guptigupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II., — otherwise named Arhadbalin and Viśākhāchārya, — who, according to the same record, became pontiff in B. C. 31 (*ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 350, 351). And this brings us to a point in which the local traditions are possibly more correct than the northern records. The *paṭṭāvalī* in question tells us that one of Guptigupta's disciples, Māghanandin, established the Nandi-Saṃgha or Balātkāra-Gaṇa, as a division of the Mūla-Saṃgha itself. Both names of the *gaṇa*, as well as that of the Mūla-Saṃgha, are of frequent occurrence, in connection with teachers belonging to it, in inscriptions in the Kanarese country; where, however, the *gaṇa* is perhaps mentioned most often as the Balātkāra-Gaṇa. This appellation for it is attributed by Dr. Hoernle to Guptigupta's name of Arhadbalin. A *gaṇa* of his own is allotted to Chandragupta, i. e. to Guptigupta, by inscription No. 40 at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa (see the words quoted from it, on page 156 above), which ultimately deals with the Dēśī-Gaṇa as a division of the Nandi-Gaṇa in the Mūla-Saṃgha, placing it in the lineage (*anvaya*) of Koṇḍakunda, just as the lineage of the latter is placed in the lineage of Chandragupta, i. e. of Guptigupta. And the fact that the inscription with which we have been dealing, and others on the Chandragiri hill which similarly record the deaths of Jain ascetics, lie in such a position that they have to be read with the face directed towards the front of the so-called Chandragupta-basti, indicates plainly that some peculiar sanctity or reverence attached to the person commemorated by that shrine. There can be little doubt that the ascetics in question belonged to the same sect with that person; that he was the traditional founder of the sect; and that the tradition at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa was that the Balātkāra-Gaṇa was really founded by the Chandragupta of the inscriptions, i. e. by Guptigupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> While recognising, approximately, the period to which the characters really belong, Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* p. 15) arrived at the conclusion that, "if this interesting inscription did not predate the Christian era, it unquestionably belongs to the earliest part of that era and is certainly not later than about 400 A.D." But there are no substantial grounds for this view, which depends chiefly upon Mr. Rice's acceptance as genuine, of the spurious Western Gaṅga grants. Unfortunately, much of what would otherwise be valuable work by him, is always vitiated in the same way.

<sup>8</sup> In connection with a division of the Nandi-Saṃgha, "the body of saints of Guptigupta" is mentioned in the Kaḍab grant, which purports to be dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 735 (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 11.). And inscription No. 105 in Mr. Rice's book, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 1320, speaks of Arhadbalin, apparently as establishing a four-fold division of the *saṃgha*.



The migration to the south, whether it really started from Ujjain, or from elsewhere, may well be a historical fact.<sup>9</sup> It may be open to argument, whether the inscription intends to imply that it was led by Bhadrabāhu II. But at any rate this is not distinctly asserted. And I think that the contrary is indicated, (1) by the description of Bhadrabāhu as "a knower of the past, the present, and the future (*trikālyā-darśin*)," which rather points to his predicting a future period of distress, than to his simply announcing the commencement of immediately impending distress; and (2) by the statement that the rich land at which the *saṃgha* arrived was reached "by the directions of the saint (*ārshēṇa* = *ṛishi-vachanēṇa*)," which points to instructions given at the time of predicting the distress, — or at any rate to advice given to people who were leaving him, — rather than to personal guidance. On the other hand, the inscription, whether correctly or not, does make the migration contemporaneous with Prabhāchandra; for it says that, at the mountain Kāṭavapra, he perceived that the end of his life was very near and became "much afraid of travelling any further (*adhvanāḥ su-chakitaḥ*)," and so dismissed the *saṃgha* and remained there till he died. If, then, the record does mean to imply that Bhadrabāhu II. led the migration, or even that it took place in his time, it is wrong, either in that respect, or in placing the death of Prabhāchandra during the migration; because of the intervention of several centuries at least<sup>10</sup> between the period of Bhadrabāhu II. and the death of Prabhāchandra as determined, with close approximation, by the palæography of the record.

### FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

#### No. 17. *The Princess Malika-Jarika.*

There was once a rich old merchant who had seven sons. One day he called them to him and said: — "My sons, it is high time now that you were married and settled in life, for I am growing older every day, and am anxious to distribute my wealth among you before death calls me away from this world."

The young men were nothing loath to do as their father desired, and jumped at his proposal, but the old man added: — "Not so fast, my boys, there is a certain condition to be fulfilled, and a certain test to be applied to you, before you come by your partners in life and obtain possession of my wealth. So listen attentively to what I say."

"On a certain day, which we shall appoint, after consulting the astrologers, you all are to go with your bows and arrows to an open *maidān* outside the city, where each one of you is to shoot an arrow from his bow in whatever direction he likes best, and I shall trust to the hand of fate to guide it to the feet of the fortunate lady, who is destined to be the bride of the owner of that arrow."

"Agreed," said the brothers, who were all eager both to display their skill in archery, as well as to come by their wives in such a romantic fashion. So they soon set about making preparations for that eventful occasion.

When the day fixed by their father, with the aid of his astrologers came round, the seven young men and their father, accompanied by a number of their friends and relatives, went to the appointed place, and when everything was ready and the signal given, the seven brothers,

<sup>9</sup> It appears to be mentioned also in the *Upasarga kēvaligāḥ-kathā*; see ante, Vol. XII. p. 99, — "the whole assemblage of the saints having come by the region of the south, and having arrived at the tomb of the venerable one, &c."

<sup>10</sup> I assume that the *poṭṭāvālī* of the *Sarasvatī-Gachchha* is at least approximately correct in respect of the date which it gives for Bhadrabāhu II.



who had taken care to put their own particular marks on their arrows, shot them in several different directions.

After a long interval of anxious waiting, the arrows were one by one recovered and brought back to their owners, along with tokens from the fair ladies at whose feet chance or fate had guided them; all except that of the merchant's youngest son. Long and vigorous was the search made for it not only all that day, but for many and many a day following, but to no purpose. The arrow had flown over hill and valley and over river and ocean, for no trace of it could be found over the entire country.

At last, when no stone had been left unturned, and all hope of finding the lost arrow was abandoned, the old man taunted his son about his ill-luck in not being able to procure himself a partner in life, and expressed his belief that he must be a very wicked fellow thus to have incurred the displeasure of God. The poor youth felt so humiliated at this that he quitted the land of his birth in despair, and became a wanderer in distant countries; whilst his father celebrated the nuptials of his six sons with great pomp and rejoicings, and, regardless of his youngest son's claims, distributed his large wealth equally amongst them. Our hero roamed about for days and months from one place to another in search of his lost arrow, but in vain, till at last he became a mere aimless and homeless wanderer, for whom life could have no zest or charm.

One day, however, as he was thus roaming through a large forest in an unknown country, his eye chanced to fall upon a large iron ring fixed to what appeared to be a door, and what was his joy to find, in close proximity to the ring, his own long-lost arrow entangled amongst some thorns and brambles that grew there! Naturally the youth's first impulse was to draw out the arrow from its place; but he soon changed his mind, reflecting that perhaps it marked the spot where he ought to look for his bride. So he took hold of the ring and pulled at it with all his might, and to his great joy the door yielded and revealed to his astonished gaze a dark and narrow passage, which evidently led to some subterranean abode.

Without any delay our hero boldly entered this passage, and soon found himself sliding downwards and downwards, as if impelled by some unknown power within. When he at last recovered the use of his legs, he found himself in the midst of a beautiful garden, so tastefully laid out and so well stocked with beautiful fruits and flowers of a strange kind, that he was for a while quite entranced, and felt certain that he could be nowhere but in fairy-land, for such things could not belong to the world he had lived in. He looked about him to see if he could find any traces of the inhabitants of that strange and most picturesque place, but nothing met his eye, far and near, save fruits and flowers, and butterflies and birds of rare plumage, while the only other living being he noticed there, was a solitary she-monkey, that was swinging herself to and fro amongst the branches of the trees.

As he walked about in the garden, however, our hero saw in one part of it, a large and very beautiful palace, and on entering it, found it full of gold and silver jewels. Every piece of furniture in that noble edifice was made either of one of these metals or the other, and was, moreover, studded with diamonds and rubies. But go where he would in it, he could find no evidence of any living being, human or otherwise. As he was sitting, however, in one of the halls of this wonderful palace, he perceived to his great surprise, that a sumptuous feast was being spread before him by invisible hands, while a voice whispered in his ear — "Get up, take thy bath, and partake of these good things." He instantly turned round and looked about to find who it was that had spoken to him, but could see no one. So he got up, and, doing as he was bid, sat down to the repast, and did ample justice to the rich viands that were placed before him, having had no food all that day. By and by, the she-monkey he had observed in the garden came in also, and began skipping about from room to room and making herself quite at home, just as if she were sole mistress of the palace.



Our hero remained in this strange place for several days, and had nothing to do, but to eat and drink and enjoy himself. But at last he got tired of the monotony of his situation, for, besides the monkey, he himself was the only living thing in that palace, and she, he thought, was no company for a young man, notwithstanding that every now and then she went and sat by his side, looked wistfully into his face, and asked him by signs to follow her all throughout the palace and the garden, and to look at the wonderful things it contained. One day, therefore, he secretly ran up the passage, through which he had entered the garden, and lifting up the massive iron door made his way back to his father's country.

When at last after a long and toilsome journey the long-forgotten wanderer reached home, he received but a cold welcome from his father and brothers, and they all laughed at him, when he related to them where and how he had found his lost arrow. So he thought it prudent not to say anything about the wonderful palace or the she-monkey just then, and kept his own counsel. The six brothers were all happy with their six wives, who were all clever and beautiful, and the old man, their father, extolled the virtues of his daughters-in-law to the skies, and exultingly showed his son the nice and valuable presents the ladies had brought specially for himself. Amongst them were some exquisitely embroidered little carpets worked by the ladies themselves, which the old man admired most of all, though our hero eyed them with contempt, as he compared them to the rare specimens of workmanship which he had seen in the underground palace.

Not desiring under these circumstances to prolong his stay with his father, our hero one day quietly left his home, and speedily returned to the subterraneous palace, to which, it need not be mentioned, some strange power was constantly attracting him. When he reached it the she-monkey again went skipping up to him, and played and frisked about him with great glee.

But our hero's heart was sad to think that he should have only a she-monkey to welcome him in a place, which he felt was to him like a home, and one where he most loved to go, and he began to look at the unsightly animal with tears in his eyes. She seemed, however, to understand what he felt, for going up to him she commenced to stroke his head and to shampoo his feet. But our hero turned away from her in disgust, and said in a rage, "Begone, thou ugly creature, I don't want thee to come so near me!"

"Hold thy tongue," replied the monkey, all of a sudden speaking like a human being, "I only do as I am bid. If thou utterest one unkind word to me thou shalt have to rue it before long."

The poor young man was non-plussed at this, and said nothing, but his heart grew sad to think in what an unenviable position he had been placed. "My arrow," he contemplated, "came all the way over to the gate leading to this strange place, in which the only living being I can see is this monkey, and since my arrow was destined to indicate the place, where I was to find my bride, am I to content myself with believing that this she-monkey is my lady-love and this fairy place her bower?" As this thought struck him tears began to gush forth from his eyes and trickled down his cheeks. The she-monkey observing this, looked very much distressed, and thus addressed him words of sympathy and comfort, "Do not lose heart and give way like that, my friend; only confide in me and tell me the cause of thy grief, and I shall do my best to help thee."

But our hero had not the heart to tell her the real cause of his sorrow; so he said:—"I am sorry I appear unhappy in a place, where no pains are spared to make me comfortable, but I am grieved, when I think how I am taunted by my father and laughed at by my brothers at every turn, owing to my not having as yet been able to secure a wife for myself. The last time I visited my father he showed me some rich and artistically embroidered carpets, which he said had been worked for him specially by his six daughters-in-law, and



cast the cruel fact again in my teeth, that I had not as yet been blessed with a wife, much less with a clever one."

"Is that all?" cried the monkey. "I doubt whether they can show anything like the carpets and other beautiful things you see in this palace."

"Certainly not!" replied the youth: "nobody in my country has ever seen anything half so beautiful and precious; but my only regret is that not one of all these things can I present to my father as the handiwork of my own bride."

"Oh! yes, you can," cried the monkey, picking out seven rich and beautiful carpets all studded with diamonds and rubies, out of a heap lying in one of the rooms, "take these to your father, and lay them at his feet as the results of the unaided efforts of your future bride."

The youth was quite taken aback at these words. What could she mean by saying that the carpets had been worked by his future bride? Could it be that they had been worked by herself? No, the embroidery was too fine and tasteful to be done by a monkey! Surely there must be some beautiful fairy hidden away somewhere, at whose bidding the she-monkey was thrusting her odious presence upon him! However, he thought it wise to take the monkey's advice, and bidding her adieu, once more started back to his native country with the carpets and many other precious and beautiful articles besides.

As was to be expected, the carpets were greatly admired by each and all of his relatives, and everyone who saw them desired eagerly to behold the fair lady, whose clever fingers had worked such superb specimens of embroidery. Our hero, instead of being elated at this, was downcast and dejected, for he could not, for the life of him, think how he was to produce his future bride before his father and his relatives, since he himself had not as yet had the pleasure of seeing her. So he said nothing more about the affair to them, and soon after quietly turned his back once more on the land of his birth, making a mental resolve at the same time never to return home without finding a bride worthy of himself.

When he reached the underground palace he found the she-monkey in her usual place among the trees, and she began to question him as to how he had been received by his father this time.

Our hero, however, was too much absorbed in thinking of the fair lady, who he imagined had worked the carpets, to give heed to the monkey's questions. He was wondering when it was destined that he should see her, when a strange voice thus whispered to him: "If thou wouldst see her at all, swear to forget thy parents, thy relations, and thy country, and to renounce for ever all thoughts of ever returning to them, and promise to stay here for weal or for woe."

The youth was surprised at this, but he nevertheless did as he was bid, and in the course of a few days his eye began to see in the palace living beings such as he had never seen there before. He could see male and female slaves flitting about from one room to another, as they did the household work, he could see gardeners tending the flowers and shrubs, and fair ladies waiting upon the she-monkey, who, to his despair, still appeared to be the mistress of all. His dislike, however, for the company of this creature began to wear off by degrees, and he tried to make himself comfortable, since some mystic power appeared to tempt him to stay in that place.

A good many days passed away in this manner, when our hero one day again heard a voice that said to him: — "If thou wouldst like to wed thy bride, thou art at liberty to go and bring thy father and all thy kinsfolk to this place, when thy nuptials will be celebrated with great splendour in their presence."

"But must I not ask to see my bride first?" cried the youth in answer. "No, that cannot be!" was the reply. "Thou must place implicit confidence in us, and in return we promise that thy parents and thyself shall behold as fair a princess as ever was seen by mortal eyes, but



that will be only when all thy kinafolk have assembled, here to take part in the wedding ceremony, and not before."

The youth was fain to put faith in these promises, so tempting were they. So he started off for his native country, and on arriving there, besought his father and brothers to go with him to the underground palace, and witness his nuptials with the fair worker of those beautiful carpets. Accordingly, the old man and his sons sent round invitations to all their friends and relatives, and, fixing an auspicious day, they all set out to go, where the youth led them. The latter in his turn tried to look cheerful and composed in their presence, but at heart he was ill at ease, for he was not yet quite sure whether the bride he was going to wed would not after all turn out to be the she-monkey herself, and he shuddered to think what would be his discomfiture in such a case.

After a long and toilsome journey the whole cavalcade of friends and relatives arrived at the door leading to the narrow passage, and on passing through it they all found themselves in that wonderfully laid-out garden. When they had gone about for some time and admired the beautiful fruits and flowers, with which the trees were laden, our hero took them into the palace, where things still more beautiful greeted their sight. But here, as well as in the garden, they were surprised not to meet with any human beings, when all of a sudden they heard a voice that bade them welcome, and told them to wash themselves and partake of the feast that was being spread out for them in one of the large rooms.

As the guests were all very hungry they needed no second bidding, but sat themselves down and began to partake heartily of the sumptuous banquet provided for them by some unseen agency. While they were thus enjoying themselves a voice again addressed them thus:—"My guests, you are welcome to this feast. Eat and drink to your hearts' content, and when you have done, I request each of you to carry away the silver tray and the golden cup that has been placed before you to take your meals from, and to keep them as souvenirs of the memorable wedding of the fairy-princess Malika-jarika with a human being."

On hearing these words all the guests began to look in different directions in the hope of seeing the fairy-bride, but no Malika-Jarika greeted their sight, nor any living being, save the hideous she-monkey, who was all this while moving about here and there with the air of an hostess, and seemed to be in the best of spirits, to the great consternation of our hero, who could not help associating her presence with the thought that she must be the Princess Malika-Jarika herself, who was going to wed him! His doubts, however, were soon laid at rest, for when the feast was nearly over, the she-monkey suddenly drew off from her person, what appeared like a coil of skin, and lo! there stood before the astonished gaze of all a very beautiful fairy, such as they had never even dreamed of!

This lovely creature immediately went up to our hero and joyfully exclaimed:—"Behold in me the fairy-princess, to whose abode fate led thy steps. My name is the Princess Malika-Jarika, and I am sole mistress of this beautiful palace and of all the land for miles around. I am ready and willing to marry thee, but on one condition, namely, that thou takest charge of, and guardest as thy own life, this coil of skin that I have just cast off, for know that, as long as it remains intact, so long only shall I go about in this my fairy form." The young man eagerly took the coil from her hands, and, carefully folding it, put it into a box, and locked it up for safety in one of the rooms of the palace.

The wedding ceremony was soon after gone through amidst great rejoicings, and each and all congratulated our hero on his having been blessed with such a very rich and beautiful wife. The six brothers of the fortunate youth, however, felt jealous of him, and could not bear to see him so happy. So they went up to him while the fairy was away, and with an air of the greatest concern, expressed to him their fears regarding the coil, and told him to beware lest his bride should take it into her head to put it on again, and resume the hideous shape of a monkey. His father and his relatives, too, when they heard this, shared the same fears, and



they all joined in persuading the unsuspecting youth to destroy the coil. For some time he was firm, but at last, being unable to withstand the joint advice and entreaties of so many, he **threw the coil into the fire!** No sooner, however, did the flames touch it, than the fairy, who was at a distance, uttered a loud and piteous scream, came running up, and speedily thrusting her hand into the fire, drew out the burning coil, and as hurriedly put it on!

All this happened in the twinkling of an eye, and the merchant and his sons and their guests suddenly found the scene around them transformed into a dense and dark forest, all traces of the fairy-palace and the garden having vanished before them. Our hero was beside himself with rage and grief at this, and swore never to return home, until he had found his beloved bride again. So, leaving him to indulge his grief in that lonely forest, his father and the rest wended their way homewards.

When they were all gone the youth again saw the she-monkey jumping from tree to tree, and uttering piteous screams. So he went up to her and besought her to forgive him, and to receive him back into her favour. But she wept bitterly, and said, "No, no, that is not in my power to do; still, if thy repentance is sincere, leave me for the present, and let us hope some day to meet again." With these words she vanished from his sight, and there was nothing but darkness around. Just then a voice was heard to say, "If ever again you seek the fairy-princess, let this be your watchword: — 'What about that affair?'" "Very well," muttered the youth thankfully, "I'll remember it to the end of my days," and then, in obedience to the will of the she-monkey, he made his way out of the forest.

For many and many a month afterwards the unhappy youth wandered aimlessly about from country to country, for he hardly knew in what particular direction to turn, in order to go in search of his lost bride. At last, being fatigued both in mind and body, he sank down under the shade of a large tree, and felt that he was dying.

As to the fairy-princess, having had the misfortune to touch a human being, the poor spirit had lost caste, and was no longer the light ærial being that all fairies are; moreover, she had contracted the odour of mortals by coming into contact with them, and the fairies would not let her mix with them, until she had gone through a severe form of purification. This was nothing less than throwing seven hundred pails of water over her body each morning, and remaining among the trees the rest of the day, so that she might be dried in the sun and cleansed of all impurities. This made the poor fairy very unhappy, and she passed her days in great sorrow.

Meanwhile our hero, whom we had left tired and worn-out under a tree, remained there for some days, being unable to proceed any further. One day he heard a strange noise overhead, and looking up, saw that a very large serpent had climbed up the tree and was going to devour the young ones of an eagle, which had its nest among the branches. So he went up the tree as fast as his worn-out limbs allowed and succeeded in killing the serpent before it could do any injury to the young eagles. Just then both the parent birds came up and were deeply grateful to the brave young man for having saved the lives of their little ones, and asked him to command their services in any way he wished. But the youth said to them with a sad smile: — "No, friends, it is not in your power to help me, since my only object in life is to discover the fairy-princess Málíka-Jaríka, and I am firmly resolved never to taste the sweets of life until I have found her."

"Oh! is that all you want?" exclaimed the male bird, "then it is easy enough. I know the abodes of all the fairies; so you have only to ride upon my back and I shall fly with you to the country of the *jins* and fairies in no time."

These words of the eagle gave new life to the disabled youth, and he fearlessly mounted the large bird's back, and in a few hours arrived at the country of the *jins*. At parting the good old eagle gave the youth a sweet sounding fife, and said: — "By simply



blowing into this fife you will be able to produce music so sweet that all the fairies and *jins* will gather round you to hear it. The king of the *jins* will be so pleased with your performance, that he will offer to bestow upon you whatever you may ask for, on condition that you consent to stay with him for ever. But remember that you are not on any account to mention the name of the fairy-princess, or to utter the watchword that has been given to you, or your head will pay the penalty of your indiscretion. However much the king may entreat you to accept some present from him, you must only say that you require nothing and have to go back the next morning.

He will then bring you gold and silver and rare jewels and also the most beautiful fairies you ever saw, but you must still remain firm and inflexible. Then at last he will bring forth to you some of the ugliest women in his kingdom, amongst whom will be one strikingly hideous in appearance, whom you will know by her coal-black complexion and her large projecting teeth. This woman you are to express your willingness to have, for underneath that dark skin and ugly features will be found hidden the beautiful princess, whom you are so anxious to meet.

The youth thanked the eagle and promised to remember all his instructions, when the good bird added: "Let us part now, but, before we do so, let me give you this feather of mine. If ever trouble comes over you, hold it before a fire and burn it, and I shall be immediately at your side." And so saying it flew away.

Just then our hero commenced operations. He began to blow into the fife, and although he had no knowledge whatever of music, he produced from it such exquisite melody that, just as the eagle had predicted, there gathered round him a large concourse of *jins* and fairies along with their king and queen, and the former offered to bestow upon him whatever he might wish for, if he only consented to stay with them. Our hero, however, acted his part admirably, and refused everything that was offered him in succession, until at last the ugly women were brought before him. Then only did his eyes begin to sparkle, and he chose from among them the one the eagle had described to him, and she, to his great delight, soon turned out to be his own long-lost bride.

The two young people lived very happily together for some time, and cared for nothing else besides each other's company. But at last the youth felt a longing to return to his native country and see his father. The fairy-princess, too, was willing to go with him, though her father stoutly refused to give them his permission, and they were thinking of stealing away unknown to him, when an unforeseen difficulty arose. How were they, especially our hero, who was only a mortal, to travel through the air, since no land or sea appeared to connect his father's country with fairy-land? In this dilemma the youth bethought him of the eagle, and forthwith burned its feather. The faithful bird speedily obeyed the summons, and without losing any more time, both the young people mounted its back. The good bird flew incessantly, till it placed its precious burden at the feet of the old merchant, now very feeble and living all by himself in the old house, neglected by his six sons, who were fast throwing away the money he had so thoughtlessly given them. The old man's joy knew no bounds at seeing his long-lost son and his beautiful bride once more. He entreated them to stay with him till death called him away, which he thought was very near. Both the young people readily consented to this, and lived with the old man till the last; and after his death returned to fairy-land once more, where they lived very happily for the rest of their lives.

#### MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF THE GRÆCO-BUDDHIST  
PEDESTAL FROM HASHTNAGAR.

Dr. Bühler has published in the number of this  
*Journal ante*, Vol. XX., p. 394, an interesting

note on this unique record. He does not seem to have seen M. Senart's remarks on the same subject,<sup>2</sup> and, I think, it will be interesting to many readers to compare the views of these two scholars.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne, extrait du Journal Asiatique, III.*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, MDCCCXC.



Dr. Bühler, having before him both the facsimile rubbing and the photo-etching, reads the inscription as follows :—

"Sam II C xx xx x iv Pōstavadasa masasa di[va] sāmī pañ[cha] 5[11\*]."

M. Senart, before the publication of the photo-etching, read "... prothavadasa masasa di[vasē] pañchamē, 4, 1." He doubted the existence of the symbol for one hundred, and read the remaining figures as 74, not as 84. Dr. Bühler notes that the reading *pothavadasa* is linguistically possible, and would be good Prakrit.

Both scholars, therefore, are agreed that the month named is the Sanskrit Praushṭhapada (August—September), and that Sir A. Cunningham was mistaken in reading 'ēmborasmasa,' 'intercalary.' That point may be considered as definitely settled.

Now that the photo-etching is available, M. Senart cannot well doubt the presence of the symbol for 'hundred.'<sup>3</sup> The date, therefore, is either 274, as read by Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. Bühler, or 284. As to this detail M. Senart observes: "Quant aux années, dont le chiffre est lu 274 par le général, il paraît certain que c'est par 84 qu'il finit (je ne puis faire aucune différence entre le troisième et le quatrième chiffre des dizaines)."

The difference between the third and fourth symbols for the tens (or rather the twenties) does, however, exist, though it is very slight. The fourth symbol is somewhat more slender and less curved than any of the three preceding ones. I prefer, consequently, to accept 274 as the correct reading.

As to the era used, Dr. Bühler considers as very improbable the suggestion that the Saka era may be that referred to. My only reason for making the suggestion was the inferior style of the sculpture. But M. Senart has pointed out that the workmanship of pedestals is generally much inferior to that of statues. The inscription under discussion is on a pedestal adorned with

a relief, and nothing is known of the artistic merits of the statue which stood on the pedestal. Very likely, it was executed in a much better style. I, therefore, give up the suggestion that the Saka era is referred to in the inscription.

M. Senart is a firm believer in the early extinction of the Arian or Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, and remarks that "l'ère de Gondophares est donc seule en cause, parmi celles qui nous sont actuellement connues." The exact date of Gondophares is not known, but he lived somewhere about the middle of the first century B. C. The probable date of the inscription is therefore approximately 284-50 = A. D. 234, or 274-50 = A. D. 224. By a slip of the pen M. Senart gives the date of Gondophares as "environ 50 après J. C."

I have sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a fuller notice of M. Senart's paper.

V. A. SMITH.

7th February, 1892.

#### TAILA II.

The time at which Taila II. restored the Chalukya sovereignty in Western India is fixed as being the Brimukha saṃvatsara, Saka-Saṃvat 896 current (A. D. 973-74), by a verse which is given in an inscription at the temple of Virā-Nārāyaṇa at Gadag in the Dhārwaḍ District, and in another, based on the same model, at the temple of Kāḷinga at Kāḷige in the Tēngālī Tāluka, Nizam's Dominions; both records belong to the time of Vikramāditya VI.

I gave the verse, as far as it could be restored from the transcriptions given in Sir Walter Elliot's *Canntaka-Dēsa Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 370, 415, in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 270. I am now able to give it in correct form, from an ink-impression of the Gadag stone which I owe to the exertions of Mr. Daso Balwant Bettigeri; and to annex the preceding portion at the beginning of the inscription, the opening part of which is hopelessly unintelligible as it stands in the version given by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist. The whole passage runs as follows :—

#### TEXT.

Om Svasti Samasta-jagat-prasūtēr-bhṛbha(bhṛa)gavatō Brahmanāḥ putrasya-Ātrēr-nnētra-samutpannasya yāmini-kāmini-lalāma-bhūtasya Sōmasy-ānvayē satya-tyāga-śauryy-ādi-guṇa-nilayaḥ kēvala-nija-dhvajini-jaṇa-kṣhapita-pratipakṣa-kaḥitiśa-vañśaḥ śrīmān-asti Chāḷukya-vañśaḥ || Ā vañśadoḥ ||

Kanda || Śrī-vallabhan-abhita-jaya-

śrī-vallabhan-enisi Vikramādityaṅgaṁ [1\*]

Śrī-vadhuv-ol-eseva Bonthā-

dēvigav-ādam tanūbhavaṁ Taila-nṛipa ||

<sup>3</sup> But, in his recently published work 'Coins of Ancient India' (Quaritch, 1891), Sir A. Cunningham (page 37) refers to the Hashtnagar Inscription as being dated 84 only.



Vṛitta || Modaloḥ kitt'ikki Raṭṭar=ppalaruman=adaṭaṁ Mumjanam koṇḍu dōr-gg-  
 rbbada gurbbin yuddhadoḥ Paṁchalana taleyumam koṇḍu Chālukya-raḷy-a-  
 spadamaṁ kai-koṇḍu nishkaṁtakam=enisidan=ēkāṅgadiṁ Srimukh-ābdaṁ  
 modal-āg=irppattu-nālkum barisam=akhiḷa-bhūchakramaṁ Taila-bhūpa ||

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! In the lineage of Sōma (the Moon), — the forehead-ornament of the loving woman the night, — who was produced from the eye of Atri, the son of the divine Brahman who was the procreator of the universe, there is the glorious Chālukya race, which is the abode of truth, liberality, heroism, and other virtuous qualities, (and) which has destroyed the races of hostile kings by simply the quickness of its bannered armies. In that race:—

(Verse):— To Vikramāditya (IV.), who was accounted the favourite of fortune (and) the favourite of the goddess of victory over enemies, and to Bonthādēvi who resembled the goddess Sri, there was born a son, king Taila (II.).

(Metre):— Having first plucked up and destroyed some Raṭṭas; having killed the valiant Mufja; having, by the terror of the pride of his arm, taken the head of Paṁchala in battle; and having possessed himself of the regal dignity of the Chālukyas, — king Taila, unaided, caused the whole circuit of the earth to be considered free from troubles for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Srimukha.

J. F. FLEET.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## THE EVIL EYE.

## A.—In Persia.

It is the custom in Persia to keep a wild boar in a stable where valuable horses are kept, in order to keep the evil eye from them. In the same way almost every valuable horse has an amulet strung round his neck, to which may be also attached a boar's tusk, for the same object.

S. J. A. CHURCHILL.

Tehrdn.

## B.—In Bihar.

The evil eye or nazar is very fatal to children and animals. If a man looks steadily at any child or animal, and says or thinks how beautiful it is, it will soon die. A blue thread round the animal or the child's waist will save it. Tiger's claws and old coins are also a great protection.

It is not right to allow others to look on while you are eating, — especially the hungry. The steady gaze of the hungry at a man eating causes indigestion or a disease in the stomach.

You must never put your feet on the tablecloth (*dastarkhān*), nor permit a glass of water to be put on it.

The evil eye cast on food can be averted by setting aside a spoonful of each dish and giving it to birds or to beggars, or simply by muttering a prayer.

SAYYID KHAIRAT AHMAD.

Gayd.

## SUPERSTITIONS AS TO CROWS IN MADRAS.

The crow is held in high estimation by the Brahmans of Southern India, as the following facts clearly show:—

The Brahmans strictly observe the daily *pūjā* or adoration of Siva. Towards the end of it the principal food prepared for the occasion is placed in front of the god and by means of *mantras* he is invoked in order that he may partake of the same, and for this invocation a handful of the food so presented is taken and kept aside. After the *pūjā* is over, it is put on a tray in the open yard and the crows are invited to eat it. This food is termed the *beliannam*, or the presented food. It is only after the crows have eaten it that the people of the house sit down for their breakfast.

When a crow caws early in the morning in the open yard of the house, or when an unusual noise is heard in the oven of the kitchen, a guest is always expected either for breakfast or dinner.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

## BAD OMENS IN MADRAS.

If you hear anybody sneezing or you see any sudden putting out of a burning light just at the time of contemplation there will be an utter defeat.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

<sup>1</sup> First *kirtī* was engraved, and then the *v* was cancelled.



# SYSTEM OF transliteration.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ज	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
ऋ	ऋ	ṛi	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
ऌ	ॡ	lṛi	त	त	ta
—	—	e	थ	थ	tha
ए	ए	ē	द	द	da
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ध	ध	dha
—	—	o	न	न	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	प	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	फ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Jihvāmūlīya, or old	—	ḥ	भ	भ	bha
Visarga before क	—	ḥ	म	म	ma
and ख	—	ḥ	य	य	ya
Upadhmanīya, or	—	ḥ	र	र	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	—	ra
fore प and फ	—	ḥ	ल	ल	la
Anusvira	Anusvira	m̐	ळ	ळ	ḷa
Anuśāsikā	—	m̐	—	—	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	श	श	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	ष	ṣa
घ	घ	gha	स	स	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	ह	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.







## GORAKHPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF JAYADITYA OF VIJAYAPURA.

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

THE plate which contains this inscription was discovered in the **Gorākhpur** District of the North-Western Provinces, near the river called the Little Gandhak.<sup>1</sup> It was brought to Mr. John Ahmuty, Magistrate of the district, and by him communicated to Captain Wilford, who presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in whose Library it is still deposited. The inscription was first edited in 1807, with a translation and a facsimile, by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 406-12; and Colebrooke's paper was afterwards reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 247-54. I now re-edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet:

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It measures about 16½" broad by 12½" high, not including an oval projection, with a raised rim, on the proper right side, on which is riveted a disc of the same shape, similarly with a raised rim, which contains a flat button about an inch in diameter; on the countersunk surface of this button there is some emblem which may perhaps be an animal, but it is a good deal worn and damaged. The edges of the plate are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, to serve as rims to protect the writing. Towards the bottom, a small portion of the writing has suffered slightly from corrosion; otherwise the preservation of the plate is perfect, and, with the exception of two *aksharas* in line 24, everything may be read with certainty. — The size of the letters is about ⅜". — The characters are boldly and well drawn and deeply engraved. They belong to the northern class of alphabets. Of the same type as those of the *Aphsaḍ* inscription of *Ādityasēna*,<sup>2</sup> they show a further development of the northern alphabet in the direction of the ordinary *Nāgarī*, and may perhaps be assigned to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. Attention may be drawn especially to the peculiar manner of writing the diphthongs *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au*, when they follow a consonant, which agrees with the practice of some *Kaṣhērī* inscriptions of the 9th century, described by me, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 133. It may also be noted that in the conjunct *ry* the sign for *r* is written on the line, in *paryaṅka*, line 3, and *aryāṅgā*, line 23; and that the sign of *anusvāra* is several times placed after, not above, the *akshara* to which it belongs, e.g., in *-satvanān*, and *vasudhān*, in line 15. — The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the symbol for *ōṃ* at the commencement of the first line, the whole inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *sāvat*, line 9, and *sāvatī*, line 16, and the palatal instead of the dental in *śachivasya*, line 21 (but not in *sachivah*, line 9); the dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *saneḍra*, line 2, and *punsās* = (for *punsas*, i. e. *punhsas*), line 16; the vowel *ri* occurs instead of the syllable *ri* in *śrītya*, line 13; before *r*, *t* is doubled in *tattra*, line 6, and *bhrāttrā*, line 22; and the word *duḥkha* is (correctly) spelt *duḥkha*, in line 5. In respect of grammar and lexicography I may point out the unusual and incorrect word *utkhātīn* 'uprooting' or 'extracting,' in line 3; *nṛipadhānī* for *rājadhānī*, in line 6; the employment of *śāsita*, in line 12, in the sense of 'given as a grant;' and the ungrammatical use of the gerund *śrītya*, in line 13.

Opening with four verses in honour of the deities *Śiva*, *Brahman*, *Vishṇu*, and *Pārvatī*, the inscription (in lines 4-11) relates that at the royal residence of **Vijayapura**, on the declivity of the northern mountain (*uttaragiri*), there was the king **Jayaditya**, a son of the king **Dharmaditya**, and that his minister was **Madōli**, a son of the minister, the great *sāmanta* **Kṛitakīrti**. And it records (in lines 11-12) that this **Madōli** gave the village of **Dummuḍdumaka**, which he had obtained by the king's favour, as a grant to the goddess **Durgā**. Lines 12-18 glorify the liberal, admonish future rulers to respect this grant, and deprecate its resumption. Further, three verses in lines 19-22 state that the preceding *prāśasti* of the minister was composed by the *Kāyastha* **Nāgadatta**; and another verse adds that the verses referring to

<sup>1</sup> See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 406.<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxviii.



Nāgadatta, who was too modest to speak of himself, were composed by his younger brother Vidyādatta. And the inscription closes with another verse, the purport of which appears to be to record that this poem was composed, or the donation made, at **Jivanapalli**, another village which the minister owed to the royal favour. — The only point of interest, not contained in the preceding, is, that the king Dharmāditya is compared to a *Bôdhisattva*, and the poet Nāgadatta to Sugata, or Buddha; which would tend to show that the authors, if not Buddhists, were at any rate favourably inclined towards Buddhism.

The inscription is not dated; and the princes mentioned in it do not seem to be known from other records. Of the localities mentioned, **Vijayapura** was by Colebrooke suggested to be the place of that name near Mirzāpur on the Ganges, on the northern declivity of the Vindhya hills; but he has himself stated that *uttaragiri-kaṭakē* in line 6 would rather signify 'declivity of the northern mountain,' and that this interpretation would point to the range of snowy mountains, i. e., the slopes of the Himālaya. On **Dummuddumāka** Colebrooke has the note that a village of this name is situated in the district of Allahābād, within twenty miles of Bijaypur on the Ganges; but that the name is not uncommon, and may belong to some place nearer to the northern mountains. I myself am unable to identify either **Vijayapura** or the villages **Dummuddumāka** and **Jivanapalli**.

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Ōm\*[11\*] Kshity<sup>6</sup>-ādi-yajamān-ānta-mūrttayē viśvag<sup>6</sup>-ātmanē | muninām dhyāna-gamy[ā\*]-ya samasta-vyāpinē ta(na)maḥ || Ajāyē(ya)
- 2 jagad-utpatti-sthiti-pralaya-kārinē | sansāra<sup>7</sup>-sāgar-ōttāra-pōta-samsṛitayē namaḥ || Namō=stu Larkshma(kshmi)-pa-
- 3 tayō Sā(śē)sha-paryāṅka-śāyinē | trailōkya-kaṇṭak-ōtkhāti-Vishṇavē viśvarūpiṇē || Namē(mō)=stu nirjītaśēsha-Ma-
- 4 hish[ā\*]śura-gh[ā\*]tinē | Pārsvati-pādapadm[ā\*]ya jagad-[ā]nanda-dāyinē || Vēṇa<sup>8</sup>-van-āli-vishamām śikhara-prākā-
- 5 ra-mālay=ālaṅghyam | nirjjhara-gabhira-parikhā-dustaram=ast-āri-santrāsam || Avidita-viyōga-dushkham santōsha-sa-
- 6 māpta-sakala-vishaya-sukham | asty=uttaragi(gi)ri<sup>9</sup>-kaṭakē Vijayapū(pu)raṁ nāma nripadb[ā]nī || Tattva cha chatur-ambhōdhi-bhrānta-ya-
- 7 śāḥ sthira-dayō mahā-sat[t\*]vaḥ | śrīmān=Dharmādityō nripatir=abhūd=Vō(bō)-dhisat[t\*]va iva || Tasya cha śās=iva sēvyō bhā(bhō)gyō
- 8 lōkasya kalpaśākh=iva [1\*] hrada iva tṛishṇ-āpaharah sūtō=bhavat<sup>10</sup> śrī-Jayādi-tyaḥ || Rāj=āpi yō vinitō yuv=āpi dhīrō
- 9 manōbhava-dvēshī | sarvva-pradō=pi sa(śa)śva[t]=sarvvasya grīhita-paramārthaḥ || Tasya sachivaḥ śrut-ārthō mah-ānubhāvō vi-
- 10 nirjīta-ārātīḥ | sāmāntasya sumahataḥ Kṛitakīrttē=mmāntrīpas=tanayaḥ || Yasya cha suchāru-mū[r\*]ttē=ddadataḥ Karṇō=pi
- 11 l[ā]ghavam yātaḥ | prakṛiti-para-va(ba)ddha-kēkshō<sup>11</sup> va(ba)bhūva sa śrī-Madōlir<sup>12</sup>=iti || Dummuddumāka-nāmā grāmō rāja-prasā-
- 12 da-samprāptaḥ | kṛishi-vasati-gō-dhan-ādhyō Durggāyai śāsitas=tēna 1(1) Bhavati hi satām vibhūtiḥ par-ōpakṛitayē

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and of the three next verses.

<sup>6</sup> The proper spelling would be *viśvag*; but the palatal sibilant is occasionally employed in this word, in later works.

<sup>7</sup> Read *sandhra*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Āryā; up to the end.

<sup>9</sup> The correction in this word appears to have been made already in the original.

<sup>10</sup> Read *bhavuch-chhri*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *kāśhā*; 'who by nature was striving for final beatitude.'

<sup>12</sup> The soon *akshara*, *dō*, of this word is quite clear in the impression.



- 13 mahāntam=āśri(śri)tya | jalavô(dhê)r=ādāya jalām jaladāḥ sasyāya varshanti<sup>13</sup> ||  
Sva-para-jana-nirvviśô(śê)shāḥ santê(ntô) virā-
- 14 lā hi santi ha(pha)la-dānē | kalpadrumāḥ kiyantaḥ śru(śrū)yantē Nandanē=pi  
vanô ||(H) Mā kalaya kaliyugô(gê)=pi hi samā-
- 15 natām tāta sarvva-sat[t\*]v[ā\*]nām [i\*] rakshati vasudhām narapatir=ātma-grīham  
n=au(ai)va laghu-sat[t\*]vaḥ ||(H) Janma maraṇā=cha sampa-
- 16 d=vipach=cha punsās<sup>14</sup>=tu sâ(śâ)śvati-bhavati | yadi ch=aivam para-kīrttiṁ svām=iva  
kasmān=na pālayata(tha) || Kṛishi-kāraṇa-sam-
- 17 yuktām vasundharām yô dadāti sasyavatīm<sup>15</sup> | vrajati vimān-ārūḍhaḥ pitṛin<sup>16</sup>  
sa a(ā)hl[ā\*]dayan=nākam || Apahara-
- 18 ti yô=pi mōhād=vê(dê)va-dvija-pāda-kalpitām vasudhām [i\*] svargga-sthān=api  
niyataṁ pātayati sa pūrvvajān nara-
- 19 kô || Atinirmala-kula-janmā dēva-dvija-guru-narapati-nati-sakta[h i] khānita-bhūri-  
taḍḍāga(ga)ḥ kārīta-dēvāla-
- 20 yas=tyāgi || Sugata-pratimaḥ kṛipayā guṇa-nidhir=abhavat<sup>17</sup> jī-ēndriyô vidvān |  
vipriya-vādē vi-
- 21 mukhaḥ kāyasthō Nāgadatta iti || Sa(sa)chivasya tēna rachitā lakṣaṇa-yuktā  
su[va\*]rṇa-kṛita-sôbhā |
- 22 sad-vṛittā lalita-padā bhaktyā parayā praśastir=iyam || Sva-guṇa-khyāpana-bhīrôś=  
tasya bhrātṛā ka-
- 23 nīyaśā<sup>18</sup> rachitam [i\*] a(ā)ryāṇām tritayam=idam Vidyādattēna bhūt-ārtham ||  
Rāja-prasāda-lavdhā(bdhā) dhana-kanaka-sa-
- 24 mākul=ātisasyavati [i\*] Jīvanapallir=iti satām grām[ô]=yam s[ô]=sya tad=[ā?]-  
paraḥ<sup>19</sup> ||(H)

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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

(Continued from page 156.)

The influence of a learned orthography upon the linguistic aspect of our monuments does not, as a whole, allow itself to be measured in detail with absolute precision. I shall only quote one example, as sufficient to enable the reader to grasp my meaning. Girnar distinguishes between  $\overline{\text{I}}$  ṇ and  $\perp$  ṇ, but only in the interior of bases. Is preserves  $\overline{\text{I}}$  everywhere where Śaṅskṛit would write it in the bases, but it writes only  $\perp$  in terminations, even where Śaṅskṛit usage would have required a cerebral ṇ. I confess that a comparison with the Eastern versions, all of which know only  $\perp$ , makes this invariable practice seem, in my eyes, to be suspicious. I strongly doubt if the popular pronunciation of the people of Girnar correctly distinguished the two ṇ's, but I have no means of rendering this doubt a certainty. Whatever may have been the fact in this and in other analogous instances, many of the divergencies which distinguish our parallel versions are not reducible to an orthographic interpretation. However great may be the latter's importance in its legitimate sphere of action, it leaves remaining a series of phenomena which constitute dialectic characteristics. It is this face of the question which still remains to be considered.

From this point of view the monuments of Piyadasi divide themselves clearly into two main groups. In the one, there is no cerebral ṇ, no palatal ṇ, an initial y is elided, l is

<sup>13</sup> Originally varshanti was engraved, but the p has been struck out.<sup>14</sup> Originally sasyavatim was engraved, but tim has been altered to tih.<sup>15</sup> Originally pityan was engraved, but it has been altered to pitṛin.<sup>16</sup> Originally nīyaśā was engraved, but it has been altered to nīyaś.<sup>17</sup> Colebrooke's reading is sasyatarah paraḥ.<sup>18</sup> Read punsas.<sup>19</sup> Read abharajit.



substituted for *r*, the nominative masculine, and usually the nominative neuter, end in *é*, and the locative in *asi*; the other distinguishes the cerebral *ṛ* and the palatal *ṛ̥*, retains the initial *y* and the *r* unchanged, makes the nominative singular of masculine *a*-bases end in *é*, and the locative in *amhi* or in *é*. The first comprises all the inscriptions, except Gīrnar and Kapur di Gīri, which alone constitute the second class. It is the more impossible to doubt the existence in this case of a dialectic difference, because certain of the peculiarities which denote the first group are quoted by the grammarians as proper to the Māgadhi dialect. Such are the nominative in *é* and the substitution of *l* for *r*. It must be admitted that these are also the only points of agreement, and that neither in its omissions — the absence of *ṛ*, *ṛ̥*, *é*, the elision of initial *y* — nor in certain peculiar usages — the retention of *j*, of *chh*, &c., — does the dialect of the inscriptions correspond with the Māgadhi of the grammarians. On the contrary, we have seen that the use of the group *st*, attributed by the grammarians to Māgadhi appears only in the orthography of Gīrnar.

Is it possible to trace subdivisions, to distinguish sub-dialects, within the limits of these two main groups? Between Gīrnar and Kapur di Gīri, if we except the groups *st* and *st* on the one hand, and the use of the three sibilants on the other, both of which, in my opinion, should not be admitted into the calculation, the only differences of a somewhat general character, which I note, are the group *tp* at Gīrnar, which, according to my theory, corresponds to a pronunciation *pp*, and which is represented at Kapur di Gīri by *t*; the locative singular, which is in *mhi*, and more rarely in *é* at Gīrnar, and in *é*, never in *mhi* at Kapur di Gīri; and the genitive of bases in *in*, which is in *inó* at Gīrnar, and which, at Kapur di Gīri, follows, by the formation *isa*, the analogy of the declension in *a*. It may also be noted that the group *hm* or *mh*, which is retained at Gīrnar, is unknown at Kapur di Gīri, where *bamhaṇa* is written *bramaṇa*, and that the termination *vya* of the future participle passive, which usually at Gīrnar adheres to the spelling *viya*, is, at Kapur di Gīri, generally assimilated to *va* (*vva*). Finally, we may add one or two other divergencies, such as the 3rd person plural in *aré* used at Gīrnar, and the accidental substitution of *y* for *j* at Kapur di Gīri. We can thus have no hesitation in holding that the two sets of inscriptions, to a certain degree at least, do reflect different shades of dialect, which are absolutely distinct.

I do not think that the case is the same with regard to the versions which constitute the former group. If we put out of consideration the alleged use of *é* and *sh* at Khālsi, regarding which I shall shortly take an opportunity of stating my opinion, and which has nothing to do with the present discussion, the only appreciable differences refer to the initial *y*, the use of *r*, and the termination of nominatives neuter in *an*. Khālsi and the columnar edicts retain the initial *y* more frequently than the others, but as they present at the same time a number of examples of its elision, even in the same words, it is clear that no linguistic conclusion can be drawn from the fact, especially as in the versions which elide it most regularly, at Jaugada and Dhauli, examples are inversely found of its retention. In some instances Khālsi makes the nominative of neuter bases in *a*, in *an* and not in *é*: but it also contains a more considerable number of nominatives in *é* of bases usually treated as neuters; on the other hand, in one instance, Jaugada writes *anusāsanah*. Rūpnāth writes *chhavachharé* and *chirāhitiké*, *ārādhavé*, *pakaré*, but, also, *sātīlóké*, *apalādhīyēna*, and *ahālé*; and if it is admitted that it throughout retains the initial *y*, it must not be forgotten that it is short, that it has only three such examples, and that it is impossible to assume the existence of a peculiar dialect from such a detail, in the face of its otherwise perfect agreement with those inscriptions which more nearly resemble Māgadhi. It is plain, however, that we must not neglect sporadic discrepancies. They have a certain significance which should be cleared up. This problem appears to me to be an easy one. It will solve itself when we have elucidated one point, regarding which people have, I think, come to wrong conclusions.


It has been admitted hitherto that each of the versions of the edicts faithfully represents the dialect of the country in which it has been engraved. I believe that



this is a mistake, and that the deductions, which have been formed on this basis, are altogether unfounded. *A priori* it would be extremely surprising that a single dialect should have reigned, without rival and without shades of difference, throughout the whole of north and north-eastern India, from Khālsi to Jaugada, by way of Bairāt and Rūpnāth. Our scepticism will be found to be strengthened by several particular reasons.

According to this theory, at the time of Asōka, both at Dhauli and Jaugada, as well as at Rūpnāth and Allahabad, people must have employed a dialect which made nominatives masculine of *a*-bases terminate in *ē*, and which changed *r* into *l*. This I shall, for the sake of brevity, term the **Māgadhi of Asōka**. Now the inscription of Khandagiri, quite close to those of Dhauli and Jaugada, the date of which cannot be fixed with accuracy, but is certainly not more than a century later than the monuments of Piyadasi, and which appears to emanate from a local sovereign, makes the same nominatives in *ō* and the locatives in *ē*, preserves the etymological *r*, and in a word presents none of the characteristic traits of this dialect. We are thus led to think that Asōka's dialect was not that of the country. The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut *stūpa*, mid-way between Rūpnāth and Allahabad, perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later, and which are certainly expressed in a language analogous to the local idiom, present no trace of Magadhim. So also at Sanchi; yet General Cunningham has discovered there a fragment of an edict which, with a probability almost equivalent to certainty, he attributes to Piyadasi. Now, in this, fragmentary as it is, the nominatives in *ē*, words like *chilāṣṭitihē* leave no room for doubt. It was written in Māgadhi. But all the native inscriptions found in the same locality, either contemporary with it, or belonging to a very nearly contemporary epoch, agree without exception in the use of a Prakṛit free from Magadhim. In the other localities we are not so fortunate as to be able to use parallel monuments for controlling the apparent evidence of those of Piyadasi, but these facts are sufficiently significant. Evidently, the use of the Māgadhi dialect in his edicts does not prove that it was current and in vulgar use in the localities where they have been found. The conclusion readily presents itself to our minds. It was in Magadha that the head-quarters of Piyadasi's empire was situated. Māgadhi must have been the language of his court, and nothing can be simpler than to suppose that he used it throughout the extent of his dominions to address his people, and more specially his officers, the representatives of his power.<sup>1</sup>

But then, it will be said, how is it that the inscriptions of the extreme north-west and of the coast of Surāshtra escape this common level? The question appears to me to be capable of two explanations, each of which strengthens the other. No one, I think, doubts that it was in the north-west and west that a graphic system, adapted to the necessities of Indian languages, was first elaborated. At least the inscriptions of Kapur di Giri and of Girnār testify that in each case there had been already constituted a peculiar graphic system with its own traditions.

<sup>1</sup> At the other extremity of India, in Ceylon, we find a sign which favours this theory. However great, as regards details, may be the exaggerations of the Sinhalese traditions with reference to the connection of Asōka with Tāmraparī, the testimony of Piyadasi himself would appear to indicate that he held certain relations with that distant island. That he profited by these relations to help forward the diffusion of Buddhism, his zeal and the analogy of his conduct elsewhere do not permit us to doubt. It is hence the more interesting to follow up the traces, which have, in several instances, been pointed out, of the influence of the Māgadhi dialect on the ancient language of Ceylon. The most ancient inscriptions which have been found in the island are without doubt of sensibly later date than Piyadasi. This interval explains the alterations which the Māgadhi tradition has undergone from the time of the earliest inscriptions. The fact itself of its introduction, which it is difficult to refer to any author except Piyadasi, only stands out the more clearly from the persistence of certain traits. I do not speak merely of grammatical peculiarities: the locative in *si*, nominative in *ē*, &c., which have been pointed out by P. Goldschmidt (*Ind. Ant.*, 1877, p. 318; cf. Rhys Davids, *Ind. Ant.*, 1873, pp. 138 & ff. Kd. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 8; and the recent observations of Prof. Kern in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal . . . Kunde van Nederl. Indië*, IV. 10, p. 502). Two palaeographic facts are equally characteristic. One is the adoption of the sign  before its limitation to the palatal *s* (see below), and the other is the absence of the palatal *ṣ*, not employed in the official writing of Piyadasi, and which we see, for example, in the inscription of Kirinda (E. Müller, No. 57) expressed by the compound *ny*, in *ṣavanyutippitē*. It is, therefore, probable that Piyadasi had directly or indirectly transferred to Ceylon, as he had done to the provinces of his empire, the methods peculiar to his Māgadhi system of orthography.



These were facts which Piyadasi found established, and which he was obliged to take into his calculations. In the second place, it will be remarked that the two systems of spelling, or, if it is preferred, the two dialects used by Piyadasi, exactly coincide with the distinction between his immediate dominions and the merely vassal provinces, which, I believe, I have established by arguments perfectly independent, and having no reference to the facts which we are now considering. It was quite natural that Piyadasi should accommodate himself to the local customs of regions which were only indirectly attached to his empire, and in which traditions must have existed which it might have been both suitable and convenient to respect.

Certain useful indications can be drawn from the inscriptions. The various versions are not equally consistent in the application of orthographical peculiarities which correspond to dialectic differences. Even at Dhauli and Jaugada, where the initial *y* is most regularly elided, it is occasionally retained: *yé* (J. det. I. 4); *yá* (Dh. IV. 17); *yé* (Dh. V. 20; det. I. 8); at Khālsi and on the columns this is much more common: at Rūpnāth, the *y* is retained in the only three words in regard to which the question could be raised; at Bairāt, we have, side by side, *an* and *yan*. On the other hand, it is at Rūpnāth that we find two or three words in which the *r* is retained and not replaced by *l*. As a general rule the distinction between masculine and neuter is lost in the Māgadhi of the inscriptions, both genders making the nominative in *é*. Nevertheless, at Khālsi, it would appear that we have some nominatives masculine in *ō* (*sātiyaputō*, II. 4; *kālalaputō*, ibid.; *sō*, V. 14; cf., also, *lājānō*, II. 5), while neuters very often have the nominative in *an*. These inconsistencies can be explained in two ways. They result either from the influence of the learned language, or from the sporadic action of the local dialect entering into the official Māgadhi. I do not venture to decide.

Other irregularities, such as those which we meet at Kapur di Giri and at Girnar, are inverse cases. Thus, we have frequently in both versions nominatives singular in *é* (*i*) both for masculines and neuters. I may quote at Girnar: *prālāsiké*, *yuté*, *yārisé*, *bhūtapurvé*, *vaḍhité*, *tārisé*, *apaparisaré*, *dāvānāpiyé*, *sēsé*, *kaṇṇmé*, *dhaṇmacharapé*, *maṇḍulé*, *dasané*, *dāné*, *vipulé*, *kaṇṇmé*, *mūlé*; at Kapur di Giri: *anṭiyōké*, *si*, *athi*, *sakali*, *maté*, *turamayé*, *jivé*, *bhūtapurvé*, *vaḍhité*, *tadiśé*, *dané*, *niché*, *darśané*, *été*, *yé*, *kaṣavi*, *hati*, *yi*, *nichi*, *vijitē*, *ghaṣiti*, *maḥalaké*, *likhité*; at Kapur di Giri, several locatives in *asi* (*mahanasasi*, I. 2; *gaṇanasi*, III. 7; *yutasi*, V. 13; *ōrōdhanasi*, VI. 14; &c. are contrasted with the ordinary form, which is in *é*. It is clear that these accidental forms cannot be explained in this case by the influence either of a learned language, or of a popular one. They are so many Māgadhisms, whose only possible source can have been the influence of the Māgadhi officially employed by the suzerain of the states.

To sum up, the inscriptions of Piyadasi divide themselves, from a linguistic point of view, into two series, of which one, that of the north-west, betrays by certain, though not very important, indications, the existence of a dialectic sub-division. The other must represent the official language of the royal chancery. They bring before us two strongly contrasted orthographical systems; the one more nearly allied to the popular speech, the other with a greater tendency to approaching etymological and learned forms. Neither the one nor the other is subject to definite rules;—neither the one nor the other escapes individual discrepancies, or certain local influences. We shall see from what follows, and it is this which gives these facts a real interest, that this state of things marks the first phase of an evolution which was destined to accentuate itself more and more as it pursued its course. We shall see, in the epoch which follows, on the one hand, the Mixed Saṅskṛit, on the other hand the monumental Prakṛit, each continuing in parallel lines the tradition of which we here grasp the most ancient manifestations.

On several occasions, in the remarks which precede, I have been led to speak of "a learned language," and "a learned orthography." These expressions might lend themselves to



misconceptions which it is my duty to prevent. Now that I have explained myself regarding the popular language, it remains to determine, so far as we can from the indications at our disposal, what was the linguistic situation from the point of view of this other most important factor, Vedic or Classical Saṅskṛit.

Palæographic facts here hold the first place. Some are common to both of Piyadasi's modes of writing, others are peculiar to only one or other of them.

The north-western alphabet possesses no special signs for marking the long vowels. It is quite true that many languages are content with a similar notation, but Saṅskṛit does not present itself to us under ordinary conditions. A language partly artificial and used only by the learned, leaping into existence, after a long preparation, ready made and almost immutable, it had a grammar before it was put into writing. Neither in its orthography, nor in its grammatical forms, does it shew any sensible trace of progressive development. It could only be put into writing, at the time when it did commence to be written, under the same conditions as those under which it has continued to be written. A language thus elaborated must have imposed beforehand the power of distinguishing long vowels on the alphabet, by means of which it was intended to record it. An alphabet, which was not capable of making this distinction, would certainly never have sufficed to record it.

I may also mention a peculiarity which is common to both methods of writing. I have just now drawn attention to the fact that **neither of them represents the doubling of identical or homogeneous consonants.** Now, from the time when Saṅskṛit first makes its appearance, it observes this duplication, wherever it should be etymologically expected. No one can imagine either the Vedic Saṅskṛit or Grammatical and Classical Saṅskṛit being written without observing this practice. But, once established for the learned language, this duplication could not have failed to introduce itself into the popular orthography, as we shall see did actually occur in the case of the literary Prakṛit. It will, therefore, be asked how the orthography of the dialects, which we are at present considering, did not, of its own motion, adopt so natural a usage. For my part, I only see one satisfactory explanation, — **the persistent influence of the Semitic method or methods of writing upon which the alphabets of Piyadasi were founded.** A long effort was necessary to overcome this influence, and the sequel will shew how the new practice is exactly one of the traits which characterised the constitution and expansion of the literary language.

The Indian alphabet, on the other hand, did possess special signs for the long vowels, but when it is considered that at Khālsi, and perhaps at Bairāt and Rūpnāth, there are no signs for *ī* and *ū* long, and that in the other versions instances of inexactness in the notation of long vowels are continually met with, it will, I think, be unhesitatingly concluded that, **at the date of our inscriptions, a fixed, arrested form of language, like Saṅskṛit, had not yet been established in general use, for it would not have failed to act as a regulator and model for the popular languages, or to introduce into their orthography the precision, the unity and the consistency in which they are so much wanting.**

The Indian alphabet of Piyadasi has only one sign to represent *r*; whether it precedes or follows a consonant. Would this have been possible if that alphabet were used to record Saṅskṛit? Now, it is actually in the period which immediately follows, that it develops new resources in this respect. From the time of the inscriptions of Nānāghāt, we find the definite notation of *r* after another consonant<sup>2</sup> well established, and, shortly afterwards, the same sign transferred to the top of the consonant which it accompanied, served to express an antecedent *r*.

<sup>2</sup> At Bharhut, as in later times at Nānāghāt and elsewhere, *r* after a consonant is placed below it, either in its zigzag form (𑀓𑀲) as in *śkrāṇṭi*, or in the perpendicular form, as in 𑀓𑀲 of *brahṇa*. (Cf. Cunningham. *Bharhut Stūpa*, Inscip. Nos. 76, 97, 89.)



We can also assert that the sign for the vowel *ri* did not yet exist in the time of *Asoka*. The reason is simple, and is quite independent of any *a priori* argument. It is clear to every one that the sign **J** of the vowel *ri*, in the most ancient form in which it appears, is derived from the sign used to mark *r* in composition with a preceding consonant, *vis.*, **J**; and we have just seen that this sign did not develop till after the time of *Piyadasi*.

Another lacuna is more significant still; it is the absence of three distinct signs corresponding to the three sibilants of the learned orthography. I am now speaking only of the Indian alphabet. *Khālsi* allows us to show that this absence was perfectly real, and that it was neither voluntary or merely apparent.

It will be remembered that *Khālsi*, in addition to **᳚**, the ordinary sign for *s*, also employs another form, **᳛**. This *s* has been considered as representing the palatal *ś*. It is true that this last letter has an identical or analogous form in the most ancient inscriptions in which it appears, *i.e.*, at *Nāsik* and at *Girnar*. But we must understand matters. It is not possible to admit that, at *Khālsi*, the first edicts and the last ones differ between themselves in dialect, and I consider that the conclusions to which I came in the Introduction of this work are unassailable, that **᳛**, at *Khālsi*, is merely an alternative graphic form of **᳚**. Other facts confirm my opinion. The sign **᳛** reappears in the Edict of *Bairāt*, and in the two inscriptions of *Rāmnāth*, the first presents only a single example, in the word *svarga*, in which the palatal *ś* has no right to exist. The inscriptions of *Rāmnāth* are, unfortunately, either badly defaced or very badly reproduced. Such as we have them, they do not lend themselves to a translation, or even to an approximate interpretation; all that we can remark is that the first uses the sign **᳛** and that alone, and the other sign **᳚** and that alone. This is a very strong reason for considering that the two signs are simple equivalents. The demonstration is completed by facts drawn from the other end of India. Mr. Rhys Davids (*Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 130) was the first to point out, in the most ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, the parallel use of two sibilants **᳚** and **᳛**. The second is clearly only a modification of the **᳛** of *Khālsi* or of its prototype. Since then, Dr. E. Müller (*Ancient Inscript. of Ceylon*, No. 1) has published one in which the form **᳛** alone figures. He has drawn from these facts (p. 16) the only reasonable conclusion,—that which Mr. Rhys Davids had already very justly put forward,—that the two signs express indifferently one and the same sound. We cannot come to a conclusion for the north different from that to which we have come for the south. The distance between the two localities of occurrence, and the absolute analogy of the facts prohibit us from thinking of a dialectic differentiation between the two sibilants. The sequel of palaeographic history shows us that the form **᳛** came to be subsequently employed to express the palatal *ś*, when a need to express it, that is to say, to write in *Sanskrit*, was experienced. At the time of *Piyadasi*, the Indian alphabet did not yet possess the palatal *ś*; and it therefore had not yet been applied, in anything like a regular and consequent way, to the learned language.

Another strictly parallel fact indirectly confirms this. By the side of **᳚**, the inscription of *Khālsi*, in its second half, frequently uses a form **᳞**. Dr. Bühler (p. 26) transliterates it by *śh*, and approves of my having recognized its relationship with the cerebral *śh* of the complete alphabet. I fear that there has been a misunderstanding here. I do, it is true, believe that the **᳞** of *Nāsik* and of *Girnar* (*Radradāman*) is derived from this **᳞**, but I in no way believe that this last form had the value of a cerebral at *Khālsi*. In spite of the transliteration *śh*, I would not venture to assert that such is even the opinion of Dr. Bühler, and in any case I could not agree with him if it is. The sign does not appear till about the 10th Edict, and only becomes common in the 11th, 12th and 13th, although the form is not absolutely unknown to the former ones, as we have it also in the 4th Edict, l. 11. In the more than 110 instances in which Dr. Bühler reads *śh* at *Khālsi*, there are only thirty in which the cerebral *śh* could be expected. Under these circumstances, and the transition between the forms **᳚** and **᳞** being easy, the steps being marked out by several intermediate shapes both at *Khālsi* and elsewhere, it is absolutely impossible to consider the sign **᳞** as anything other than a graphic variant



of  $\mathcal{C}$ . The perfect indifference with which the engravers use one sign or the other is really quite evident. All that has happened is the same as what we have already proved for  $\mathcal{M}$ . In subsequent times advantage has been taken of this duplication of forms to apply one of them to the notation of the cerebral *sh*, and it has become fixed in its new function, but the fact is later than our inscriptions.

To sum up, — neither the North-Western nor the Indian alphabet could have been at this epoch used to write Sāṃskṛit. The Indian alphabet, the only one of the two which subsequently became applied to Sāṃskṛit, appears before us in the condition of undergoing the modifications, which eventually prepared it for that rôle. We know of no trace of any different alphabet, which could have served for the notation of Sāṃskṛit, and we are driven to the conclusion that at the time of Piyadasi Sāṃskṛit had not yet been written, and, as all our arguments apply equally to the religious, (Vedic) language, the conclusion holds equally good for it as well as for classical Sāṃskṛit properly so called.

Between these two languages there is, however, one important difference. The elaboration of classical Sāṃskṛit could only have taken place with a view to a wide, profane use, — with a view to a written use. To say that it was not written, is to say that it did not yet practically exist, — at least in its ultimate form. But it is not so in regard to the Vedic language. Not only could its essential monuments exist in an oral state, but they could have been, in this form, the object of a culture purely oral, and more or less complete. Eminent Indian scholars have considered and still consider that the composition of the *prātiśākhya*s does not imply the use of writing. I need not here expatiate on a subject to which we shall again be conducted by the conclusions of the following chapter. These remarks have merely for their aim to put forward (while we explain it) an apparent contradiction between these two propositions: on the one hand the palæographic condition of our monuments proves that the classical idiom which subsequently took so prominent a position had either not received as yet its complete elaboration, or had at least not yet been regularly written, while, on the other hand, the orthography of the popular dialects as it is reflected by our monuments, reveals the action, more or less latent, none the less certain, of a previous philological culture. It is to the oral tradition of the religious literature, to the efforts for its preservation and for its phonetic analysis, of which it was the cause, that we have to trace back this influence. The reader cannot fail to remark how happily this origin accounts for the peculiar character of the action, unequal and indirect, incomplete and accidental, which we have been able to describe.

#### WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from page 113).

**XXXIV. The Tenth pañnam, virathaa, virastava, in 43 vv.** Enumeration of the names of the siri Vaddhamāṇa [445] (v. 4). It begins: *namīṇa jinaṃ jayañjivabandhavaṃ bhaviyakusumarayanīyaraṃ | Virāṃ girimādhiraṃ thuṇāmi (staumi) payatthanāmēhim ||* It concludes: *iya nāmāvali sāmthuyā siri Virajiniṃda māṇdasuṇṇassa (°ṇṇassa ?) | viyara karuṇāḥ Jinavara | sitapayamaṇabhatthiraṃ (?) Vira ! || 43 ||*

The *gachchhāyāram*, which in V., in the Ratnasāgara, and in the second collection of all the pañnas that I have before me, is cited as a part of the collection (see pp. 429, 431) contains in 138 vv. general rules of life, especially those for the bhikkhu and bhikkhuṇī, in the form of a lesson to Gōyama, who is several times mentioned in it. It begins: *namīṇa Mahāviraṃ . . . | gachchhāyāram kiṃchī uddharimō suasamuddāḥ ||* *atth' ēgē Gōyamā ! pāpī | jē ummaggaṇāṭṭhiē | gachchhammi sāmvasittāṇaṃ | bhamaī bhavaparamparaṃ ||* The metre is almost everywhere ślōka, though two syllables are often counted as one, one short being cast away; so for example in v. 15: *samgahōvaggahaṃ vibipā | na karēi a jōgaṇī | samanaṃ*



samañim tu dikkhittā | sāmāyārim na gāhaē || 15 || vihiṇā, samañam, samañim are to be read as dissyllables.

At the end it is called (see verse 1) an extract from the mahānisiḥakappa and the vavahāra, sources which explain the use of the ślōka here: mahānisiḥakappaō | vavahāraō taḥē 'va ya sāhu-sāhuṇi-atthāē | gacchāyāraṁ samuddhiam || 136 || paḍhamasūṁ sāhuṇō, ēaṁ | asajjhāyaṁ vivajjiam | uttamasuanissamādaṁ | gacchāyāraṁ suuttamaṁ || 137 || gacchāyāraṁ suṇittāṇaṁ | 446] paḍhittā bhikkhu bhikkhuṇi | kuṇamtu jaṁ jalaḍbhagiam | ichchhamti hiam appaṇō || 138 ||

The fourth group of Siddhānta texts is composed of D., the six chhēdasūtras.

So at least according to Bühler's List (see above, p. 226). In the Āyāravibhi and in the Ratnasāgara (Calc. 1880) these assert a prior place — between the upāṅgas and the pañnas. The name chhēdasūtra<sup>65</sup> (chhēda, cutting, section ?) can be explained in many ways. There is no authentic explanation that I have been able to discover. This name recurs in the texts in question as infrequently as in the paragraphs in the MSS. The first time where it is mentioned, so far as I know,<sup>66</sup> is in the Āvaśy. nijj. 8, 35: jaṁ cha mahākappaṁ<sup>67</sup> jāṇia sēsāṇi chhēda suttāṇi, from which passage it is clear that then, besides the mahākappaṁ, there existed several other texts belonging to this group (kalpādini Schol.); and in another passage of the above cited work (16, 100), there are enumerated three texts which, at present, still bear this name and which state that they were divided<sup>68</sup> just as we find them. They appear [447] to belong together after a fashion and to form a united group. In the enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha texts in the Nandī, in the Pākshikasūtra and in the three sāmāchārīs we find these texts arranged in the same order (dasāṇaṁ, kappassa, vavahāraṁ). In the sāmāchārīs, in the passage in reference to the number of days necessary to learn them, we find that but one suyakkaṁdha is allotted to them all: kappavavahāradasāṇaṁ (so Āvi., Svi., dasāka<sup>69</sup>raṇaṁ V.) ēgō suakkhaṁdhō. The Vidhipr., however, states that some (kēi) "kappavavahāraṇaṁ bhinnāṁ suyakkaṁdhaṁ ichchhamti."

The title chhēdasutta is not mentioned in this list of the anaṅgapaviṭṭhas or aṅgabāhiraṁ, which cites, in addition to the three texts held to be chhēdasuttas, two others immediately afterward, one name alone intervening. These additional chhēdasuttas are nisiḥa and mahānisiḥa, which now stand at the head of the chhēdas. The mahākappasuam (see p. 478), too, is found in the list, but in a different place — about 24 places previous. From this we draw the conclusion that the author of the list did not regard the mahākappasuam (see p. 478) as belonging to these chhēdasuttas.

The mahākappa<sup>70</sup> is mentioned in no other passage. In all other passages, where the chhēdasūtras are enumerated, the nisiḥam is invariably placed at the head of the list. Thus in Āvi., where the number of days necessary for learning the chhēdasūtras is stated, [448] there are enumerated as the "chhēdaggaṁtha" (here placed between upāṅgas and pañnas; see p. 446) the seven names: nisiḥa, dasā, kappa, vavahāra, mahānisiḥa, pañchakappa and jākappa. The pañchakappa is mentioned also under the pañnas. Cf. above, pp. 427, 430. The case is similar in Svi., where, however, the name chhēda<sup>71</sup> is omitted, and the discussion on this subject is inserted between that concerning aṅgas 4 and 5. In Svi. only siḥa, dasā, kappa and vavahāra are treated of together, pañchakappa and jākappa not being mentioned, and mahānisiḥa is disposed of at another place, viz.: — at the end of the entire jōgavihi after the pañnas. V. agrees herein with

<sup>65</sup> An older form of the name is perhaps chhasua, chhēdaśruta; thus in a citation in the Vichārāmritasaṅgraha: "nisiḥam-āyassa chhēdasassa"; chhēdasasāṅga, too, is found in the same place (see p. 430), where it is said that they are five in number.

<sup>66</sup> The name of the second group of the charittagupapramāṇa in the Anyōgadyārasūtra — chhēdavaddhāvapiṭṭha<sup>72</sup> — may be recalled in this connection.

<sup>67</sup> According to the Scholiast these texts are borrowed from the dīṭṭhivā (aṅga 12), and, consequently, are to be regarded as rishibhāshita: mahākappaśrutādīnāṁ api rishibhāshitatvā(d) dṛṣṭivādādd uddhṛitya tēśhām pratipēdit-  
atvāt dharinakathānuyōga vā (° gatvās cha ?) prasaṅgaḥ.

<sup>68</sup> dasa uddēsapaḍḍā dasāna, kappassa huṇti chhach chēva | dasa chēva vavahārasa huṇti | savvē vi chhavv-



Svi. completely, with the exception that, as *Āvi.*, it adds pañchakappa and jīakappa to nisiha, dasā, k. and yav. In the metrical portion at the close, the jōgavihāṇapagarana, however, the first four are treated of either as to be learned together in 30 days or as "savvāṇi vi chhēasuttāṇi," v. 22. In the next verse (23) there are statements concerning jiyak. and pañchak. (mahānisiha is not discussed till vv. 63, 64). In the Vichārāṃṇitas, the chhēasuam is called nisiha-m-āiyam — on jītak., pañchak. see p. 430 —; and in the commentary on the śrāddhajītakalpa — see below — śrī niśīthādi chhēdagranthasūtra is spoken of. We find that this agrees with Bühler's list (above, p. 226).

Besides this arrangement which places niśītha at the head we meet with statements in modern sources in which the number composing the series varies in many ways. The series, as we have seen above, was never fixed, continually varying between 4 and 7 members.

[449] In the Ratnasāgara (Calc. 1880) we find the following arrangement: vyavahāra-vṛibatkalpa, dasāśruta, niśītha, mahāniśītha, jītakalpa. These names are the same with an exception in the case of jītakalpa (Bühler has pañchakalpa; *Āvi.* has both names). The arrangement of Rāj. L. Mitra and after him that of Paṇḍit Kashinath Kuntē, taking its rise from the Siddhāntadharṃasāra, is very remarkable. See my remarks on p. 227.

The uncertainty of modern tradition may, it is true, create an impression unfavourable to the age of the chhēdasūtra texts which we possess. On the other hand, there are sufficient arguments which permit us to ascribe a relatively ancient date to the chief group at least, i. e. the three texts: dasā-kappa-vavahārā. The order which I have here followed is, without doubt, the old arrangement, though, for convenience sake, I adopt that of Bühler from this point on: vavahāra, dasā, kappa. We must here consider the statements of tradition in reference to the origin and composition of these texts.

Haribhadra, on *Āvaśy.* 6, as, explains the third of the three forms of the sāmāchārī which are mentioned in the text: ōhē dasahā payavibhāgē, the padavibhāgasāmāchārī by chhēdasūtra-trāṇi, and, as we have seen above, p. 357, he states that this is chhēdasūtralakṣhanāṇ navama-pūrvād ēva nirvyūdhā. On *Āvaśy.* 7, *e*, he limits the equalization of the padavi'chārī to kalpa and vyavahāra (sā cha ka'hārarāpā). The same statement exists in the avachūri composed A. D. 1383 by Jñānasāgara on the Ōghaniryukti: [450] padavi'chārī kalpavyavahārau; and pūrva 9 (vasta 3, prābhṛita 20) is referred to as the source — see above, p. 357 — whence this Bhadrabāhusvāminā nirvyūdhā. The composition of these two texts, kalpa and vyavahāra, is frequently referred back<sup>69</sup> to Bhadrabāhu, who is said to have made use of the same sources as they. But in the ṛishimaṇḍalasūtra (Jacobi, Kalpas, p. 11), (p. 472) the same is asserted of the third member of this group of texts, the dasāu. We have consequently here, as in the case of upāṅga 4, to deal with an author whose name is specially mentioned. Whether this claim is correct or not (we will refer to this question below), the connection with the puvvas according to tradition, is significant.

The contents of the existing chhēdasūtras makes it probable that a large portion of them is of considerable antiquity. This contents refers in general to the clergy and the rules of conduct prescribed<sup>70</sup> for them, though there is a large admixture of subsidiary matter of a legendary character (e. g. the entire Kalpasūtram). The first two rules, according to the existing order, refer to expiations and penances (prāyaśchitta)<sup>71</sup>; while all the rest contain general matters referring to discipline.

<sup>69</sup> The same is asserted of the niśītham; see p. 453n.

<sup>70</sup> It corresponds consequently to the vinaya of the Buddhists with which, despite all differences, it is closely connected in contents and in style of treatment.

<sup>71</sup> The expression gīṭhā in the last verse of Dharmaghoṣa's śrāddhajītakalpa (see p. 478), treating of the prāyaśchitta, is explained in the anonymous scholiast thereupon by gīṭhāh śrīniśīthādi chhēdagranthasūtra. Dh. recommends to the gīṭhā the correction of his work, which he conceives of as being closely connected with the chhēdasūtras. This name gīṭha does not agree particularly well with the form of the text of the existing chhēdasūtras, since a large portion of the latter is composed in prose, and gīṭha not gīṭhā is the prevailing form of metre in the metrical portions. Cf., however, the name of the sixth book of the second chhēdas.



[451] There is other testimony of an external character which makes for the antiquity of the *ohhēdasūtras*. The first of these is, as is well known, closely connected with *aṅga* 1, and is, in fact, called a part of the latter (p. 254). *Chhēdasūtras* 2, 4 bear the stamp of antiquity because they resemble *aṅgas* 1—4 as regards the introduction; and because *chhēdas*, 2—5 resemble the same *aṅgas* as regards the conclusion.<sup>72</sup> The ancient date of *chhēdas*, 4 is *eo ipso* attested by the thoroughgoing mention of it and its ten sections in *aṅga* 3, 10.

The testimony is not so favourable in the case of *chhēdasūtra* 2. It must be ascribed to a somewhat later date from the fact that it contains a polemic against the *ninhaga*, a mention of the *dasapuvvin* etc. See below. We have exact chronological data for the *Kalpasūtram*, inserted in *chhēdas*, 4. See p. 472.

It is remarkable that there are old commentaries called *bhāshya* and *chūṛṇi*,<sup>73</sup> composed in *Prākṛit*, the first kind of texts written in *gāthās*, the second in prose, on three of our texts: — *nīśha*, *vavahāra*, *kappa*. The *Nom. Sgl. M.* of the 1. Decl. ends invariably in *o* and not in *e*; and extensive use is made of the insertion of an inorganic *m*. The *Prākṛit* shows many traces of a later age, e. g., we find the thematic instead of the declined form. Furthermore, the fact that these *bhāshyas* [452] are, for the most part, composed in *gāthās*, whereas the verses in the *ohhēdasūtras* are mostly *ślōkas*, deserves our attention.

The extent of each of the texts is as follows: — 1. *nīśham* 812 (or 815) *grāhthas*, — 2. *mahānīśham* 4504 *gr.*, — 3. *vavahāra* 500 *gr.*, — 4. *daśāśrutaskamdham* 800 *gr.*, exclusive of the *kalpasūtra*, that contains 1254 *gr.*, — 5. *bṛihatkalpa* 475 *gr.*, — 6. *pañchakaḷpa* (is wanting).

**XXXV. First ohhēdasūtram, the nīśhajjhāyaṇam.** This name is explained, strangely enough, by *nīśtha*, though the character of the contents would lead us to expect *nishedha*. In the scholiast on *Uttarajjh.* 26, 2, *nīśhiyā* is paraphrased by *naishedhikī*; and so in the scholiast on *Dasavēālia* 5, 2: *asamañjasañishedhān naishedhikī*; in the scholiast on *Āvaśy.* 7, 1, and on *Anuyōgadv.* introduction (2<sup>b</sup> in A) where Hemachandra explains it by *śavapari-sthāpanabhūmiḥ*. The statements in the text in *Āvaśy.* 7, 3, *fg.* are decisive: — *jamhā tattha nisiddhō tēgaṃ nīśhiā hōi || 33 || . . jō hōi nisiddhappā | nīśhiā tassa bhāvaō hōi | avisuddhassa nīśhiā kēvalamittam haviā saddō || 33 ||*; in 10, 40, 41 we read *baddham abaddham tu suam, baddham tu duvālasaṅganiddiṭṭham | tavvivariam abaddham, nīśham anīśha baddham tu || 40 || bhūḥ pariṇayavigaḥ saddakaraṇam taḥēva anīśham | pachohhannaṃ tu nīśham nīśha nāmañ jahajjhāyaṇam || 41 ||* Scholiast here<sup>74</sup>): *iha baddhasrutam nīśhidham anīśhidham anishedham cha, tatra rahasya[453]pāthād rahasyōpadēsāch cha prachhaṇnaṃ nīśhidham uchyatē, prakāśapāthāt prakāśōpadēsāch chā 'nīśhidham, . . . nīśhidham guptārtham uchyatē*. From this we may indubitably<sup>75</sup> conclude that the explanation by *nīśtha*<sup>76</sup> is simply an error, and is to be classed in the same category as the explanation of *uvavāiyam* by *supapātikam* and of *rāyapāsēpaīyyam* by *rājaprasāniyam*.

Whether we are to understand our text under the *nīśhajjhāyā* mentioned in *aṅga* 4 (see p. 280) as part of the first *aṅga* or under the *nīśha nāmañ ajjhāyaṇam* in *Āvaśy.* 10, 41, is a matter of doubt, since its title is perhaps not passive = *pachhannaṃ* (s. below), *guptārtham*, but active in sense. Nevertheless the statements, which (see p. 254 ff.) are found in *aṅga* 1 in relation to its fifth *chūlā* called *nīśha* (cf. also *nīśhiyā* as the name of *ajjh.* 2 of the second *chūlā*, *ibid.*), and in the introduction of the *nīśthachūṛṇi* in reference to the identity of the *chhēdasūtra* with

<sup>72</sup> It must, however, be noticed that (p. 448) in *Syl.* and *V.* the *chhēda* texts are treated of between *aṅga* 4 and *aṅga* 5.

<sup>73</sup> See Jacobi *Kalpa*, pp. 16, 25.

<sup>74</sup> *padyagadyabandhanād baddham, sāstrōpadēsavad; dvād. āchārādiganipīṭakam . . lōkottaram; abaddham laukikam.*

<sup>75</sup> In the enumeration of the 10 *sāmyārī* (*aṅgas* 3, 10, 5, 7, *uttarajjh.* 26, *Āvaśy.* 7) the *śvassayā*, commandments, are always found together with the *nīśhiyā*, prohibitions (Leumann).

<sup>76</sup> Intermediate forms are *nīśidha* — see just above — and *nīśitha* in the scholiast on *aṅga* 1.



this fifth *chhāḷā*<sup>77</sup>, make at least for the conclusion that tradition regards the *niśham* *ajjhayaṇam* in our *chhēdasūtra* as originally forming a part of *aṅga* 1 and separated from it at a later period. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the text in question existed originally as it exists to-day in an independent condition, and that it was at a later period joined with *aṅga* 1, whence it was again separated.

In the *Nandī* — see below — [454] the *niśham* is mentioned after *dasā kappō vavahārō* and before *mahāniśham*. It is, therefore, certain that our text is referred to. The statements, which are found<sup>78</sup> in *Āvaśy.* 16, 114 (s. p. 255<sup>a</sup>) in reference to the three-fold division of *niśham* into three *ajjhayaṇas*, by name *ugghāyam*, *aṇugghāyam* and *aruvaṇā*, are not in harmony with the constitution of our text, which contains no trace of such a three-fold division, but on the other hand is divided into 20 *uddēśakas*,<sup>79</sup> containing hardly anything but prohibitions for the *bhikkhu*.<sup>80</sup> The words *ugghātiya* and *aṇuggh°* are, it is true, made use of, but this does not presuppose a direct division into 3 *ajjh.*<sup>81</sup> All these prohibitions commence with the following words (cf. the formula in the *Pratimokhasūtra* of the Buddhists): — *je bhikkhū . . karēi* and end with *kareṃtaṃ vā sātijjāi*.<sup>82</sup> We have here then a fixed canonical rule, which makes upon us the impression of being very old. At the conclusion of the *udd.* a penitence of one or, as the case may be, of four months is prescribed: *taṃ sēvamāṇē āvayati māsiyaṃ parihāraṭṭhāṇaṃ ugghātiyaṃ* (or *aṇuggh°*, or *chān°*) *niśahē*.

The 20th *udd.* treats especially of this penitence and appeals thereby to the first *udd.* of the *vavahāra*.

[455] At the end there are three *āryās*, in which *Viśāhagaṇi* is stated to be the writer (!): *tassa lihiyaṃ niśham*. These *āryās* are counted as constituent parts of the text, since they are followed by the words *iti niśhājghayaṇā viśamō uddēsaṃ sammattō*.

There is a very detailed commentary (*bhāshya*) in *Prākṛit* in *āryās*, akin to the prose commentary, which *Jinaprabhāmuni*, author<sup>83</sup> of the commentary on the *paryuṣaṇākalpaniryukti*, mentions as his source of information under the name *niśhachūrpī*. The *bhāshya* offers but little assistance in regard to the explanation of the words of the text, but contains general remarks concerning the contents of each of the *uddēśakas*. It starts with a very lengthy introduction,<sup>84</sup> which at the end is called *peḍhaṃ*, i. e. *pīṭhaṃ*, cf. *pīṭhikā* in *Malayagiri*. Each of the paragraphs of the text is called *sūtram* in every case. This commentary does not discuss the three concluding verses of the text. The writer of the Berlin MS. (Ahmedābād Samv. 1629) belonged to the stock of *Ahmayadeva*.<sup>85</sup>

**XXXVI. Second *chhēdasūtram*, the *mahāniśham*.** Instruction of *Gōyama* in reference to transgressions (*salla*) and punishments (*pāyachhitta*, *pachhitta*), in 8 *ajjhayaṇas*, of which [456] *ajjh.* 1, 2 have a text composed partly in *ślōkas* or *trishṭubh*, (Nom. in *o*) and partly in prose (Nom. in *e*); and in *ajjh.* 3 ff. many *ślōkas* are inserted. The single copy which I have by me, and that a very incorrect one, reproduces the text so very imperfectly that even the writer,

<sup>77</sup> *Ślāṅka*, in the introduction to the second *śrantaḥ*, of *aṅga* 2 says that the "*śchāraprakalpō niśhāḥ*" is "*niryūḍha*" from *pūrva* 9, 3, 20. (Leumann); see pages 337, 450a.

<sup>78</sup> *Haribhadra* makes no statement on this head, since he holds the verses to be *nigadasiddha*. Cf. the five-fold division of the *āryās* in *aṅga* 3, 5, 2 into: *māsiē ugghāiē*, *m. aṇugghāiē*, *chāsummāsiē u.*, *chā. aṇuggh.*, *chā. aṇugghāiē ārōvaṇā*. (Leumann.)

<sup>79</sup> 1 with 48 paragraphs, 2 with 59, 3 with 74, 4 with 62, 5 with 76, 6 with 22, 7 with 37, 8 with 19, 9 with 26, etc.

<sup>80</sup> According to *Kaśh.* *Kuntē* the *niś.* treats "of the duties of *Sādhus*, and the fines and penalties to be imposed on them when they neglect them."

<sup>81</sup> The 20 *udd.* are, however, divided into 3 groups (1—5, 6—19, and 20; Leumann).

<sup>82</sup> "Who does this or that and who does not do it." See Leumann, *Aup. Glossar*, p. 159 s. v. *sājj* (Pāli *sādiyati*) "take," "receive," "accept," "permit."

<sup>83</sup> A. D. 1307, see *Jacobi, Kalpas*, p. 25; also author of the *Vidhiprapā*, above p. 223.

<sup>84</sup> Begins: *navabambhachēramāḥ aṭṭhārasapadasahassīō yētō (vēdaḥ, see p. 457) i havati ya sapamachachūlo bahu bahutaraō padaggēpaṃ || 1 || āyārapakappaṇa tu . . || 2 || āyārō aggaṇṭhiyapakappa taha chūliā niśham ti . . || 3 || pakappammi chūliyāē niśhē ya . . V. 1 is cited in the same form, by *Ślāṅka* from *Bhadr.'s* *śchāraniryukti* according to Leumann.*

<sup>85</sup> *Samvat* 1569 under *Pātasāha Mahamāda*.



overcome by the difficulties in his way, at the conclusion of the first ajjh., begs<sup>86</sup>, in Prākṛit, that the fault be not laid at his door. He says that it is not a kulihyam, but a text *sui generis* with its mixture of verses, half-verses, prose and even single aksharas. See my remarks on p. 472. If my explanation of his words be correct the writer speaks also of marginal glosses and of leaves that have fallen out from his original (pūrvāyārisa, pūrvādarśa). Since these words too are very corrupt, they are not to be ascribed to the writer of the present MS., which is well written to say the least, but to an earlier scribe, whose comments have always been copied together with the text.

A statement in Sanskrit, of not less peculiar nature, but handed down in a very corrupt state, is found at the end of the fourth ajjhayaṇa, and is directed, not against the condition of the text, but against its contents. According to this statement Haribhadrasūri had declared that it was impossible for him to believe some of the wonderful accounts contained in the text. [457] The writer first asserts that this scepticism of Haribhadrasūri has reference solely to a few of these statements and not to the entire fourth ajjh. or to the other ajjh. This scepticism, he says, was caused by the fact that in aṅgas 3, 4 and in upāṅgas 3, 4 nothing was said of these matters, "na kathamchid idam āchakhyē yathā." We must refer yathā to what follows, and regard the words as a kind of citation from ajjh. 4. The latter, however, does not suit the sense, which amounts to this:—cave-dwellers are able to undergo hardships for a year. The meaning of the very obscure words at the end appears to be that since this sūtram according to ancient tradition is an ārsham, and in this śrutaskandha there are contained many excellent "gaṇadharoktāni vēdavachanāni," it is the conclusion of the writer that there is no occasion for unbelief even as regards these remarkable statements.<sup>87</sup> The great Haribhadrasūri<sup>88</sup> is undoubtedly referred to here, [458] who must have played an important rôle at the date of this remark of the copyist, to whom the polemic appeared as a bitter necessity.

The wretched condition of the text is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact that the authority of the mahānīśthasūtra found many opponents even among the Jains themselves. That the text is corrupt is manifested externally first of all in the imperfect tradition as regards its division. According to a special statement<sup>89</sup> in the commencement of the third ajjh., after v. 3,

<sup>86</sup> mahānīśthasūtrādharasā paḥamam ajjhayaṇam salluddharapaṇam nāma || 1 || ēyassa ya kulihiyācāsi na dāyavō suaharāhiṃ | kim tu jō chēva ēyassa pūrvāyārisō āsi, tatthēva kattha ya silōgō kattihi silōgaddham katthai payakkharāni katthāni akkharapaṇṭhiyā katthai pattayaputtihiyam ("marginal notes"?) kai bē tinni paṇṇāni ēva ghāi (?) bahu gaṇaspa (gaṇṭha?) parigaliyāni ti.

<sup>87</sup> atra caturthādhyayanā bahavaḥ siddhāntikāḥ kēchid ilāpakāṇa (?) samyak sudadhyēty (?) ēvīntair asāradadhānair asmākam api na samyak śradadhānam ity āha Haribhadrasūriḥ; na punaḥ sarvaṃ ēv dāni caturthādhyayanam anyāni vā 'dhyayanāni asyāi 'va katipayai (?) parimitair ilāpakair asāradadhānam ity arthah; yathā sthāna-samarāya-jivābhigama-prajñāpānādīḥ na kathamchid idam āchakhyē, yathā | prēti (?) samāpāsathēnam asti, tāi (?) guhāvāsinas tu manuṣās, tesu cha paramadharmikāṇāṃ punaḥ punaḥ saptaśatavārēṇ yāvā upapattē, tesāṃ cha tair dāruvair vajra-silāgharaiḥ samūpulair gilītanām pariplīyamānāṃ api samvatsaram yāvā prāṇavyāpattir na bhavati 'ti; vridhāvādas tu punaḥ yathāvad idam ārsham sūtram, vikṛitir na tāvad atra pratīśā, prabhūṭā chā 'tra śrutaskandhē arthāḥ suhiv apīsayēna (?) sātīsayāni gaṇadharoktāni vēda (see p. 455) vachanāni tad ēvaṃ sthītā na kiñchid āśaṃkanyam.

<sup>88</sup> See pp. 371, 372. In Jinadattasūri's gaṇadharasādhāṇa, v. 55, 114 payaraṇas are ascribed to him; and Sarvarājagani cites in the scholium the following works: pañchavastūka upadēśapadapaṇchāśakā 'śhika 'śhōśaka lōkatat(?)vaniraya dharmavindu lōkabindu yōgadīśhtisamuchehaya dāśanaśaptatikā nānāchitraka vṛiṇamithyāśvamañthana pañchasūtraka saṃskṛitātmanūśāsana saṃskṛitachaityavandanaśhāśhya anēkātajayapatākā 'nēkāntapadapravēśaka paralōkasiddhi dharmalobhasiddhi śāstravārttāsamuchehayādīprakarapaṇṭhiṃ, tātha āvaśyakavṛitti dāśavaikālika vṛihadvṛitti laghuvṛitti piṇḍaniryuktivṛitti jivābhigamaprajñāpānōpāṅgavṛitti pañchavastūkavṛitti anēkāntajayapatākāvṛitti chaityavandanaṇvṛitti anuyōgadvāravṛitti naḥdivṛitti saṃgrahaglvṛitti khetrasamāśvṛitti śāstravārttāsamuchehayavṛitti arhachhṛichūdāmaṇi Samarādityacharita kathākōśa-dīśāstrāṇi. Not so complete are the statements in the Vichārāṃpitāsahgraha which contains, however, a large number of the names. In the Vic. H.'s death is placed (§ 8 begin.) in the year 1650 after Vīra.

<sup>89</sup> Probably in four āryas, though the metre or rather the text itself is very difficult to make out. The last verse reads:—nikhittayibhiḥ tapāṇēṇaṃ saṃghattēṇaṃ imē mahānīśtha(m) | varasuyakkhamdham vottavāṇi cha Auttagapāṇēṇaṃ (?) ti || In the preceding verses the word ambilē is found three times: tāi sōlāsa uddēśē aṭṭha tathēva ambilē | jao taṃ itaṃ chaṭṭhē vipaṇchamaṇimi (!) 'chhāmi yambilē || dāsa, chhajthē dō, antamē tinni, aṭṭhamē 'bilē dāsa a |; this is probably a vocative to ambilā, "little mother," and to be explained in the same way as suṇdari in paṇna 7 (see p. 442).



(a statement that perhaps did not belong to the text originally) the *mahānīś* consists of 8 *ajjhayaṇas*, each of which contains a certain number of *uddesas*, which is stated. But in our MS. there is no trace whatsoever of any *uddesas*. In the first *ajjh*, there are between the beginning and the end some §§ numbers (31, 33, and 16, 17 for which 36, 37 are to be substituted), [459] and at the end the number 49. These numbers do not, however, refer to *uddesa* sections, since these are generally of greater extent, as is proved in the case of our text from the number of *udd.* ascribed to *ajjh.* 2—7. We have no statement of the kind in the case of *ajjh.* 1. These numbers are nine for 2, sixteen for 3, eight for 4, ten for 5, two for 6, three for 7, ten for 8. Of the eight *ajjhayaṇas* only the first six are specially distinguished, four having special names, though only those ascribed to the first two *ajjh.* are in harmony with the contents. The sixth *ajjh.* closes on f. 70<sup>a</sup>; the remainder is characterized at the close (96<sup>b</sup>) as: *piyā*, perhaps *bijyā*, *dvitīyā*, *chūliyā*, so that two *chūliyā* chapters are here indicated,<sup>90</sup> which, if added to the 6 *ajjh.*, gives the desired number 8. In this faulty condition of the MS. it is worth while to note the statements of the three *sāmāchāris* in reference to the *mahān*. *Āvi.* treats of this subject (see pp. 447, 448) in discussing the *chhēggaṇṭha*, and states that there were 8 *ajjh.* with 83 *uddesas*. The first *ajjhayaṇam* had then no divisions of this kind and was *ēgasaram*; the second had 9, the third and fourth 16 each, the fifth 12, the sixth 4, the seventh 6, the eighth 20. The difference between this account and the information to be drawn from the MS. is very great indeed. (See above.) *Svi.* and *V.*, on the other hand (see p. 448), separate the *mahānīśiham* from the other *chhēda* texts, and treat, at the conclusion, of the *jōgavihi* of the sacred texts after the *paṇṇagavihi*. [460] They too agree with *Āvi.* as regards the number of *ajjh.* and *udd.* The seventh and eighth *ajjh.* are expressly called by *V.* *chūlārāva* (*donni chūlāḥ*, v. 64). Forty-three days are necessary to learn the *mahān*, *tēyālisāḥ diṇēhim ajjhayaṇasamattī*, but as two days are requisite for *suyakkhaṇḍhassa samuddesa* and for *apupṇā*, the total number is 45. The *chhēdas*. 1, 3—5 required together only 30 days. See page 448.

A statement in Wilson Sel. W. 1, 34 (ed. Rost) is of particular interest: — “*Vajrasvāmī*<sup>91</sup> instituted the *Mahānīśiṭha*-sect;” and of equal interest are the remarks of Rājendra Lāla Mitra (p. 227) in reference to three different recensions (*vāchanā*) of the *Mahānīśiṭha*. The question which is proposed in the introduction of chapter 22 of the *Vichārāmṛitasamgraha* substantiates the belief that the *Mahānīśiṭha* is tolerably old. This question is: — how is it to be explained that the *prāyaścitta* prescribed in the *Mahānīśiṭha* is not practised? The answer to this includes *chhēdas*. 1, 3, 5, and reads: — *adhunā māṇḍasattvaih kalpavyavahāranīśiṭhamahānīśiṭhā dīnām ēkatarasyā 'pi grāṇṭhasyā 'bhīprāyēṇa prāyaścittāni yathā chaddoḍham* (? *'vasoḍhum*) *na śakyamte atas tē sarvagachheshu jītavavyavahāreṇa prāyaścittān(y) anucharamto dṛiṣyamte*.

The first mention of the *mahānīśiham*, of which I am aware, is found in the enumeration of the *annāgapavīṭṭha* texts in the *Nandī* etc., where the schol. on *N.* explains the word as follows: — *nīśiṭhāt param, yat grāṇṭhārthābhyām mahattaram tam mahānīśiṭham*. [461] We have already mentioned (p. 445) that the *gachhāyāra* states that it is based upon the *mahān*, as its source.

The introductory words are the same as in *aṅga* 1 etc.: *suyam me āsaṃ, tēṇaṃ bhagavayā ēvaṃ akkṇāyam*, and each of the *ajjh.* closes correspondingly with *ti bēmi*. Besides this, there is nothing which directly savours of antiquity with the single exception that the dialogue form between the *bhagavant* (who is addressed with (*sē*) *bhagavaṃ* and not with (*sē*) *ṇaṃ bhantē*) and *Indrabhūti* (*Gōyamā*!) is retained. This form, however, ill suits the introductory formula by which the whole is attributed to the *bhagavant* himself.

The name of the text occurs shortly after the introduction, and is accompanied by laudatory epithets. This fact, together with the epithet *mahā* in the name, makes it probable

<sup>90</sup> The conclusion of the first *chūlā* is not directly marked off, but is to be placed on 80<sup>b</sup>, where a section closes with *bēmi*.

<sup>91</sup> Nominally 584 *Vīra*, see pp. 219, 251, cf. *Āvaśy.* 8, 41 fg. *Gapadharasārḍhaś.* v. 23 fg. In reference to the statement above, cf. pp. 463a and 464.



that it is of later date. It had need of a special sanction because of its secondary character. The words are: pavara-vara-mahānisihasuyakkhamdha(m) ssuyānusārēṇaṁ tivihāṁ—but there follows no three-fold division.

The first book is entitled salluddharaṇaṁ and treats of the most various kinds of salla, śalya. The repeated references to the savvaṅgovaṅga are worth our notice; whence the existence of the uvaṅga at the time of its composition—see above, p. 373—is *eo ipso* clear. Then follows the figure of the useful co-partnership of the lame with the blind man which is specially emphasized:—*hayaṁ nāṇaṁ kiyāhiṇaṁ, hayaṁ annāṇaṁ kiyā | pāsantō paṇḍulō daḍḍhō dhāvamāṇō a amdhā || . . amdhō ya paṇḍū ya vaṇē samichchā tē sampāuttā nagaraṁ pavitthā ||*. Furthermore [462] stress is laid upon reverence (vaṁdē, vaṁdiyyā) for pictures (paḍimā) and temples (chēia, chēiālaya). A special formula seems to have been made use of in this connection, an enigmatical treatment of the letters of which occurs<sup>92</sup> after the fashion of the treatment of *a n m (om)* in the Upanishads and in similar formulas in the tantra ritual. This entire subject was a riddle to the copyist—cf. p. 456—and so it remains for us. After the real conclusion of the work, in an addition, a similar subject is treated of in like manner merely by means of single letters.

Book II. is entitled kammavivāyaṇaṁ, perhaps karmavipācāṇa (cf. pp. 270, 280, 335). At the end is found an obscure statement which perhaps has reference to ajjh. 1, 2 and which reads: *ēssim tu doṇhaṁ ajjhayaṇaṇaṁ vihi puvvagēṇaṁ savvasāmaṇṇaṁ vattēhiṇaṁ ti (?)*.

Books III. and IV., without specific titles, are composed almost entirely in prose, and treat especially of the kusīla. It is noticeable that in Book III. frequent reference is paid to the duvālasaṅgaṁ suyaṇaṇaṁ and the saṅgovaṅga duvālasaṅgasamudda. The commencement with sāmāya is retained (cf. p. 243), and the suyaṇaṇaṁ is then characterized as sāmāya-m-āi lōgabimḍusāgara (sāra!) payyavasāṇaṁ (p. 245). [463] We find in the text the following statements which are very characteristic as regards the origin and history of Book III.: *tattha tattha bahuṇhiṁ suyaḥarēhiṁ sammiliṇaṁ saṅgovaṅgaduvālasaṅgāu suyasamuddāu anna-anna-uvaṅgaḍḍu (kkha) mḍha-ajjhayaṇa-uddesaṅgaṇaṁ samuchchinēṇaṁ kimchiṁ kimchiṁ samvayyaṇaṇaṁ etthaṁ lihiyaṁ ti, na uṇa sakavvakayaṇaṁ (svakāvyaḍḍitaṁ) ti*. This is an example of the saying *qui s'excuse s'accuse*. It is more probable that the above is a production of the author himself than that it emanates from the hand of a copyist who is inclined to doubt.

Book IV. contains a legend of two brothers, Sumati and Nāila,<sup>93</sup> in which we may observe an occasional reference (in Sanskrit!) to an old elucidation (!) of aṅga 10: *śeṣhaṁ tu praśna-vyākaraṇavṛddhavichāraṇād avasēyaṁ*.—Whoever, bhikṣu or bhikṣuṇī, should praise the adherents of hostile systems or schismatics (parapāsaṇḍiṇaṁ pasamsaṁ kareyya, jē yā vi ṇaṁ niṇhagāṇaṁ p. k.), whoever speaks in favour of the schismatics (niṇhagāṇaṁ aṇukūlaṁ bhāsēyyā), visits their temples (niṇh. āyayaṇaṁ pavisiyya), studies their texts (niṇh. gaṁthasattha payakkharaṁ vā parāvēyyā), or follows their ordinances (niṇh. saṁkalīē kāyakilēsāē tavēi vā saṁjamēi vā jāṇēi vā vinnāvēi vā suēi vā paḍivvēi vā avimuhasuddhapaṇisaṁmayyagāē salāhēyyā), his fate will be as disastrous as that of Sumati, *sa vi ṇaṁ paramāhammiṇeṣuṁ uvavayyēyya jāhā Sumati*. The hate against the heterodox and schismatics is here so bitter, [464] that the conjecture is not too bold if we assume that the heterodox and schismatics had at that time got possession of the text of this book, see pp. 293, 368.

Book V., duvālasaṅgasuyamāṇassa ṇavattiyasāra (?), mentions the duvālasaṅga, but

<sup>92</sup> amapa | a | maū | kaṭṭha aya | addhaṇa | amaa um | p am | up ay | āp u | s āraṇa am | ā um p | amāū | aa am bh i | p nas u | i | p amāū | khaṇ rē ā | sabaddha ṇa | a u m | ṇam u etc.—In a similar manner (each of the single consonants having virāma) we find the mantra composed which the Vidhiprapā cites in mentioning the āyariyapayaṭṭhāvanavihi and uvajjhāyapay°. These, however, commence with a | u | m | ; cf. the Upanishade. Have we here an example of the mānyakkharā? see page 281 (with note) and page 350.

<sup>93</sup> In the thēravāla of Kalpa., one of the four scholars of Vajra (svāmin), p. 460, or of Vajrasēna, is called by this name. He was the founder of a school which bore his name. Bhūdinna, the scholar of Nāgajjuna, was from the Nālakula; see v. 44 of the Thēravāla in the Nandīa.



merely in a general way. It treats especially of the relation between the teacher (guru) and scholar (śiṣa), of the āyāra (gachhāyāra, see p. 445), and aṇṇāyāra.

Book VI., gīyathavīhāra (see pp. 437, 450), treats of the pachhitta prāyaścitta, and contains a legend of a teacher Bhadda and the ayyiā (āyikā) Rayyā. The mention of the dasapurvī in the introduction brings *eo ipso* the date of its composition down to a period subsequent to that of Bhadrabāhu, the last chaturdaśapūrvī, and to that of Vajra, the last daśapūrvī. See pp. 219, 460.

Books VII., VIII., which (see p. 459) are characterized as two chūliyās, a name which *per se* marks them as a secondary addition, treat likewise of the pachhitta, and, in fact, in such great detail, that the words kiṃ bahūnā,<sup>64</sup> together with the formal frame-work enclosing them, are occasionally repeated several times in immediate succession. Shortly before the close these words occur again. A legend of the daughter of Suyyasivi in Avanti plays a very prominent part in these books.

The solemn adjuration (found also in another passage) to save this sūtram from any damage, is another indication of its secondary origin:—jayā nam Gōyamā! iṇam-ō pachhitta-suttam vochehhiyyihī tayā nam chaṇḍāichchā-gaba[465]rikka-tāragā nam satta ahōratī ya nō viphuriyā, imassa nam vochehēdō Gōyamā! kaṣiṇasaṃjamaṣsa abhāvō.

To the conclusion (samattam mahānisīhasuyakkhamdham) are joined the reverential invocations to the 24 titthamkaras, the tittha, the suyadēyā, the suyakēvalī, all the sāhu, siddhai to the bhagavānt arahānt. Then follow the incomprehensible separate aksharas etc., mentioned on page 462. The actual conclusion is formed by the statement concerning the extent of the whole book (4504 ślōkas): chattāri sahasāim paṃcha sayāim taḥēva chattāri! chattāri (again!) silōgā viya mahānisīhammi pāṇam !!

The mahānisīham is indisputably much younger than the nisīham, and is almost six times its size. It is noteworthy that this sūtram, just as the fourth chhēdas, according to its own statements (see above and pp. 456, 458, 461) receives suyakkhamdha, śrutaskandha as an addition to its name. This is a title that is used in the case of the aṅgas for larger divisions of an aṅga. But in the case of aṅgas 3—5, 7—10, up. 8—12 the expression also holds good for the whole and not merely a part. There is no commentary, as in the case of the nisīha, with the exception of the chūrpi. See above, p. 445, for the origin of the gachhāyāram from the mahānisīha.

## FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

### No. 1. — *The Prince and his faithful friend, the son of the Wazir.*<sup>1</sup>

There was once a king who had a son, and his wazir also had a son. Both were of the same age and were great friends. One day both of them planned to go and see their wives. So they went and told their fathers. Their fathers objected to their going, but they would not be dissuaded, and secretly mounted their horses and went off. The king's son first reached his father-in-law's house, where he was treated with great respect, and at night his bed was placed on the top of the roof, but the wazir's son slept below. At midnight the prince's wife got up and dressed herself in her finest clothes, put some sweetmeats and fruit in a tray and came down the stairs<sup>2</sup>. The prince was asleep, but the wazir's son woke and watched her going out. Then he followed her, and what did he see? She went to a *faqīr*, who beat her soundly with a whip, and said: "Why are you so late?" She replied: "I was delayed because my husband

<sup>64</sup> The words, however, occur Aup. § 48.

<sup>1</sup> A folktale recorded from the lips of Mahtābō, an old Musalmān cook-woman of Mirzāpur, and literally translated.

<sup>2</sup> There is an incident like this, in the *Arabian Nights*, of the Princess who loved the negro.



came to-day." The *faqir* answered: "Well! Go, cut off your husband's head and bring it to me. Then I will be assured that you love me." So she went, cut off her husband's head and brought it to the *faqir*. Then the *faqir* beat her again, and said: "Since you do not belong to your husband, whose are you? Go, and never come near me again." Then she took her husband's trunk and head and placed them near the *wazir's* son. He rose, tied them up in a cloth, put them on his horse and rode off to his wife's house. There he was treated with great respect and exactly the same events occurred. For at midnight his wife got up and went out. He took his sword, followed her and saw her go to a *faqir*. He asked her why she was late, and she answered that her husband had come and delayed her. On hearing this the *faqir* was greatly pleased, and said: "I will give you whatever you ask." She said: "I will consult my father and mother, and then say what I want." So she went and consulted them. They said: "God has given us all we want. Ask your husband: perhaps he may want something." Then she asked her husband and he replied: "My friend has had his head cut off. I wish him to be restored to life." So the lady went again to the *faqir* and asked him to restore her husband's friend to life.

The *faqir* gave her some water, and told her to instruct her husband to **sprinkle it on the head and trunk** of his friend and **he would recover**. So this was done, and when the prince's head was joined on to his trunk and the water sprinkled over him he revived, and said: "I have had a fine sleep. What time is it?" But when he looked round he said: "This is not the place where I went to sleep." Then the *wazir's* son told him the whole story. The prince thanked his friend, and they stayed there.

Some days afterwards they both went out to hunt, and being tired out the prince became very thirsty. The *wazir's* son seated him under a tree, and went to search for water. With difficulty he found a tank and brought some water. When the prince drank he said: "This water is very sweet. I want to see the place where you got it." So the *wazir's* son took him there. But on the way he recollected that **on the edge of the tank he had seen the image<sup>1</sup> of a very lovely woman**, and he thought: "Perhaps he may want her." So he excused himself by saying the place was very dirty. But the prince insisted on going there, so the *wazir's* son could not help taking him there, but he tried not to take him in that particular direction. However, the prince would walk all round the place, and when he saw the image, he said: "I will never leave this till you marry me to the original of this image." The *wazir's* son remonstrated, but in vain. Finally, the *wazir's* son had to promise to search for the woman, and told the prince to sleep in a tree there until he returned. When night fell, the prince ascended a tree on the edge of the tank, and at midnight **a snake came out, who had a jewel in his mouth**. When he touched the water with the jewel, it all dried up; and **in the middle of the tank a door appeared**. Then the snake put down his jewel, and by its brilliancy the whole place was illuminated. Then the snake began to drink the dew. When morning approached he again touched the tank with the jewel and the water returned.

In the morning the prince descended from the tree. Then the prince prepared an iron trap and a rope, and again at night climbed up the tree. At midnight the snake appeared and put down his jewel under the tree, where the prince was. When he had gone a little distance, lapping up the dew, the prince put the iron trap down on the jewel, and the moment its brilliancy was obscured the snake came up in a rage, and began to beat his head with such violence against the trap, that at last he died. Then the prince came down, **secured the jewel** and entered the tank. The water gave way before him; so he **opened the door and entered**.

When he came into the first room, what did he see but **a bed of silver** and over it a coverlet of silver, and **on it was sleeping a silver fairy** (*chândî kî ek parî*). She was extremely lovely, and there were two necklaces of silver—one at her feet and the other at her head. These he took up and examined and put them down, but by mistake he placed the necklaces in the

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *taswir*.

<sup>2</sup> Or ruby fairy (*la'l parî*).



reverse order : and as he did so the fairy got up and said : "Why have you killed my master the snake, and dared to enter here ?" The prince answered : "Yes, I have killed him. Had you killed him, you would have been my mistress."

Then the prince went into another room and saw a golden fairy sleeping on a golden couch. She was even lovelier than the silver fairy. Her necklaces also he displaced and she woke. She asked him the same question and he gave the same answer.

Then the prince entered the third room and there he saw the red fairy<sup>4</sup> (*lāl parī*) asleep : and she was even lovelier than the other two. Her necklaces he also displaced. She also awoke, asked the same question and got the same answer.

Then he went into the fourth chamber and there he saw the jewel fairy (*jawāhir parī*) and she was the queen of all, and it was her image which was set up at the tank. When the prince saw her loveliness he was confounded and bit his finger (*dānt se ungli dabās*). The fairy was greatly surprised how a human being managed to get there. So she asked him : "How did you find me out, and how did you manage to kill my master the snake, by a blast of whose breath a man will die ?" So the prince told her how he had seen her image, and how the moment he saw it he had fallen in love with it. "I made a vow," said he, "that I would never leave this place until I married the woman, of whom this was the image." So he described to her the end of the snake, and she said : "We are all slaves of him who is master of the jewel," and she married the prince and they lived together.

One day the prince and the fairies went for a walk on the edge of the tank, when suddenly they saw an army approaching and retired into the tank. But as she ran in the jewel fairy dropped one of her shoes on the ground.<sup>5</sup>

Now, there was a king of another land, and he had a son, who had only one eye.<sup>6</sup> He had gone out hunting and by chance came to the tank and saw the fairy's shoe. He took it and went home, and threw himself on his couch and refused to eat or drink. Then his father thought he was sick and asked him what was the matter with him. So the one-eyed prince told him the story, and said : "Until I marry the owner of the shoe I will neither eat nor drink." Finally his father induced him to get up, on the promise that he would send a wise old woman to trace the fairy. So the king called all the wise women, and asked each what her powers were. The first said : "I can make a hole in the sky." The king said : "That is no use." The second said : "I can put a patch in the sky." "You are no use," said the king. The third said : "I can neither make a hole in the sky nor patch it, but if you want any particular woman I can get her by fraud and trickery." "You are the person I want, and I will reward you nobly if you bring this fairy."

So the wise woman made a flying bed (*urān khalālā*) and came to the tank. There she stayed some days until one evening the fairies came out, and when she saw them the wise woman began to weep. Then the jewel fairy asked her what was the matter. She replied : "Why are you asking me ? Don't you know me. I am your family barberess (*nāin*). Your mother was exactly like you, but she is dead, and you never think of me, and now I am dying of hunger." The jewel fairy believed her, and in pity took her home and entertained her.

When the old woman had been there some time, one day, when the prince was asleep, she asked the fairy where his life was — whether in his heart or in something else.<sup>7</sup> The fairy replied : "Formerly it was in his heart, but since he has become master of this jewel his life has come into that." Then she had to go into the other room and the old woman snatched up the jewel. She went to the jewel fairy and found her feeding her parrot Hiranman. So she said to the fairy : "Let us take the parrot out for an airing." She agreed, and they went

<sup>4</sup> We are now embarked on a variant of Cinderella.

<sup>5</sup> *Kānā*, always an evil sign in India.

<sup>7</sup> There is an incident like this in *Old Deccan Days*, Serantee Bai's necklace held her life. [For many other instances of the life index, see *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 404, ff. Ed.]



outside the tank. There the flying couch was placed, and the old woman asked the fairy to sit on it. At first she objected, but finally agreed, and the old woman flew off with her, and while she was in the air **threw into the sea the jewel**, which contained the life of the prince. But, as it fell into the ocean, Hiranman, the parrot, was watching her.

When they reached the king's palace he was much pleased, and his one-eyed son was delighted and wanted to marry the fairy straight off. But she replied: "Take care! this old woman has stolen me by deceit from my husband, and if you say a word to me now I will burn you up into ashes. But this I will do. If any one comes to claim me within six months, I will go with him. If not I will marry you." Then she began from that day to give daily alms (*sadā bart*) to the poor.

When the **wazir's son** went to search for the woman, with whose image the prince had fallen in love he went wandering about through woods and lands and cities. One day he met a **demon** (*dēb*) and they became great friends; and the demon promised to accompany him and assist him in his enterprise. Soon after they met a **monkey**, and him also they took as their companion. Six months all but passed and the jewel fairy was distributing alms daily, but no one appeared to rescue her, and she was forced to agree to marry the one-eyed prince. On the last day the *wazir's* son appeared by chance, and he came to get alms, because he had become quite destitute. When he saw the jewel fairy he took out a picture (*tusīr*) of the lady's image and examined it. When the fairy saw him looking at the picture she took him aside, and he told her the whole story. She told him that she was married to the prince, with whom she was well pleased, and that the old woman had stolen her away by fraud. Then the *wazir's* son told her to prepare to escape with him, that he would arrange to burn the city and destroy the king's people that night, and that she was to keep the flying couch, on which she had been brought, ready.

Then he went to the demon and the monkey and told them that he intended to carry off the fairy. So he instructed the demon to stand at the gate and kill all that passed, and he told the monkey to go, when an hour or two of night had passed, to the shop of a confectioner (*halwāī*) and take a burning stick from there and set the city on fire. So he went and sat near the place where the fairy was staying, the demon took his post at the gate, and the monkey fired the city. When the people rushed to the gate in confusion the demon began to devour them. Then the *wazir's* son climbed up to the upper storey.

So he carried off the fairy and the old woman on the flying couch, and as they passed over the ocean the parrot Hiranman dived down and recovered the jewel; and the *wazir's* son dropped the wicked old woman into the sea. When they came to the tank he left the flying couch outside, and went into the underground palace. When he placed the jewel near the prince he woke and said: "I have had a good sleep." But when his glance fell on the *wazir's* son he was sore displeased and wanted to drive him out. But when the fairy told him how the old woman had abducted her, and how she had been recovered by the *wazir's* son, he embraced his friend, wept over him and thanked him.

They stayed there some days, and the prince proposed to go home. When preparations were made they came out of the tank and there saw an old woman, who was weeping with one eye and laughing with the other. The *wazir's* son asked who she was: and he signed to the king's son to go on ahead. Then the *wazir's* son asked why she was both weeping and laughing. Then she said: "I am weeping because on the road by which the prince is going there is a tree, and as he passes under it the thickest branch will fall on him and he will be crushed to death. Hence he ought to avoid this tree. Then, when he comes into a certain forest a tiger will charge out and carry off him and his horse. Hence the horses should be sent alone and the tiger will carry off one of them. Then, when he arrives at the palace the iron gate will fall on him. Hence the gate should be knocked down before he approaches it and replaced by a gate of flowers. Then, when the prince sits to eat with his father there will be a great thorn in



the first fruit he touches, which will stick in his throat and kill him, but he will escape if any one snatches the fruit from his hands and flings it away. Then the first night that he sleeps in his father's palace a snake will come down from the ceiling and bite him and his wife, so that they will die. But if any one were to sit in the room and kill the snake when he appears, both the prince and his wife will live many days. But if you speak a word of this to them you will be turned into stone and will remain stone until the prince and princess dash their eldest son upon you; but when they fling the child at you speak not a word. But behind the palace is a tree and on this a large winged bird (*garpankh*) has built its nest: take some of its dung, rub it on the child and it will come to life again."

So the *wazir's* son left the old woman and went to the prince, and they all started together. On the way they came to the tree and the *wazir's* son prevented the prince from approaching it. Suddenly a branch came crashing down, which would certainly have crushed him, and the prince thanked the *wazir's* son for saving his life. Further on the *wazir's* son kept the prince away from the horses, and lo! a tiger rushed out and carried off one of them. Again the prince thanked him for saving his life. When they approached the palace the *wazir's* son asked the prince to wait a little, and he would go ahead and announce his arrival. He went ahead and removed the iron gate of the palace and replaced it with a gate of flowers. Then he invited the prince to follow him. When the prince saw a gate of flowers instead of the iron gate he was sore displeased and said: "You have caused my father great loss." But when the gate fell down he saw that he again owed his life to his faithful friend, and promised in future to obey his advice.

His father was delighted to see him again. So, when the prince sat down to eat with his father, the *wazir's* son stood on his right, and as he tried to eat the first morsel his friend knocked it out of his hand. Then the prince was wroth and called to one of his attendants to seize him. But the *wazir's* son said: "First look at the morsel you were about to eat:" and lo! it was found to contain a deadly thorn. So the prince again asked his pardon.

When the prince and princess retired to their chamber the *wazir's* son remained sitting outside, and when it was near midnight he took a sword and entered the room, and immediately a poisonous snake descended from the roof and approached the bed of the prince. Then the *wazir's* son cut the snake in pieces, but two drops of the blood fell on the face of the fairy princess and she awoke; and as she awoke, this roused the prince, who raised a sword and would have slain the son of the *wazir*. But he shewed him the dead snake under the bed. So he again begged the *wazir's* son to pardon him, and asked: "How did you learn about all these events?" So the *wazir's* son said: "All your dangers are now passed; and you will live in safety. But do not ask me how I acquired this knowledge, or you will repent it." But the prince said: "You shall not leave this until you explain the matter." So the *wazir's* son perforce had to tell all he learnt from the old woman: but as he went on with the story, so he began to turn into stone; and when he had turned into stone as far as his breast the prince began to weep and said: "I have been very careless. Don't go on with the story." He replied: "What is the use of my living on in this state?" If you wish to revive me again you must dash your first child at me." So saying he turned into stone, and the prince never ceased lamenting him until the princess had her first child. Then he threw the baby at the *wazir's* son, and he became a man again, and without saying a word to any one he went off and got a piece of the dung of the large winged bird, which he rubbed on the baby, whereupon it revived and they all lived happily ever after.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> [I have never read a stronger instance than this tale in support of my old arguments, that in the incidents and not in the thread of a story is to be found the true folklore tradition. Our friend Mahtāb, the cook, has jumbled together, in the most interesting fashion to the 'folklorist,' an extraordinary number of incidents properly belonging to different classes of tales. There is not an idea in it that could not easily be found in the various Indian tales reported already in these columns, but the general thread of the story is the well-worn theme of the friend who saves the hero at the risk of his own life. — Ed.]



## MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE TASHON AND BAUNGSHÉ CHINS, WITH REMARKS ON THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND AGRICULTURE.<sup>1</sup>

**Races:**—Beginning from the north, we have first the Kànhòs or Kàntòn-Kànhòs, who inhabit the hills immediately south of Manipûr.

South and south-east of these come the Siyins and Sagylaings, while farther south lies the great Tashôn country, lying in the hills drained by the Nankapè River south of Manipûr and extending to the Tyau, the north-eastern tributary of the Kôladain; farther south lies the Baungshé country inhabited by the Hákà, Tlantlang, and Yôkwà tribes, and containing, besides these, many independent villages stretching down to 22° 10' of latitude.

My work has lain entirely in the Tashôn and Baungshé country, and it is about these that I propose to make a few remarks.

**Tashôns.**—The capital of the Tashôn country is Falam, a village of about 400 houses. Here live Sônpék, Mânlon, Kalyân, Bwémôn, Winsau, and the other Chiefs who rule the Tribe. Falam is situated on the north-west face of the Balumâ range, and looks down into the Nankapè River and across its deep valley on to the steep slopes of the northern side, where many villages can be seen nestling on the hillsides.

During our visit to Falam the chiefs showed the greatest reluctance to give information about their country or its resources. Moreover, they pretended to be unable to give us a list of their villages, and we had to be content with knowing their boundaries, which they said were the following:—

*On the North.*—The Siyin, Sagylaing, and Kànhò Country.

*On the South.*—The Yôkwà, Hákà, and Tlantlang Tracts.

*On the East.*—The Myitâ Valley and the Yômâdung, west of Minlêdaung.

*On the West.*—The Tyau River.

For the reasons given above, we could get little information regarding their manners and customs, but, from what we could see, it was abundantly clear that some sort of law and order prevails, and that there is considerable security for life and property. This last was evidenced by the fact that in the Karôn Laiyò Valley we came upon single homesteads built here and there like

farmhouses; and, except at Minkin, which is a frontier village, there was no attempt at stockades, except such as had been hastily erected near Falam for our reception.

We could also see that the authority of the chiefs, who seem to act collectively and not individually, is very much respected and feared.

The country, so far as we could see, seemed to be thickly populated, considering the enormous areas which it is necessary to cultivate in order to produce sufficient food. Indeed, I should think that, unless improved methods of agriculture are introduced, many of the Tashôns will be obliged to seek fresh fields before many years. Nowhere in the Tashôn country did I observe any virgin forest, except small patches near the tops of high hills. Elsewhere the country is covered with small-growth trees, shrubs, and grass, which are cut down every three or four years and the land cultivated, as other clearings become exhausted through continuous cropping.

It struck me that there was a greater struggle for existence in the Tashôn than in the Baungshé country, and that this probably accounted for the greater love of order which prevails. Moreover, the people have little time to give to raiding, and it is a curious fact that there are no slaves in the Tashôn country. Altogether, to a casual observer, the Tashôns are much in advance of the other neighbouring tribes, and I have great hopes that, as their country opens up and their people begin to find that money and food can be easily obtained by labouring in Burma, we shall get them to work on our roads and other public works.

**Baungshés.**—The Baungshés are known as Poi to the tribes on the Bengal border. They are also called Poi by the Tashôns. The term Baungshé is a Burmese word which simply means "long turban." I could see no difference between the head-dresses of the Hákàs and the Tashôns, but to the Burmese the word Baungshé has a well-defined meaning, and does not include the Tashôns, who are known by the latter name only. I have already defined the area inhabited by the Baungshés, by which term I propose to denominate them.

**Baungshé Language.**—The language spoken by the Baungshés resembles that of the Tashôns in so many respects, that both appear to me to be simply dialects of the same language. Even amongst the Baungshés themselves there is some

<sup>1</sup> Printed originally as a Government paper, by the Chief Commissioner of Burma. The notes were made by Mr. D. Ross, Political Officer in the Chin Hills.



diversity of tongue, but the differences are dialectic, and are never so great that an intelligent man from Hákà could not find his way about any part of the Baungshê country.

To the south of the Baungshês, between them and the Chinbôks, there are a number of large villages, whose inhabitants are said to speak a tongue which is not understood either by Baungshês or Chinbôks. These people dwell about the headwaters of the Myitpâ, and seldom or never come down to Burma. Consequently little is known about them, but I hope it will be possible to study them soon.

**Origin of the Baungshês:**—To return to the Baungshês and their origin. I have been unable to meet anyone who can throw even a legendary light on their history beyond five or six generations.

This is not hard to explain, when we remember that they have no written language and no means of recording dates. The Chin has no names for the months or the days of the week, and no division of time except into the wet, cold, and hot seasons, and the changes of the moon, day and night, and morning, noon, and evening.

The headmen of Hákà, while knowing nothing of their origin, say that all the other villages of the circle are offshoots from the parent village.

**Religion.**—The Chins are spirit-worshippers, and offerings are made to the spirits who control their destinies. The *nâts* (spirits) have each a local habitation and a name. There are five altogether near Hákà, and of these the greatest of all and the most powerful is the Róng Nât, whose home is in the thick forest on the Róngtlang Peak. After the Róng Nât comes the Mwé Nât, whose favourite haunt is the neighbourhood of a large tree below Hákà village. Other minor *nâts* are the Hêngtân Ar'man Nât, the K'oring Nât, and the Naurai Nât.

In Hákà there is a high priest, called the Tlang Bwé, without whose presence no sacrifice may be made to the Róng Nât or the Mwé Nât. He it is who makes the incantation over the animal before it is slaughtered. In general the Róng Nât and the Mwé Nât are asked that the rains may be abundant, that sickness and pain may not come amongst the people, that they may be successful against their enemies, &c. These festivals take place at no stated times, but generally once a year. When it is decided to sacrifice to either of these spirits, the whole of the people in the Hákà circle subscribe something towards the purchase of the necessary animal, which is generally a *maïpan* or a pig, together with a black hen.

These are killed outside of the village and the head is cut off and roasted on the spot and is eaten by the Tlang Bwé and the people of the village. The rest of the flesh is divided into portions, one for each family, the Tlang Bwé taking two shares.

Sacrifices to the minor spirits can be made without the intervention of the Tlang Bwé. When a man decides to make a sacrifice he hangs up a bunch of green leaves at the entrance to his house, which the neighbours know to be a sign that he is offering to the spirits and, therefore, must not be disturbed.

During the day the person making the offering must not talk to any one, neither may he do any work. For sacrifices of this kind a young cock or a mole suffices.

The office of Tlang Bwé is an hereditary one in Hákà, and some peculiar privileges are attached to it. For instance, if a *maïpan* cow anywhere in the Hákà circle outside of the mother village gives birth to a calf, the Tlang Bwé receives a basket of millet or some other grain.

**Funeral ceremonies.**—The Chins bury their dead in deep graves dug inside the house enclosure. A chief is buried in a sitting posture with his chief's plume on his head and his best clothes on. In cases where a chief leaves no son his gun is buried with him. The funeral, like all other events in a Chin's life, is celebrated with feasting and drinking, tinged with a strain of mourning. If a Chin is killed by enemies, it is not considered lucky to inter his body in the village, and accordingly it is buried outside. I saw an instance of this at Yôkwâ, where a new-looking grave was pointed out to us as the burial-place of a man, who a few weeks before had been shot by a patrol west of Gangò.

**Laws.**—Amongst the Chins certain customs have obtained the force of law, but in general they have no recognized means of enforcing these customs, except in very small matters, and the only real law is the law of might. Adultery is theoretically punishable with death, but the carrying out of the law depends on the social standing of the parties. For example, a chief's son may commit adultery with the wife of a poor man, or of a slave, and he is protected by his position and the influence of his friends. And this is the same in other cases. Theoretically men are punishable, but practically they are seldom punished. A case in point occurred in our own time. Shwélén, son of Chief Lwé Shân, in a drunken brawl injured one of his father's servants so badly that he died. Shwélén then ran away to Aibur, not to escape from justice,



but to escape from the wrath of his father, who had lost a valuable servant. In a few days the father's anger melted away and a younger brother went and called Shwôlên, who was received like the prodigal son. After his return it was necessary for him to "wash his hands," to use a Chin metaphor, which consisted in slaying a bullock, of which the whole village partook, and thus the guilt was washed away.

**Chiefs.**—The Chief or Boi class is a numerous one amongst the Chins. A chief's son is also a chief, and descent from a chief is regarded with as much pride as a lofty lineage in Europe. A Chin, be he ever so dirty or poor, has only to prove his descent from a chief to be at once accorded an honourable position.

In Hâkâ there are two principal chiefs, Lwô Shân and Lyen Mô; but, besides these, there are scores of others, who are related to them, and who claim a voice in the affairs of the tribe. The same may be said of all the other Chin tribes and villages, not only those which are independent, but also those which pay tribute. All the villages in the Hâkâ circle pay some tribute to the Hâkâ Chiefs, but it is very difficult to find out the exact relations which exist between them. This will be understood, when I explain that the right to levy taxes (I use this term for want of a better) is an hereditary one, and a landlord has the right to subdivide it on his decease. Owing to this subdivision, and the intermarriage of members of one family with those of another in a distant village, the claims to get something are often curiously mixed up. One person has the right to get a pig once a year, another gets a basket of grain, another gets a quarter of any animal slaughtered, and so on.

**Agriculture.**—Agriculture is practised by the Chins in its rudest forms. The only implements used are small axes, *dams*, and a little hoe. The axe and *damd* are used for felling the jungle, and the hoe for planting the seed and for hoeing up the weeds and grass.

The principal food-grains grown by the Chins are *fang* or millet, *fungai* or Indian-corn, *mum* or Jacob's tears, *bè* or beans and peas, *farsung* or paddy, *rah* or giant bean. There are ten varieties of millet, three of Indian-corn, four species of legume with many varieties, and three varieties of paddy. The food-staples are *fungai*, or *fang* with yams. The only fruits cultivated by the Chins are plantains, peaches, figs, oranges, and apples; but strawberries, raspberries, cherries, pears, and plums are found wild. The raspberries are quite equal to those found wild in England, but the other wild fruits are not fit to eat.

The work of the season is commenced by cutting down the jungle and hoeing up the grass and weeds. This is done in December and January, and the clearings are burnt early in March. Seed is sown early in April, when showers may be expected. *Fang* is the first to ripen and begins to be harvested about the middle of July. This is quickly followed by *fungai*, after which almost immediately come the peas and beans. Sweet potatoes are grown near streams and are obtained throughout the year, but the principal crop is dug in the cold weather. Pumpkins of various kinds, brinjals (*aubergines*), beans, and peas are the only green vegetables grown.

**Trade.**—Trade amongst the Chins may be divided into two heads, internal and external.

The internal trade is confined to exchanging property, such as guns, knives, cattle, or grain for food or drink; but trade, as such, can hardly be said to exist.

The external trade is somewhat brisker. The articles in most demand are salt, cotton blankets, iron, silk, and gongs. These are purchased or exchanged for money, beeswax, fishing-nets, an occasional elephant's tusk, saltpetre, plantains, chillies.

The Chins have considerable herds of common cattle as well as *maipan*, but they show no disposition to sell them and ask extravagant prices. They are used only for slaughter purposes, the hides being eaten and the horns remaining attached to the head, which is impaled on a post outside the village. Goats are also found at most villages, but never in large numbers. These also are killed and eaten.

Fowls and eggs are largely produced and are sold freely. These, however, are articles of local trade and could not be exported at a profit.

**Population—Tashôns.**—I have already stated that the Tashôns were unwilling to afford information about their country, and I am therefore unable to do anything but guess at the population. It is said, but I know not with what authority, that they can collect 10,000 fighting men, which I take to mean that they have 10,000 houses, and, allowing an average of five persons to each house, we thus arrive at a total of 50,000, which I think is not an extravagant estimate.

**Hâkâs.**—The Hâkâs possess about 2,500 houses which, at five persons to each house, gives them a total population of 12,500.

**Yôkwâs.**—The Yôkwâs, estimated in the same way, have a population of about 3,000.



**Tiantlangs.**—The Tiantlangs are about 7,500, but about them I am not so certain as about the Yōkwās and Hākās.

**Independent Baungshēs.**—I estimate the independent Baungshē villages south of Yōkwā and Hākā at 2,500 houses, which, computed as above, gives a population of 12,500.

The totals therefore are—

Tashōns .....	50,000
Hākās .....	12,500
Yōkwās .....	3,000
Tiantlangs .....	7,500
Independent Baungshēs.	12,500
Total ...	<u>85,500</u>

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### GOOD AND BAD OMENS IN MADRAS.

If a person comes across the following when starting on a journey, or on a special errand, it is a good omen:—a married woman, a virgin, a prostitute, two Brāhmins, the playing of music, any money, fruit, a light, an umbrella, any food, milk, curds, mutton, precious stones, sandalwood, rice, a cow, a bull, an elephant, a horse, a pot full of water, a pot of *tādī*, a black monkey, a dog, a deer, a corpse, a royal eagle, any honey, fish, the recital of the *Vēdas*.

But if he comes across any of the following, it is a bad omen:—one or three Brāhmins, a widow, any fuel, smoke, a snake, a new pot, a blind man, a lame man, a pot of oil, any leather, salt, a tiger.

If a person places his head always towards the east in the sleeping posture, he will obtain wealth and health: if towards the south, a lengthening of life: if towards the west, fame: if towards the north, sickness. So a person should not lay his head to the north while sleeping.

If you dine with a friend, or relative, on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday, it is well: if on a Tuesday, there will ensue an ill-feeling: if on a Thursday, endless enmity: if on a Sunday, hatred.

If, when you are leaving the house, your head or feet strike accidentally against the threshold, you must not go out, as it foretells that some mischief will befall you.

When the *thalī* or the sacred jewel on a thread worn round the neck of a Brāhman woman is lost, it is an omen that her husband will fall ill or be lost soon.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

#### SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN MADRAS.

When an elderly person calls on his friends or relations and expects to see their children, he should generally take with him some sweetmeats to be given to the children.

**Upanayanam** is the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread. In this rite a mark is

made on the forehead with a paste of cummin seed and sugar, which is called the *upanayanam* (*upa* = extra, *nayanam* = eye, or extra eye), and also the mental eye. This ceremony generally takes place before a Brāhman boy attains his twelfth year. If it is delayed longer the boy is classed with the Sūdras.

**Punyavāchanam** are rites of purification. Literally the term means "something said on a good day," (*punya* = good, *vāchanam* = word). The rites consist in bathing the body (*śndnam*): seating the principal persons upon wooden seats in the midst of assembled guests and relations, and announcing the ceremony of *śaṅkalpam*: i.e., the worship of Gaṇēśa as the god of wisdom, who is adored in the shape of a cone made of turmeric powder and water, placed upon rice contained in a silver tray. This ceremony is performed on the twelfth day after confinement or delivery, on which day the days of pollution are said to cease. The husband, who has grown his hair from the day of conception till now, may shave when the ceremony is over.

Among the Brāhmins the host and the hostess call with the family priest on their friends and relations in the place on the day previous to a marriage, generally towards the evening, and invite them to the ceremonies and to all meals during the days of the marriage celebration. In token of the invitation the priest presents them with a little holy rice or *mantarakshadai*. The invitation party is always accompanied with music. Among the lower castes printed invitations are distributed with *pān supdri* by some male member of the house, told off for this duty, to the friends and relations in the place.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

#### SANSKRIT WORDS IN BURMESE.

(1) **Thinjān.** In the *Rangoon Gazette* of the 6th April, 1892, there appeared the following paragraph:—

"At 8 hrs. 34 m. 48s. p. m. on Monday, the full moon of 'Naung Tagū, 1253, (11th April, 1892,) three guns will be fired from the P. O. Officer's Flag Staff at Rangoon and from the



Court House at Mandalay on account of the Burmese Thingyan (Thinjān). The new year, 1254, B. E., will begin at 0 hrs. 36 m. p.m. on Thursday, the 2nd waning of 'Naung Tagū, 1253, (14th April, 1892)."

*Thinjān* (th as in 'thin') means to the Burmese, the occasion on which the head of Brahmā in the custody of seven female spirits, is transferred from one to another at the commencement of each new year, and has several interesting derivatives, e.g., *thinjānjā* and *thinjān-atājā*, letting go the head: *thinjānjāt* and *thinjān-atājāt*, the passage of the head: *thinjāndet* and *thinjān-atādet*, taking up the head: and lastly *thinjānkā*, the state of washing the king's head at the new year in order to wash away the sins of the people, one of the many curious Court expressions now passing into oblivion.

The word *thinjān* is, however, the Skr. *saṅkrama*, the passage of a planetary body through a zodiacal sign, by which the Burmese understand the passage of the sun at the commencement of the new year, the *saṅkrānt* of the modern Hindu. The word in Burmese is spelt both *saṅkran* and *saṅskran*, pronounced *thinjān*. The Pāli word is *saṅkama*. The Skr. derivation of *thinjān* is therefore clear.

(2) *Thinthagayaik* = the Sanskrit Language. This word is written *Saṅsakarōk* = *Saṅskrita*. Compare *amrōk* (ante, p. 94, there misprinted *amrōt*) for *amṛita*. The Pāli word for the Sanskrit Language is *Sakkata* or *Sakkata*. The Skr. derivation of the Burmese word is here very clear.

R. C. TEMPLE.

#### BOOK-NOTICE.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, LAHORE. COMPILED BY CHAS. J. RODGERS, M.R.A.S., etc. Published by order of the Pānjāb Government. Quarto, paper cover, Calcutta. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1891.

Uncatalogued cabinets of coins are little better than useless collections of old metal, whereas a cabinet of very modest dimensions, if provided with an adequate catalogue, may prove to be the source of much valuable historical and numismatic information. India, unfortunately, does not possess any collection of coins which can compare with the European cabinets of the first rank, and, until a very short time ago, can hardly be said to have possessed any public collection. Now, thanks to the exertions of Mr. Rodgers, Dr. Hoernle, Dr. Bidie, Mr. Edgar Thurston, Dr. Führer, and others, helped by the patronage of the Government of India and the Local Governments, valuable public collections have been accumulated, and continue to grow, at Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, and Lahore. I have not heard of the Bombay Government forming any cabinet of coins.

The principal public collection in India is that in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and I understand that Mr. Rodgers is engaged in cataloguing it. Mr. Edgar Thurston has done good sound work in the issue of several little catalogues of the coins in the Madras Museum. No catalogue of the Lucknow collection has, so far as I am aware, been published. The subject of this notice is a catalogue of the coins in the Lahore Museum, compiled by Mr. C. G. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.

Before proceeding to discuss the book under review I shall take the liberty of recording a

protest against the scandalous indifference shown by the Pānjāb Government to the encouragement of archaeological research, that is to say, to the reconstruction of the history of India prior to the Muhammadan conquest. Madras used to be open to reproach on the same account, but the Government of that Presidency is now wide awake, and is engaged in directing well-planned and well-executed measures for the recovery of the lost history of the territories under its charge. The Bombay Government has given ample proof of its intelligent interest in the past by the magnificent series of volumes of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, ever since the time when Sir John Strachey was Lieutenant Governor, early neglect has been atoned for by considerable, though not lavish, patronage of archaeological investigations. The efforts of the Government of Bengal have not always been happily guided, but, at any rate, something has been done, and the administration is not open to the reproach of absolutely neglecting all enquiry into the history of the vast regions committed to its care. For the past thirty years the India Office and the Government of India have been most liberal in their support of archaeological enquiry, and have done, I think, all that could reasonably be expected of them. It has been reserved for the Government of the Pānjāb to earn the ignominious distinction of displaying an utter indifference to the early history of its territories, which cannot be paralleled by any other administration in India. Yet, as all readers of the *Indian Antiquary* well know, the Pānjāb is to the archaeologist, as it is to the statesman, by far the most interesting province of India.



Mr. Rodgers' catalogue of the coins in the Lahore Museum is apparently the only archaeological publication issued under the patronage of the Pañjāb Government for many years past. The book is enclosed, it cannot be said that it is bound, in a flimsy paper cover which falls off at the first perusal. It is to be hoped that the authorities in the Pañjāb, when next they issue a book for the use of historical students, will harden their hearts, and at least venture on the expense of boards.

In Mr. Rodgers' work nineteen pages are devoted to a general introduction, including an extremely imperfect bibliography, one hundred and forty-nine pages to the main catalogue, thirty-one pages to a supplementary catalogue of coins recently acquired by the Museum, and four pages to Pāli coin inscriptions, with transliterations, and a plate of monogrammatic emblems.

It is a great thing to have a printed catalogue of the Lahore cabinet at all, and I fully appreciate the difficulties of the compiler's task, and the abundant labour and learning which he has expended upon it. Yet it is impossible for any reviewer not to regret the chaotic arrangement of the work, and the neglect of the small details which make perfection. It is confusing to find the early Buddhist Kuninda coins and the Yaudhēya pieces (page 23) inserted between the Guptas and the Khalifas, the Indo-Scythian coins with Hindi legends (page 52) placed at the end of the series of the coins of the Sultāns of Delhi, and followed by a class dubbed 'Miscellaneous Old Indian Coins,' which includes pieces of the Indo-Scythian, Gupta, and mediæval periods. Many other instances of eccentric arrangement might be quoted.

Inattention to minor details is shown in a multitude of misprints, in the neglect to distinguish Indian from Bactrian Pāli (Kharōṣṭhī) in the table of inscriptions, and in various other ways. The book is printed in such a manner that much space is wasted.

So much for fault finding. I now turn to the pleasanter task of pointing out some of the items of interest to be found in the book.

Mr. Rodgers, in his Introduction, notices sundry *desiderata* in Indian numismatics, and it may be of some practical use to call the attention of readers of the *Indian Antiquary* to the

enormous amount of special work, which is required before it can be said that anything like a general account of the coinages of Northern India becomes possible. Mr. Rodgers remarks "how necessary is a *Coin Manual* for India, which should, in one volume, show how much is known at the present day on the subject." That one volume would, I fear, have to be a terribly thick one, and many and grievous would be the gaps in its contents.

It is odd (page v.) that the Lahore Museum should not contain a single specimen of the Mitra Dynasty, generally identified with the Puranic Sungas. Many of the coins of these princes have been described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlleye, but a monograph on the subject is wanted.

"The numismatics of Kāśmir are full of anomalies (p. vii)." This puzzling subject was long ago treated by Sir A. Cunningham, but there is plenty of room for a more exhaustive treatise on it.

"Much work remains to be done to the coins of Jaunpur. The various types are, as yet, but imperfectly known." At present the brief notice in Thomas' *Chronicles* is the standard account.

The coinages of the local dynasties, such as those of Mālwa and Kāngrā, all require further elucidation.

"The neighbouring (i. e., to Kāngrā) state of Chambā also had a coinage of its own. The coins were of copper only, and the characters on them were a kind of Hill Sanskrit or Thākuri. On some of the coins are the Rāja's name, and that of one of the gods of Chambā. They have never been written about." (p. xiii). Ten of these coins are catalogued (p. 121).

Pages xiii to xv of the Introduction contain some valuable observations on the coins of the Mughal Emperors, which, as is truly observed, "form an immense series." Nothing approaching a comprehensive account of this immense series exists, and perhaps the most pressing need of the Indian numismatist is that of a fairly complete description of the Mughal coinages, from the time of Bābar to that of Bahādur Shāh II., a period of a little more than three centuries. An absolutely complete catalogue is out of the question, because the number of varieties is almost infinite, but the compilation

<sup>1</sup> [The States and petty principalities of Pañjāb, Nābhā, Jind, Mālēr-Kōṭlā, Kaithal, Kapurthālā, Bahāwalpur, Ambālā and Jagādhri all had coinages of their own, and, so I am told, had many others besides; George Thomas of Hissār, for example. Since I wrote my paper on the

subject, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 321 ff., I spent but a day or so in Pañjāb, and picked up gold, silver and copper specimens of some of these mintages new to me, and so far as I know, not even suspected to exist by numismatists. — Ed.]



of a sufficiently satisfactory treatise is quite possible, though the task would be far from easy, and it might be difficult to find a publisher.

The absence, throughout the greater part of Mr. Rodgers' catalogue, of references to published catalogues of particular series renders it extremely troublesome to discover whether the Lahore collection contains any remarkable novelties or not, and, as regards most of the coinages, I cannot attempt to examine the collection in detail.

In a recent paper I ventured to doubt the rather hesitating assertion of Mr. Thomas that coins exist bearing the names both of Prithivi Rāja and of his conqueror Muḥammad bin Sām. But the billon coin described at page 35 sets my doubts at rest. The description is as follows:—

"Billon:—one specimen, very rare, 48 [scil. grains]. *Obv.* Horseman. *Śrī Pṛthivīrāja Deva.* 'Śrī Prithivī Rāja Deva.' Thos. p. 18, no. 15. *Rev.* Bull, *Śrī Mahammad Sām.* 'Śrī Mahammad Sām.'"

Paṇḍit Ratan Nārāyan of Dehli also possessed a specimen of this rare type. It is entered as unique in the privately printed catalogue of his collection.

The confused arrangement of the book under review must be my apology for referring next to coins of earlier date.

Nos. 5-8, described at page 53, are coins of the Gupta period, or possibly a little later. No. 5, the only one at all distinct, is thus described by Mr. Rodgers:—

"Wt. 113.2. Diameter. 75. *Obv.* King in armour, standing to right, left hand grasps a staff, right hand is making an offering at an altar. Above right arm is a *trīśūl* with fillet. Under left arm *Pasana* or *Pasata*, letters one above the other as on Gupta coins. To right  $\frac{3}{4}$  (?) indefinite. *Rev.* Female seated on throne, holds cornucopias in left hand, and in right a wreath, as on Gupta coins. To left a monogram not well defined."

I am indebted to Mr. Rodgers for inspection of another specimen of this class. The metal seemed to me to be brass (possibly very impure gold) and the obverse legend clearly to be *Pasata*. The legend outside the spear (staff) was illegible, and the reverse was without legend. I cannot assign these coins.

A copper coin of Toramāna is catalogued on page 54. "*Obv.* Seated figure to right (जय). *Rev.* Standing figure to left, *Śrī* तो ...". Coins of this type are said to be common. Mr. Rodgers seems to have overlooked the paper by Mr. Fleet

on "The Coins and History of Toramāna," *ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 225-230.

Like so many branches of Indian numismatics, the coinages of Toramāna and Mihirakula require further examination. Mr. Rodgers catalogues a few specimens of Mihirakula's copper coinage at page 141, but characteristically omits the king's name from his index.

In his notice of 84 specimens of punch-marked coins (page 110) Mr. Rodgers makes the odd observation that "no paper that I am aware of has ever been written on these punch-marked coins." A good deal has been written on the subject.

The description of a few specimens of the well known Varāha coins, (p. 112) ignores the demonstration by Dr. Hultzsch that they were struck by King Bhūja of Kanauj in the latter part of the ninth century A. D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 155, note.)

The Supplement contains some novelties, thus:—

Two small silver coins of 'Alī, an early Governor of Sindh (page 6) are stated to be "now published for the first time."

On pages 8 and 9 several new coins of the Sultāns of Ghazni are described.

An unpublished variety of the coins of Razia (Rizīya) is noticed on page 17.

Two of the exceedingly rare silver coins struck by Humāyūn at Kandahār are catalogued on page 26.

One of the rare zodiacal coins of Jahāngir, with the sign Taurus, is described on page 27.

V. A. SMITH.

31st Jan. 1892.

#### Postscript.

Since the above review was written, I have received a copy of a most valuable little book entitled, *Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century, A. D.*, by Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, (Quaritch, 1891). This work, which is illustrated by thirteen autotype plates of coins, and a map of N.-W. India, describes the punch-marked mintages, and the coins of Taxila, Odumbara, the Kunindas, Kosambi, the Yaudhēyas, Pāñchāla, Mathurā, Ayōdhya, Ujain, Ēraṇ or Ērakaina, the Andhras, Kārwar, and Nēpāl. It marks a great advance in the study of Indian numismatics. I hope to have an opportunity of noticing it more at length.

14-2-92.

V. A. S.



## EKAMRANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GANAPATI; DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 1172.

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

THIS inscription is engraved on the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Saiva temple of Ekamranātha, the largest of the numerous temples at Kāñchīpura. It consists of 17 Sanskrit verses in the Grantha character and professes to be an edict (*śāsana*, verses 1, 15, 16, 17) of king Gaṇapati, who traced his descent from the race of the Sun (verses 5 and 11) and whose immediate ancestors were:—

Betmarāja (v. 8).

His successor: Prōḍarāja (v. 9).

" " : Rudradēva (v. 10).

The eldest of his four younger brothers: Mahādēva (v. 11).

His son: Gaṇapati (v. 12).

Prōḍarāja is said to have constructed a large tank, which he called Jagatikēsari-taṭaka after a surname of his (v. 9). Gaṇapati claims to have defeated Siṃhaṇa and the Kālīṅga king, and to have the kings of Lāṭa (Gujarāt) and Gauḍa (Bengal) for vassals (v. 14). His minister (*sachiva*) and general (*saṁyapāla*), Sāmanta-Bhōja, who belonged to the race of Dōchi, appears to have held the appointment of governor (*chakradhārin*) of Kāñchī. He was probably a Brāhmana, as he claims to be a member of the Kāśyapagōtra (v. 15). By order of the king, he gave to the Ekāmra temple at Kāñchī the village of Kaḷattar<sup>1</sup> (v. 16). The date of the grant was Tuesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyāishṭha of Śāka 1172 (in words), the cyclic year *Saunvya* (v. 17). According to Mr. Sewell's *South-Indian Chronological Tables*, the corresponding European date is Tuesday, the 8th June, 1249 A. D.

The dynasty to which Gaṇapati belonged, is not named in the inscription. But the names of two of his predecessors, Prōḍarāja and Rudradēva, are identical with two kings of the Kākatiya<sup>2</sup> dynasty of Worangal.<sup>3</sup> Prōḍa and his son Rudradēva, who are known from the Anumakoṇḍa inscription of Saka 1084.<sup>4</sup> This close agreement and the mention of Gaṇapati as one of the Worangal kings in unpublished inscriptions and local records<sup>5</sup> leave no doubt that the two pairs of names are identical, that the Gaṇapati of the subjoined inscription was the nephew of Rudradēva of Worangal, and that, at the time of his reign, Kāñchī was included in the territories of the Kākatiya kings. According to the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, Prōḍa's father was called Tribhuvanamalla, while the subjoined inscription mentions Betmarāja as the immediate predecessor of Prōḍarāja. It follows from these two statements that Betmarāja was the real name of the father and predecessor of Prōḍarāja, and that Tribhuvanamalla was a *biruda* of his. Thus a combination of both inscriptions furnishes the following short genealogy of the Kākatiyas of Worangal:—

1. Betmarāja, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla, of the race of the Sun.

2. Prōḍarāja or Prōḍa,<sup>6</sup> surnamed Jagatikēsarin.3. Rudradēva  
(Saka 1084).

4. Mahādēva.

Three other sons.

5. Gaṇapati<sup>7</sup>  
(Saka 1172).

<sup>1</sup> Kaḷattūr is now a large village, after which the next Railway station south of Chingleput is called.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the word is spelled in the *Pratāparudrīya*. The Anumakoṇḍa inscription has the forms Kākatiya and Kākatiya.

<sup>3</sup> This name is spelled Orangalla in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. In a Telugu chronicle (*Madras Journal for 1881*, p. 238) we find the form Oragalla, 'Single Rock,' which tallies with the Sanskrit name Êkaśilā; see below, note 12.

<sup>4</sup> Published by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 114 ff. and 172 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Prōḍa or prōḍa is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *praudha*; see Brown, *s. v.* *prōḍa*.

<sup>7</sup> According to local records, Gaṇapati was the son of Rudradēva and nephew of Mahādēva; see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 77, and Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 483. An unpublished inscription, which is quoted by Sir W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 83, agrees with the Ekamranātha inscription.



The *Singhaṇa* who is reported to have been afraid of *Gaṇapati* (v. 14), was probably the *Yādava* king *Singhaṇa* II. of *Dēvagiri* (*Daulatābād*), who reigned from *Saka* 1131 to 1169, and who, in his turn, calls himself 'the uprooter of the water-lily which was the head of the king of *Teluṅga*.'<sup>9</sup> In the *Paiṭhan* grant of the *Yādava* king *Rāmachandra*,<sup>9</sup> *Singhaṇa* II. is said to have overcome the *Andhra* king. The predecessor of *Singhaṇa* II., *Jaitugi* I. (*Saka* 1113 to 1131), is said to have slain the king of *Trikaliṅga* in battle and to have seized the whole of his kingdom. Further " (this) ocean of compassion fetched *Gaṇapati*, the speech of whose mouth was sweet, from the prison-house and made (him) lord of (his) country." Accordingly, *Gaṇapati* was a contemporary of both *Jaitugi* I. and *Singhaṇa* II. The king of *Trikaliṅga*, who was defeated and killed by *Jaitugi* I., may have been either *Gaṇapati*'s father *Mahādēva* or his uncle *Rudradēva*.<sup>10</sup> The words of the *Paiṭhan* grant leave it doubtful if *Gaṇapati*, before he was installed on the throne by *Jaitugi* I., had been kept imprisoned by this king, or by his own father *Mahādēva*, or by his uncle *Rudradēva*. A still earlier synchronism between the *Kākatīyas* and *Yādavas* appears to be contained in the *Anumakoṇḍa* inscription, which states that *Rudradēva* defeated one *Maiḷigidēva*. This may have been the *Yādava* king *Mallugi*, who, according to the *Paiṭhan* grant, was the predecessor of *Bhīlāma* (*Saka* 1109 to 1113).

Some additional information on the *Kākatīya* dynasty may be gathered from the *Pratāparudrayaśōbhushaṇa* or *Pratāparudriya*, a treatise on *Alaṅkāra*. The author of this work, *Vidyānātha*, must have been a contemporary of *Pratāparudra*, as he illustrates the rules of *Sanskrit* composition almost exclusively by verses in praise of that king. For the subjoined extracts I am using an edition in *Telugu* characters, printed at *Madras* in 1888 with the commentary of *Kumārasvāmi-Sōmapithin*, the son of the well-known *Kōlachala-Mallināthasūri* and younger brother of *Pedayārya*. The *Kākatīya*<sup>11</sup> king *Pratāparudra* resided at *Ēkasailā-nagara*,<sup>12</sup> the capital of the *Andhra* or *Triliṅga* country. The second of these *Sanskrit* names of the *Telugu* country is supposed to owe its origin to three famous *liṅgas* of *Siva*<sup>13</sup> at *Srisaṭṭa*,<sup>14</sup> *Kaḷēśvara*<sup>15</sup> and *Drākshārāma*.<sup>16</sup> The hermitage of *Hidimba* (*Hidimbāsrama*, p. 130, or *Hidimbālaya*, p. 131) must be looked for in the neighbourhood of *Worāngal*. *Anumakoṇḍa*, the former capital of the *Kākatīyas*,<sup>17</sup> is referred to by its *Sanskrit* name *Hanumatāchala* 'the hill of *Hanumat*' (p. 109). The crest (*mudrā*) of *Pratāparudra* was the figure of a boar<sup>18</sup> (*varāha*, pp. 35 and 119, or *krōḍa*, pp. 203 and 307). The name of his mother was *Mumma-dambā* (p. 12).

Further details about the king and two of his predecessors are given in a panegyric drama, which forms the third chapter of the *Pratāparudriya*. The father of *Pratāparudra*

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 72.

<sup>9</sup> Published by Dr. Fleet, ante, Vol. XIV. pp. 314 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Taylor, l. c. states that "Gaṇapati, making war against the *Dēvagiri* ruler, who had killed his uncle *Mahādēva*, conquered that chief, and took his daughter, named *Rudramadēvi*, to be his wife." But see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> As noticed by Dr. Burnell (*Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 53 f.), the commentary (p. 7) derives this word from *Kākatī*, a name of *Durgā* : — काकतिनीम दुर्गा शक्तिरेकशिलानगरेभराणां कुलदेवता । सा शक्तिर्मेजनीयास्येति काकतीयः ।

<sup>12</sup> *Ēkasailā* is the *Sanskrit* equivalent of *Orugallu*, on which see p. 197, note 3. The form *Ēkasaila* (ante, Vol. XI. p. 12) does not occur in the *Pratāparudriya* and is probably due to a mistake.

<sup>13</sup> Page 143 : — यैर्देवास्त्रिभिरेष याति महतीं स्थाति त्रिलिङ्गाख्यया येषां काकतिराजकीर्तिविभवैः कैलासशैलाः कृताः । ते देवाः परस्परसदमधुराः भीशैलकालेभरशशारामनिवासिनः प्रतिदिनं त्वच्छ्रेयसे जायन्तु ॥

<sup>14</sup> In the *Karṇāl* district.

<sup>15</sup> The temple at *Kāḷabasti* in the *North Arcot* district.

<sup>16</sup> In the *Gōdāvari* district. The commentary notices the form *Dākshārāma*, which does really occur in an inscription of *Vīra-Chōḍa* (ante, Vol. XIX. p. 424), and quotes the following derivation of it from the *Skāndapurāṇa* :—दक्ष-स्वयामभूमिस्वाशारामोभिधीयते.

<sup>17</sup> ante, Vol. XI. p. 9 f. The original form of this *Telugu* name seems to be *Hanumatkoṇḍa*, 'the hill of *Hanumat*.'

<sup>18</sup> This crest is alluded to in verse 13 of the subjoined inscription.



was Mahādēva(?);<sup>19</sup> but his immediate predecessor was the daughter of Ganapati (pp. 132 and 136) by Sôma.<sup>20</sup> Her father Ganapati,<sup>21</sup> who appears to have been without male issue, had called her his "son" and conferred on her the male name "Rudra" (p. 102). At his death she seems to have succeeded him on the throne. In the text of the drama she is always styled "the king" (*rājā*) and once (p. 123) Mahārāja-Rudra,<sup>22</sup> while the commentary (pp. 101 and 104) calls her Rudrāmbā. At the command of the god Svayāmbhū (Siva) she adopted her daughter's son Pratāparudra and appointed him as her successor.<sup>23</sup> Thus the *Pratāparudriya* furnishes the following pedigree : —

1. Ganapati, md. Sôma.

2. Rudrāmbā.

Mummadāmbā.

Mahādēva(?)

3. Pratāparudra.

The local records further suggest that No. 1. Ganapati is identical with No. 5. Ganapati of the pedigree derived from inscriptions (p. 197, above). Accordingly, Rudrāmbā will be No. 6 and Pratāparudra No. 7 in the list of the Kākatiya dynasty. The only event of Ganapati's reign, which is alluded to in the *Pratāparudriya*, is, that he founded a Saiva shrine called Ganapēśvara (p. 143). Both Rudrāmbā (p. 101) and Pratāparudra (p. 42) had the *biruda* Chalamartigaṇḍa. Pratāparudra is reported to have conquered a large number of distant countries on his *viṣayayātrā* or grand tour. Repeated mention is made of the defeat of the Yādava king of Sēvaṇa. This king had crossed the Gautamī (i.e. Gōdāvarī) river, north of which his territory must accordingly have been situated, and was put to flight by the commander of an army of Pratāparudra.<sup>24</sup> Among the kings of an early branch of the Yādavas, which was settled in the Nāsik district, we find three times the name Sēunachandra.<sup>25</sup> The first Sēunachandra founded Sēunapura at, i.e. transferred his capital to, Sindinagara or Sindinēra, the modern Sinnar in the Nāsik district.<sup>26</sup> Later on, the term Sēunadēśa was employed as the designation of the territories of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. For, in Hēmadri's account of the reign of Mahādēva (Saka 1182 to 1193), Dēvagiri is said to be included in the country called Sēuṇa;<sup>27</sup> and in the Paithān grant of Rāmachandra (Saka 1193 to 1230), it is stated that the granted village belonged to the country of Sēuṇa and was situated on the northern bank of the Gōdāvarī.<sup>28</sup> This country of Sēuṇa is evidently identical with the country of

<sup>19</sup> This statement rests on the commentator's explanation of a verse (p. 91) which, in my opinion, rather refers to king Ganapati than to Pratāparudra. The local records call Pratāparudra's father Virabhadra.

<sup>20</sup> Page 102 : — सैवोमा चेति निर्दिष्टा सोमा चेति प्रथमगता । तव माता शिवा [read शिवः] साक्षादेवो गणपतिः पिता ॥

<sup>21</sup> According to the local records, she was not the daughter, but the widow of Ganapati.

<sup>22</sup> Thus the coins of queen Lilāvati of Ceylon bear the legend श्रीराजलीलावती, and those of queen Rāṣṭya of Delhi bear the title السلطان الاحم.

<sup>23</sup> On page 104, Siva addresses the queen thus :—

स्वीकृते पुत्रभावेन दौहित्रे प्राङ्मासया । अस्मिन्निधेहि धौरेये गुर्वीर्गुर्वधुराविति ॥

The commentator explains प्राक् by जन्मकाले.

<sup>24</sup> Page 156 :— रेरे सेवण कस्तवायमनिदं पूर्वाय गर्वो महानुत्तीर्णो किल येन गौतमनदीं पारोसि नृप्योर्मुण्डम् ।

एषा काकतिवीररुद्र इति किं नाभावि सतासरी प्रकुप्यन्ति पक्षपादिवमहाभूतमहोपादनी ॥

Page 291 :— रासो यादववैशपाथिवमणेः प्रख्यातशौर्यैश्वर्यस्वर्गुत्तुङ्गतरंगसैन्यमहतो मानैकविंशस्य च ।

सयो रुद्रनरेन्द्रनायकचमूनायेन केनाप्यधिष्ठितस्याचरितानि सेवणपतेर्जानाति सा गौतमी ॥

<sup>25</sup> ante, Vol. XII. p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> ibid. p. 124, and Vol. XVII. p. 118.

<sup>27</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 87.

<sup>28</sup> ante, Vol. XIV. p. 315.



*Sēvaṇa*,<sup>29</sup> which, according to the *Pratāparudriya*, was situated north of the *Gōdāvari* and ruled over by a *Yādava* king. As *Pratāparudra* reigned from A. D. 1295 to 1323,<sup>30</sup> his *Yādava* antagonist must have been *Bāmaachandra*, the last independent king of *Dēvagiri*. As suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar,<sup>31</sup> the name *Sōṇadēśa* is perhaps preserved in the modern term *Khândēś*.

The only inscription of *Pratāparudra*, of which I have a copy at hand, is a fragment discovered by my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, on the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the *Jambukēśvara* temple near *Trichinopoly*. It is written in the *Grantha* character, but in the *Telugu* language. Of the two first lines only the following words are preserved:—

- 1 . . . . . [ भे ] श्वकाकतीयप्रतापरुद्रदेवमहारा[ ज ] लु  
2 . . . . . [ ग ] लु इयिवीराज्यम् सेयुचुण्डगानु आ राजु

### TEXT.

1 स्वस्ति श्रीः [ ॥ \* ] एतन्निखिलभूपालमौलिमण्डलमण्डनम् [ १ \* ] गणपत्यवनीन्द्रस्य चन्द्रार्कस्थावि शासनम् [ १ \* ] तेजदश्च श्रेयसाय स्याद्व्यवन्तावळाननम् [ १ \* ] अनन्यास्वादितस्तन्यशैलकन्या-

2 स्तनन्धयम् ॥ [ २ \* ] कुशलमविकलं करोतु कोलस्त किल सरोरुहवासिनीसहा[ य ] : [ १ \* ] तरति यदुरुपो-  
चपेतपात्र्या प्रतिद्युगमेव महोदधिन्धरिणी ॥ [ ३ \* ] शाश्वतीम् मुमुदश्चयता[ द्व ] चन्द्रचूडमुकुटेनुकला सा [ १ \* ]

3 यानुमा स्वशानि नौरिति मौक्ती मौलिमण्डननीजलकोळौ ॥ [ ४ \* ] यस्सामर्ग्यं जुषाम् प्रमेयपदवीसीमो महिप्रः  
पदम् यस्तेज[ \* ] स्तवकीकृतम् क्रतुभुजाम् कौट्यास्त्रयस्त्रिंशतः [ १ \* ] तन्नेत्रादुदपद्यते-

4 य भगवानसंभोजिनीब[ र \* ] न्धवो । बाह्याभ्यन्तरबन्धुरान्धतमसाहंकारसंसारकः ॥ [ ५ \* ] तस्मादप्यनिपा-  
नुकजगतीकरदीपकरणिनीतिकरः<sup>32</sup> [ १ \* ] मरुतादिनो नृपाणाम् [ सी ] मेवामुदुपाय[ र \* ] नाम् ॥ [ ६ \* ]  
सगरभगी-

5 रथपतिरयुरमाद्यास्तदनु सन्धुर्द्धरणम् ॥ अथ गच्छति बहुकाले तदन्वये दुर्जया नियाम् प्राप्तिः ॥ [ ७ \* ]  
अभिमतभुजभाजाम् बाहुजानां कुलेस्मिन्नजनि जनित[ की ] त्तिर्भूपतिर्वैत्तराजः [ १ \* ]<sup>33</sup> अधिगण्ड-

6 तुरंगम् प्रेक्ष्य साक्षात्कृतन्तम् प्रथमगण्डवाहम्मेनिरे यम्ननुष्याः ॥ [ ८ \* ]<sup>34</sup> द्विपुण्ड्रतद्व्युत्तन्तिमेधंकराघो  
निरविशय्य भूमिम् भूपतिः प्रोडराजः ॥ प्रतिनिधिमुदधीनां सस्यन्तोयसुटे-

7 रक्त जगतिकेसर्प्याखयया यस्तटाकम् ॥ [ ९ \* ] तदनु पवनवेगप्रत्यनीकाश्वधावीविहितमहितभुद्धिद्वो  
रुद्रदेवः ॥ अलमकृत कुलन्तत् क्षमापकोटीरहीरप्रकरमुकुरिचिम्बत्पादचिम्बो( लक ) लक्ष्मीः<sup>35</sup> ॥ [ १० \* ]

8 तदनुजगणमुख्यदश्रीमहादेवराजस्तपनकुलसमुद्राद्यादृशः पारिजातः [ १ \* ] अलभत दिनदीपच्यपदं यस्य की-  
र्त्तयसदृशचिजालैरन्यराज्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ [ ११ \* ] महादेवमहीपालाज्जातो गणपतिर्हृपः [ १ \* ] अमी-

9 निर्ध्वक्रमैरेभिर्गुणैराभिर्ध्वभूतिभिः ॥ [ १२ \* ]<sup>36</sup> कोलांकोभून्मृगांको [ नि ] वसति कमले श्रीरिति श्रीवराहः  
प्राप्तो नैषा प्रियस्योरसि रतिवितौ लभ्रगण्डम् प्रसुप्ता [ १ \* ] इत्यालापे सखीनामुपसि सकुतुकम्

10 सत्रपम् सातुतापं हस्ताभ्यां यद्विपुस्त्री विनमित्तवदना गण्डपाळी पिधत्ते ॥ [ १३ \* ] यदुदयकृतचेतोरिखण-  
स्तिहणो यच्चदुलसुभट्टादीदत्तनंगः कर्लिगः [ १ \* ] अपि च यदुपसेवाजीविनौ ला-

<sup>29</sup> A further reference to a king of *Sēvaṇa* is found in Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 68:—"An inscription of (the *Hoyasā* king) *Narasimha II.* gives a graphic account of a battle between his father (*Baliāja II.*) and a certain *Semana* or *Sevuna*, whom he besieged and defeated at *Soratur* near *Gadag*, and pursued from there up to the *Kriah-pavīrpa*, where he slew him, and who was probably the commander-in-chief of *Jaitagi's* army." *Mallinātha-Ojeyar*, the commander-in-chief of king *Bukka* of *Vijayanagara*, claims to be the commander of the *Sēvaṇa* army (*Sēvaṇa-dāja*) and of other armies.—See Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 2 and 5; I am quoting from impressions of these two inscriptions, the originals of which are in the *Sampige-Siddhēśvara* temple at *Chitaldroog*.

<sup>30</sup> Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 173.

<sup>31</sup> *Early History of the Dekkan*, Supplement, p. iv.

<sup>32</sup> Read °करण°.

<sup>33</sup> Read °विम्बोकलक्ष्मीः.

<sup>34</sup> Read अधि°.

<sup>35</sup> The प of द्विपुण्ड्र° is entered below the line.

<sup>36</sup> The syllables लंकि are entered over the line.



11 द्यौडौ गणपतिनृपतेः कः [1] आपते विक्रमाय ॥ [१४\*] तस्याज्ञाचक्रधारी प्रथितभुजहृत्सै [न्य] पा-  
लाग्रग्यो <sup>37</sup> वाचां वा ताम्रपर्णीमसृणमणिवरः काश्यपश्चाप्यगोत्रः [1\*] काश्यामाकल्पका-

12 लम् गणपतिनृपतेः दशासनं संव्यधत् श्रीमत्सामन्तभोजो गणपतिसचिवो शैचिहुग्धाब्धिचन्द्रः ॥ [१५\*]  
देवस्यैकाग्रधाम्नो बहुमहिमसपट्यार्वावसुन्याससिद्धये मामन्नाम्ना कळचूरिति भु-

13 वि विदितं सस्यहृद्यन्निवेद्य [1\*] काश्यामाकल्पकालं गणपतिनृपतेः दशासनं संव्यधत् श्रीमत्सामन्तभोजो  
गणपतिसचिवो शैचिहुग्धाब्धिचन्द्रः ॥ [१६\*] शाकाब्दे तु द्विसप्तत्यधिकशिवशतख्यातसंख्यानमाने सौम्याब्दे

14. <sup>38</sup> श्रेष्ठमासे बहलहरिविने भौमवारे समेष्टि [1\*] काश्यामाकल्पकालं गणपतिनृपतेः दशासनं <sup>39</sup> संव्यधत्  
श्रीमत्सामन्तभोजो गणपतिसचिवो शैचिहुग्धाब्धिचन्द्रः ॥ [१७\*]

### TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

Verse 1. This (*is*) an edict (*śāsana*) of king **Gaṇapati**, which adorns the heads of (*i. e.* which is obeyed by) all kings, and which shall endure as long as the moon and the sun.

2. Let the power (*Gaṇéśa*) which has the face of a rutting elephant, and which has sucked the breast of (*Pārvatī*) the daughter of the mountain, whose milk was tasted by no other, — produce happiness!

3. Let that boar (*Vishṇu*) who is the consort of (*Lakshmi*) that dwells in the lotus, and on whose big snout, as on a boat, the earth crosses the great ocean (*at the end of*) each *yuga*, — produce complete welfare!

4. Let that sickle of the moon on the head of *Siva*, which *Umā*, sporting in the water of the (*Gaṅgā*) river that adorns the head (*of Siva*), touches, (*exclaiming*: “*Here is*) a boat of pearls!” — procure you everlasting bliss!

5. From the eye of (*Siva*) who is the abode of the greatness (*which is reached*) at the end of the path that is to be known from the *Sāman*, *Rich* and *Yajus* (*Vēdas*),<sup>40</sup> and who combines the power of the thirty-three crores of gods, — was produced that god (*viz.* the Sun), who is the friend of the lotus plant, and who dispels intensely deep darkness without and egotism within (*the mind*).

6. From him was born **Manu**, the first of kings and master of expedients,<sup>41</sup> who produced (*a treatise on*) right conduct, which supplies a handy lamp to men who are apt to stumble on the wrong path.

7. After him, **Sagara**, the lord **Bhagiratha**, **Raghu**, **Rāma** and other (*kings*) of his race, who were hard to be overcome by approaching dangers, ruled the earth in the course of a long period of time.

8. In this race of warriors,<sup>42</sup> whose arms were respected, was born the renowned king **Betmarāja**, whom people, when they saw him on his horse (*called*) *Garuḍa*, took for the first rider on *Garuḍa* (*i. e.* for *Vishṇu*) appearing visibly.

9. Then the earth was enjoyed by king **Prōḍarāja**, who covered the horizon with clouds, (*viz.*) the rutting elephants offered (*as presents*) by his (*conquered*) enemies, and who constructed a tank (*taṭāka*) (*which he called*) by (*his*) name **Jagatikēśarin**<sup>43</sup> (*i. e.* the lion of the earth), which equalled the oceans, and which accumulated the downpour of water.

<sup>37</sup> The first *ā* of °पाल° is entered below the line.

<sup>38</sup> Read ज्यैष्ठ °.

<sup>39</sup> The syllable च is entered below the line.

<sup>40</sup> *Siva* is here identified with the universal soul of the *Vēdānta* philosophy.

<sup>41</sup> Literally, ‘the limit, as it were, of expedients.’

<sup>42</sup> The *Kshatriyas* are called *bāhuja*, ‘arm-born,’ because they are supposed to have been produced from *Brahmā*’s arms.

<sup>43</sup> In this compound, as in *Kālidāsa* and other names, the final *ṭ* of the first member (*jagati*) is shortened in accordance with *Pāṇini*, vi. 3, 63. The synonymous *biruḍa* *Avanishinha* occurs in verse 20 of an unpublished *Pallava* grant from *Kaśākhūḍi*.



10. After him, this race was adorned by Rudradēva, who put to flight exalted kings by the attack of horses which rivalled the wind in swiftness, and the proud splendour of whose feet was reflected, as by mirrors, by the multitude of the diamonds in the diadems of (*prostrated*) kings.

11. The first of the multitude of his younger brothers, the illustrious king Mahādēva, (*was produced*) from the race of the Sun, as the *pārijāta* (*tree*) from the ocean.<sup>44</sup> In consequence of the unequalled splendour of his fame, the fame of other kings experienced the fate of a lamp at day-light.

12. From king Mahādēva was born king Gaṇapati, (*who was endowed*) with the same courage, the same virtues, and the same power.

13. "The deer-marked (*moon*) has become boar-marked." "The blessed boar (*or Vishṇu*) has come, because beauty (*or Śrī*) dwells in the lotus." "This lady has not slept with her cheeks pressed to the breast of her husband after dalliance." (*Successively*) experiencing curiosity, shame and grief during this morning talk of her maids, the wife of his (*viz.* Gaṇapati's) enemy bends her face down and covers the two marks on her cheeks with both hands.<sup>45</sup>

14. Who can boast of the courage of king Gaṇapati, at whose rise Siṃhaṇa lost his heart, by the attack of whose fine soldiers the Kāliṅga (*king*) was overthrown, and who is served by the Lāṭa and the Gauḍa (*kings*)?

15. He, who by his (*the king's*) order held a province,<sup>46</sup> the splendour of whose arms was famous, the foremost among generals (*sainyapāla*), who, as regards eloquence (?), was the best of the smooth gems of the Tamraparṇī (*river*),<sup>47</sup> who belonged to the renowned gōtra of the Kāśyapas, the minister of Gaṇapati, the illustrious Sāmanta-Bhōja, who, as the moon from the milk-ocean, (*was produced*) from the Dōchi (*family*), executed at Kāñchi the edict of king Gaṇapati, (*which shall last*) to the end of the kalpa.

16. By presenting to the god who resides in the Ēkāmra (*temple*), — in order that wealth might be deposited (*in the temple*) for conducting the worship with great splendour, — a village which is famed on earth by the name Kaṣattūr, and which abounds in grain, — Gaṇapati's minister, the illustrious Sāmanta-Bhōja, the moon of the milk-ocean of the Dōchi (*family*), executed at Kāñchi the edict of king Gaṇapati, (*which shall last*) to the end of the kalpa.

17. In the Śaka year, which was measured by the famous (?) number eleven hundred<sup>48</sup> increased by seventy-two, in the Saumya year, in the month of Jyāishṭha, in the dark fortnight, on the day of Hari (*Vishṇu*),<sup>49</sup> a Tuesday, at noon (?), — Gaṇapati's minister, the illustrious Sāmanta-Bhōja, the moon of the milk-ocean of the Dōchi (*family*), executed at Kāñchi the edict of king Gaṇapati, (*which shall last*) to the end of the kalpa.

<sup>44</sup> This simile implies, that the last king, Rudradēva, had four younger brothers, and that Mahādēva was the eldest of these. In the *Amarakōśa* (i. 1, 53), the *pārijāta* tree takes the second place among the five celestial trees.

<sup>45</sup> As suggested to me by Pāṇḍit Rājagōpālāchārya of Chikka-Baḷāpura, the maids allude by the words 'moon' and 'lotus' to the face of their captive mistress, on which a boar, the crest of king Gaṇapati, was painted. She experiences curiosity and shame, because she does not immediately catch the allusion, but takes the two first remarks of her maids in their literal sense. The third remark, which clearly refers to the painted figure on her cheeks, undecieves her and reminds her of her past happiness and present misery. With the opening words of verse 13. कोलाकुलोमृगाङ्गः, compare page 35 of the *Pratāparudrīya* : —

मन्थानाचलमूलमेवकशिलासंघटनदयामिकाकारं यजुर्हिनमुतै स्फुरति तत्सारङ्गमाचक्षते ।

मन्थे नन्विह वीररुद्रपतेः कीर्तिश्रिया निर्जितस्तन्मुद्राङ्गवराहमिन्दुरसा विश्वस्तमुज्जृम्भते ॥

<sup>46</sup> *Chakradhārīn* appears to have the same technical meaning, which the dictionaries attribute to *chakradhāra* and *chakrapāla*.

<sup>47</sup> 'The smooth gems of the Tamraparṇī' are the pearls, for which this river is celebrated. The epithet may also imply that Sāmanta-Bhōja was born on the banks of that river.

<sup>48</sup> Literally, 'Śiva's hundred.' Śiva is synonymous with Rudra, which, since there are eleven Rudras, is used as a numerical word for 'eleven.'

<sup>49</sup> i. e. the eleventh tithi, which is sacred to Vishṇu.



## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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

(Concluded from page 177).

## CHAPTER V.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE EDICTS, AND THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF INDIA.

It is not sufficient to consider the language of Piyadasi as an isolated subject. His monuments form only the first link in the chain of Indian epigraphical documents. The facts which they reveal cannot fail to throw light on the period following, and our conclusions, if they are correct, cannot fail to find a more or less direct verification in later facts. It is this order of ideas which I propose to consider in this concluding chapter.

## PART I.

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The most urgent task is to establish, as exactly as possible, the chronological classification of the monuments with which we have now to deal. I do not propose to examine once more in detail the thorny problems which the chronology of India presents for the period which extends from Aśoka to the kings of Valabhi: still less do I propose to bring forward here any original system of my own. These questions have been studied by such good judges, and have been replied to in so many different ways, that little room is left for new theories. I believe that the true solutions have been already indicated, and I intend simply to group dispersed elements together, and to connect them into a coherent whole, both by the consistency with which the principal dates fit into each other in one uninterrupted chain, and by the support lent to them by accessory considerations and coincidences.

Amongst the works which have thrown most light on a very obscure subject, Prof. Oldenberg's essay, *Ueber die Datirung der ältesten indischen Münz- und Inschriftenreihen*,<sup>1</sup> certainly holds the first place. It is, I believe, sufficient to combine his conclusions with certain results obtained by the labours of Messrs. Bühler, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bhandarkar, and Fleet, I only mention the most recent publications, to obtain a chronological series, the main points of which appear to be firmly established.

With Prof. Oldenberg, I consider that the Saka era starts from the coronation of Kanishka, and that it is in this era that the inscriptions of this king and of his Indo-Scythian successors are dated.<sup>2</sup> With him, I consider that the era of the Guptas, which was also adopted by the kings of Valabhi, should be calculated, in accordance with the evidence of Alberūni, from the year 319 A. D., and that no sufficient reason exists for disturbing one of the rare positive traditions which we have the good fortune to possess.<sup>3</sup>

This being settled, it remains to determine the chronology of the Satraps of Surāshtra and of the Andhrabhṛityas. Here several synchronisms come to our help.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, Vol. VIII. pp. 289 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Max Müller holds the same opinion, *India: What it can teach us*, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> With regard to the era of the Guptas, I would refer the reader specially to Appendix A. of Prof. Bhandarkar's work, *Early History of the Deccan*. New arguments have been put forward quite recently, which have led Dr. Bühler to the same opinion (cf. Bühler, *Ueber eine Inschrift des Königs Dharmasena IV von Valabhi*, in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akademie*, 1885, pp. 13 and ff. of the reprint). [Since the above was published the admirable researches of Mr. Fleet, contained in the 3rd volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, have put an end to all debate regarding the era of the Guptas. It has not been necessary for me to modify my original text in consequence, for it maintains the accuracy of the fact, of which Mr. Fleet has proved the certainty; but I cannot deprive myself, *en passant* of the pleasure of rendering a grateful tribute to the fertile labours of this skilful epigraphist.]



An inscription of Nāsik, dated the 19th year of the reign of Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumāyi, and emanating from his mother, Gōtamī Balasiri, refers to his father and predecessor Gōtamīputa Sātakarṇi, as the 'destroyer of the family of the Khakharātas' (*Khakharātavāṃsaniravasāsakara*).<sup>1</sup> We also find at Nāsik a parallel series<sup>2</sup> of inscriptions emanating from Usavadāta, son-in-law of the 'Satrap Nahapāna, a Khaharāta king,' and even a dedication presented by a minister, Ayama, of this prince. It is in the person of Nahapāna that Gōtamīputa Sātakarṇi must have destroyed the dynasty of the Khaharātas or Khakharātas, for the same locality has preserved for us a document, by which he exercises over it an act of sovereignty. He transfers to a community of ascetics certain lands, which come from Usavadāta, probably the very son-in-law of the dispossessed sovereign.

The reader can see in an ingenious article of Dr. Bühler's,<sup>3</sup> that the numismatic discoveries of Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal Indraji, on a comparison with epigraphic data, allow us to reconstitute the following series of sovereigns in the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas.

Gōtamīputa Sātakarṇi, who reigned at least 24 years.

Pulumāyi Vāsīṭhīputa, who reigned at least 24 years.

Māḍharīputa Sirisēna, who reigned at least 8 years.

Vāsīṭhīputa Chaturapana Sātakarṇi, who reigned at least 13 years.

Siriyaṇa Gōtamīputa Sātakarṇi, who reigned at least 16 years.

It is not certain, but it is at least probable, that the succession was immediate between the second, third, and fourth of these princes.

Rudradāman, the Satrap king, in the celebrated inscription of Gīrnār, tells us how he twice conquered Sātakarṇi, the king of the Dekhan; he only spared him from total destruction by reason of their close relationship. Now, an inscription of Kaṇhēri<sup>7</sup> has preserved the memory of a queen, daughter of a Kshatrapa king, whose name was composed of two syllables commencing with *ru*, and wife of the king Vāsīṭhīputa Sātakarṇi. Whether the Ru[dra], father of the queen was, as appears very likely, or was not, the Rudradāman of Gīrnār, it remains almost certain that the Sātakarṇi of whom that prince was the contemporary and conqueror is one of the two last princes named in the foregoing table. Fortified by palæographical coincidences which tend to confirm the likelihood, which in itself is very strong, of these facts, we can hold it for proved that Rudradāman belonged to the same time as Vāsīṭhīputa Sātakarṇi, or Siriyaṇa Sātakarṇi.

The third synchronism, together with an indirect verification of the second, gives us a valuable means for approximately fixing the dates, not only relatively but absolutely, of these persons. In a well-known passage, Ptolemy mentions Tīastanes and Siri Polemaios, as sovereigns of Ujjayīni and of Paithāna. These two names have been long identified, the first with that of Chashtāna, and the second with that of Siri Pulumāyi. Now Chashtāna is known by the inscriptions as grandfather of Rudradāman; and it is quite easy that he should have been a contemporary of Pulumāyi Vāsīṭhīputa, grandfather or great-grandfather, or at any rate third or fourth predecessor, of the Sātakarṇi, of whom we have just seen that Rudradāman was the contemporary and the conqueror. A remark of Prof. Bhandarkar<sup>8</sup> contributes a still higher degree of probability to these identifications. Ptolemy tells us that, while the northern parts of the west coast were governed by Siri Polemaios, the southern parts were under the rule of Baleocouros. Now, there has been discovered at Kōlhapur a series of coins,<sup>9</sup> in which the name of Viḷivāyakura, whose identity with Baleocouros forces itself on our notice, is associated with that of Vāsīṭhīputa and of Gōtamīputa, to whom we have just been introduced.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind. IV. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind. pp. 99 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> Indian Antiquary, 1883, pp. 272 and ff. It will be seen from what follows that I have not been able to place myself in entire accord with the learned author.

<sup>7</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind. V. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Early Hist. of the Deccan, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in J. R. A. S., Bo. XIII., 303 and ff.



The terms in which Ptolemy speaks of these sovereigns, Tiastanes, Siri Polemaios and Baleocoouros, give us naturally the impression that he speaks of princes of his own time. Without any doubt this conclusion is in no way a forced one. He could, it is true, have drawn upon previous authorities, and his information regarding such distant countries was not necessarily up to date; but, until the contrary is proved, every presumption is in favour of the most simple solution, which makes the princes reign at the same epoch as that in which he wrote the geography, or a short time before. Ptolemy is credited with having composed his book a few years after 150 A. D., and we are, therefore, entitled, *à priori*, to consider that Chashtana and Pulumayi Vāsīṭhīputa must have been in possession of their power between about 135 and 145. This conclusion, which is admitted by several scholars,<sup>10</sup> will impose itself with yet greater force upon our attention, if it is found to accord with the chronological data, which it is possible to collect directly in India. This is exactly the case.

Prof. Oldenberg<sup>11</sup> has strongly insisted upon the reasons which prevent us from fixing at a later date than the commencement of the second century the era of the Kshatrapa kings of Gujarāt, that is to say of the dynasty, the founder of which was, as we gather from the inscriptions, Chashtana. The arguments on the basis of which he hesitates to make it coincide with the Śāka era of 78 A. D. appear to me to be less convincing. We know of a Kshatrapa coin bearing not only the date 300, but the date 310 of the Kshatrapa era,<sup>12</sup> the date 83 of the Gupta era, i. e.  $(319 + 83 = ) 402$  A. D., is the earliest one of their successors in Mālava,<sup>13</sup> the Guptas, of which we have evidence, and it is hence impossible to bring down the commencement of the Kshatrapa era to a later date than 90 A. D. As it is, on the other hand, certain that the Kshatrapas were not the originators of the era which they employed, — we shall shortly see that it was also used by Nahapāna, — it seems to me that the strongest probabilities lead us to conclude, with Paṇḍits Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar, that it was the Śāka era of 78 A. D., the era of Kanishka, which they adopted.

Every one is now, I believe, agreed in considering with Messrs. Oldenberg<sup>14</sup> and Bhagwanlal,<sup>15</sup> that Nahapāna was, in Gujarāt, the representative of the race of the Kshaharātas, which was conquered by Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi, and which immediately preceded this dynasty of Kshatrapa Sēnas, of whom Chashtana was the first representative.

It will now be sufficient to mention the dates supplied to us by certain inscriptions; and we shall see how they adjust themselves, and how happily they coincide with the presumptions to which we have come independently.

According to the Girnar inscription, Rudradāman was on the throne in the year 72 of his era, which we suggest to be the Śāka era. Coins of his son Rudrasimha bear the dates 102 to 117, and it is probable that the first-mentioned ones go back to the commencement of his reign.<sup>16</sup> It is, therefore, likely that the reign of his father Rudradāman could not have commenced much before the year 150 A. D., the date of the bursting of the embankment at Girnar. Every indication points to the conclusion that the reign of his father Jayadāman was short, and Chashtana, as founder of the dynasty, could only have come into power at a mature age. There is, therefore, small room for making mistakes, if we allow for these two reigns a period of 20 or 22 years. The accession to power of the Sēnas would thus be placed at about the year 128 or 130 A. D.

An inscription of Junnar,<sup>17</sup> proves that Nahapāna was still king in the year 46 of the era which he employed: the inscriptions of his son-in-law Usavadāta, which are known to us, are earlier, bearing the dates 40, 41, 42. We can thus put the destruction of his power by the

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* Bhagwanlal Indrajī, *art. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *art. cit.* pp. 315 and ff.

<sup>12</sup> Bühler, in Burgess, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* p. 73.

<sup>13</sup> Cf., for example, Thomas in Burgess, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *loc. cit.* pp. 319, and ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1878, p. 258, al.

<sup>16</sup> Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in *J. R. A. S., Bc.* XIII. p. 315.

<sup>17</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 103.



Andhras, at about the year 48 or 50 of his era. What is that era? If, hypothetically, we suggest the era of Kanishka, the date 125 to 128 A. D. which we get, agrees so exactly with that to which we are led on the other hand as the date of the coming to power of his conqueror, that the proof seems to be decisive. I may add that, according to a restoration which Dr. Bühler<sup>13</sup> considers as 'almost certain,' Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, in one of his inscriptions calls himself a Saka. It is, therefore, probable that this family of Kshaharātas held its power, as vassal satraps, from the Turnshkas of the dynasty of Kanishka; and nothing could be more natural than that they should have used the era adopted by their suzerains. After them, the family of Sēnas must have simply followed their official tradition, as the Valabhi kings did in later years when they succeeded the Guptas. The name of Śālivāhana by which this era came eventually to be designated, appears to be a recollection of the similar procedure by which the sovereigns of the Dekhan, on their side, appropriated the era founded in the north by the Saka king.

Another result which follows from the above is that we now find the members of the Andhra dynasty, who more immediately interest us here, placed in their chronological position. I have mentioned their names above.

If we take 126 A. D. as the date of the victory of Gotamīputa Śātakani over Nahapāna, an inscription of the conqueror<sup>14</sup> proves, on the other hand, that this event must have occurred before the 14th year of his reign, for he sends orders dated in that year to the representative of his authority at Nāsik. Various epigraphical monuments testify that he reigned at least 24 years; and we thus get the year  $126 + 11$ , say 137 A. D., for the end of his reign, and the coming to the throne of his successor Vāsīthīputa Pulumāyi. The rule of this prince having lasted at least 24 years, that of Māgharīputa Sirisēna at least 8, and that of Vāsīthīputa Śātakani at least 13, we arrive, for the conclusion of this last reign, at least at the date  $137 + 24 + 8 + 13 =$  say 182 A. D. Rudradāman, the Kshatrapa, having ceased to reign before 180 A. D., it follows that it was certainly Vāsīthīputa Śātakani, and not his successor, who is referred to in the inscription of Gīrnar.

We see how completely all these *data* agree amongst themselves. The verification which is, in my opinion, the most important, consists in the complete accord which this system establishes without any effort, with the presumptions which we are entitled to draw from the mention made by Ptolemy of Chashtāna and Pulumāyi. It must be, as we have seen, about the years 125 to 145 A. D. that this mention should *a priori*, lead us to fix the reigns of these personages, and, that too, independently of any preconceived ideas, or of any clue obtained from Indian sources. On the other hand, our deductions, founded on absolutely independent calculations refer the former to the years 130 to 140 or 145, and the second to the years 137 to 161 A. D. In the face of so striking a result it appears to me difficult to avoid recognizing how artificial and how fine-drawn must be the suppositions, by which some writers have sought to weaken the induction which the text of the geographer at once suggests to us.

On the other hand, I must express my entire agreement with Dr. Bühler in the criticism to which he submits the rash attempts which have been risked to reconstitute the chronology of the period anterior to the Andhrabhṛityas. Their contradictions, and especially the positive *data* which are furnished by the monuments, shew how little confidence is deserved by the lists of the *Purāṇas*.

The more this epoch is still enveloped in obscurity, the rarer the means of marking out its historical development, the more important is it to cling with all our power to the marks which we have been able, in my opinion, to fix with confidence. I sum them up here.

1. The Saka era of 78 A. D. is the era founded by Kanishka. His monuments and those of his successors, the last of whom are lost in the obscurity which surrounds the commencement of the Gupta dynasty in 319 A. D., are dated in that era.

<sup>13</sup> Arch. Sur. West. Ind. IV. 101.

<sup>14</sup> Arch. Sur. West. Ind. IV. 15.



2. It is in the same era that the inscriptions and coins, — on the one hand of Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta, — on the other hand of the Kshatrapa Sēnas of Gujarāt, — are dated. The monuments, known to belong to the former, relate to the years 118 to 124 A.D., and the rule of the latter dynasty extended from about the year 130 to the end of the fourth century A. D. The great inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar dates from the third quarter of the second century of our era.

3. The reigns of the five Andhrabhṛitya kings, whose names I have given above, and the order of whose succession we are enabled to determine with the aid of various monuments, from Gōtamiputa Sātakani to Siriyani Sātakani, fill the greater part of the second century of our era.

These conclusions put us in a position to date several epigraphical monuments which are certainly of decisive importance for the linguistic history of India. It is desirable that we should be able to do more, and to attain to equal certainty both with regard to the preceding period which separates the inscriptions of Aśoka from those of Kanishka, and for the subsequent one. Unfortunately the elements for analogous deductions are not forthcoming, and we are, as a general rule, reduced to indications borrowed from palæography, to which it is prudent to accord but a limited confidence. I should add that, so far as regards the principal question with which we have to deal, this uncertainty very luckily does not appear to have very serious consequences.

There is one class of monuments, the coins, concerning which I have not much to say. M. de Sallet<sup>20</sup> has submitted the problems connected with them to an examination at once complete and thorough. I doubt whether the main lines of his conclusions can be seriously altered by later researches. Under any circumstances, I do not believe that the uncertainties which may remain unexplained, or the errors which may require correction, are of such an extent as to compromise the deductions which philology can draw from the legends of the coins.

It would be more essential, but it is more difficult, to fix with confidence the relative dates, and the order of all the inscriptions which belong to the same period.

By the side of those which bear the names of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, whose dates, as I admit, are certainly to be referred to the Śāka era, there are others which various indications connect more or less closely with the same series, without its being proved, or even shewn to be probable, that they employ the same era. I refer especially to two characteristic inscriptions in Indo-Bactrian characters, that of Taxila,<sup>21</sup> dated in the 78th year, and belonging to the great king Mōga, and that of Takhtibahi,<sup>22</sup> dated the year 103, and the 26th year of the reign of a king whose name is read as Gudupharas, most probably the same as the Gondophares or Yndopherres of coins and of legend; but if this identification is admitted, and if, on the other hand, we also allow the identification, which has been proposed, of king Mōga with the king Maues of the coins, there are, from a numismatic point of view,<sup>23</sup> serious difficulties to be met in fixing the epoch from which to count this year 78, so as to calculate these two dates. All that is at any rate certain is that these monuments belong approximately to the same period as those of the Turushka kings; and the study of the former should not be separated from that of the latter.

As regards the two inscriptions of Mathurā<sup>24</sup> (No. 8 and No. 9 of Dowson) which are dated in the year 135, and the year 280 respectively, I see no decisive reason against referring them to the series of the Śāka era.

<sup>20</sup> *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*. Cf., however, also Gardner and R. S. Poole, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* XX. 221 and ff.

<sup>22</sup> Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S. VII. p. 376. Cf. now my *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, I. pp. 114 and ff.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sallet, *op. cit.* pp. 48, 51, 157.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S. V. pp. 182 and ff.



A certain number of inscriptions, though undated, contain names which enable us to determine their age with some precision. Such are the short dedications of Dasaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, and the inscription of Bharhut, engraved 'under the rule of the Śuṅgas'.<sup>25</sup> To the same category belong some texts of a higher value, — the inscriptions of Nānāghāt. They are connected with the most ancient of the royal inscriptions of Nāsik,<sup>26</sup> that which contains the name of king Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) of the family of the Śātavāhanas. The reader may be referred to a learned essay which Dr. Bühler has devoted to these inscriptions and their date. It can be seen from what precedes, that I am not able to accept the whole of his conclusions. I consider at least that these monuments belong to the beginning of the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas or Śātavāhanas. While I admit that it would not be safe to accept the discrepant evidence of the *Purāṇas* as a solid foundation for calculating the period which elapsed between the kings of Nānāghāt and the series of sovereigns who have left us at Nāsik authentic documents, we should not, at the same time, too lightly discard these confused traditions. Dr. Bühler has been perhaps led to display the more severity towards them because they disagree with the date, in my opinion too ancient, which he attributes to Gōtamīputa Śātakaṇi and his successors. There remains the evidence to be adduced from palaeography. Dr. Bühler calculates that this does not allow us to presume a space of more than a century between the inscription of Nānāghāt and those of Gōtamīputa Śātakaṇi at Nāsik. Dr. Bühler's authority in matters of this kind is too considerable to allow me to venture to dispute his opinion, and I will only confess that, if an interval of a hundred years does not appear to him improbable between the characters of Aśoka and those of Nānāghāt, I can scarcely understand how it can be certain that between the engravers of Nānāghāt and those of Nāsik, there did not elapse 200 years or even more. The truth is that, at least for this period, we have no scale of palaeographical development graduated by documents to which exception cannot be taken. After all, vexatious as these uncertainties are, I do not undertake to reconstitute the history of the Andhrabhṛityas; so far as the aim which I have in view is concerned, it is sufficient to remember that the inscriptions of Nānāghāt certainly fall in the period intermediate between Aśoka and Gōtamīputa Śātakaṇi, and that they are, at least, a century earlier than the latter.

As for the other monuments of the period we are compelled to content ourselves with analogous, though still more valuable conclusions. It is a fortunate circumstance that however desirable it may be in many respects to fix the exact age of each text, these conclusions are in the present case sufficient for us. There are, I believe, very few instances in which we are not in a condition to assert that such or such an inscription is or is not anterior to the line of demarcation which marks the epoch of Rudradāman the Kshatrapa, and his contemporary Śātakaṇi the Andhrabhṛitya. To the period which extends from Aśoka down to these sovereigns belong the edict of Khandagiri and the inscriptions of Rāmnāth,<sup>27</sup> the inscription of Kāngrā,<sup>28</sup> as also that of Rēwā,<sup>29</sup> and several epigraphs both in the caves of the west coast, as well as in the ruins of Sāñchi,<sup>30</sup> of Bharhut,<sup>31</sup> and Amravati.<sup>32</sup> Taking the word in the very wide sense which I have explained above, the dates of these texts are subject to no serious doubts.

It is a matter for regret, that, for the period which follows, I mean the 250 years which extend from the commencement of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century we are still worse provided. The absence of materials is here almost complete. We shall see, when we explain the linguistic importance of this epoch, how much this is to be regretted. We are hardly entitled to include in this period the inscription of Banavāsi<sup>33</sup> or those of the

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, p. 138.

<sup>27</sup> Cunningham, *Corpus*. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1873, pp. 245-246.

<sup>28</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1880, 120.

<sup>29</sup> Cunningham, the *Bharhut Stūpa*, and Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1881, 118, 255; 1882, 25; Hultzsch *Z. D. M. G.* XL p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Burgess, *Notes on the Amravati Stūpa*.

<sup>31</sup> Burgess and Bhagwanlal, *Inscript. of the Rock-cut Temples*, p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> Bühler, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 98, No. 1.

<sup>33</sup> *J. R. A. S.* XX. 254.

<sup>34</sup> Cunningham, *Buddhist Stūpas*.



Jaggayapetta Stūpa,<sup>34</sup> for they so closely follow the time of Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi that they really belong to the preceding group. Towards the end of the 4th century, the series of Gupta inscriptions opens with that of Allahabad, engraved in honour of Samudragupta, and with the dedications of Udayagiri and Sañchi<sup>35</sup> contemporary with his successor Chandragupta,<sup>36</sup> and dated in the years 82 and 93 of that era, say 401 and 412 A. D. They are followed by the inscriptions of Skandagupta at Girnar (138 G. E., i. e., 457 A. D.), and by others more recent.<sup>37</sup> From this period the series of monuments is prolonged in fairly sufficient number of specimens.<sup>38</sup>

But between the commencement of the 3rd century and the first year of the 5th, I know of no inscription which has been dated with certainty. Even those the palaeographical character of which would probably place them in this interval are of great rarity. Amongst the numerous dedications of the caves of the west, there are very few which appear to belong to it.<sup>39</sup>

We must put aside the most ancient monuments attributed to the dynasty of the Gaigas;<sup>40</sup> for the most experienced authorities in Southern Indian Epigraphy have declared them to be apocryphal.<sup>41</sup> We are thus reduced to a few documents which emanated from the kings of Vēṅgi.

The earliest in point of date would appear to be the donation of king Vijayanandivarman,<sup>42</sup> which Mr. Burnell, and, agreeing with him, Mr. Fleet, refer to the 4th century. Both these gentlemen refer to the same reign a donation of the 'yuvamahārāja' Vijayabuddhavarman contained in the papers of Sir W. Elliot. It has since been published by Mr. Fleet.<sup>43</sup> It seems, however, that the name, which had originally led them astray, is in reality 'Vijayakhṇḍavarman,' and various circumstances go against the idea of a close connexion between the author of this inscription, and that of the preceding one.<sup>44</sup> It is, however, none the less one of the most ancient inscriptions of the dynasty of the Pallavas, and dates either from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the 5th. The language in which it is couched renders it a monument of the very highest interest, and I shall subsequently deal with it again. It is either contemporary with or very little earlier than the donation of Vishnugōpavarman,<sup>45</sup> of his brother Simhavarman,<sup>46</sup> and of Ativarman,<sup>47</sup> which are referred to the 5th century.

<sup>34</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1882, pp. 255 and ff. Burgess, *Amrāvati Stūpa*, p. 55. <sup>35</sup> Prinsep, I. 233. <sup>36</sup> Prinsep, I. pp. 248-247.

<sup>37</sup> Inscription of Skandagupta at Kubaon (142) (Prinsep, I. 250), at Indore (146) (*J. A. S. B.* 1874, p. 333), of the column at Bhitari, belonging to a successor of Skandagupta (Prinsep, *loc. cit.* p. 240), of the column of Eran, under Bādāgupta (155) (Prinsep, p. 248); the inscriptions of Tōramāya at Eran and at Gwalior. With regard to the other Gupta inscriptions I may also cite here the Jain inscriptions, dated in the year 188 of the Guptas, of which Dr. Hoernle has given a transcription and a revised translation (*Ind. Ant.* 1882, p. 309). — It is now enough once for all to refer to the excellent *Corpus* of Mr. Fleet.

<sup>38</sup> I quote, simply as examples, the plates of Gurjara Dadda (458) (Dawson, *J. R. A. S. N. S. I.* 218 and ff.; and Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1884, pp. 81, 115); the inscription of Umētā &c. The plates of Jayabhata (*Ind. Ant.* 1876, pp. 169 and ff.) appear to be earlier (429), if Dr. Bühler is correct in referring them to the era of Vikramāditya, but this conjecture appears to me to be very improbable.

<sup>39</sup> Nos. 7 — 10 of Kuḍa, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, (IV. 85-86) seem to me to be of slightly later date. I may mention, however, No. 1 of Kaphēri, which Dr. Bühler dates in the 4th or 5th century. The inscription is both very short and very obscure, but its date has, nevertheless, in our eyes, an interest, which will become clear later on.

<sup>40</sup> I refer to the donation of king Chēra Arivarman dated Śāka 169, quoted by Dr. Eggeling (*Ind. Ant.* 1874, p. 152) and published by Mr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* 1879, p. 212), and the inscription published by Mr. Rice (*Ind. Ant.* 1878, p. 168), and referred by him to the year 350 of our era. We should add the plates of Merkara (*Ind. Ant.* 1872, p. 360) for which the figures 388, calculated in the Śāka era, gave the date as 466 A. D.

<sup>41</sup> Burnell, *S. I. P.* p. 34. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, pp. 111 and ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 175. Mr. Foulkes has published a donation of Nandivarman, which he believes to belong to the same prince (*Ind. Ant.* 1879, p. 167). The numerous discrepancies which exist in the genealogy, in my opinion, render this suggestion inadmissible; and, if the inscription is not apocryphal, as Mr. Fleet considers (*Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 101, note), it must emanate from another king of the same name, posterior to this first Nandivarman.

<sup>43</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 100.

<sup>44</sup> Fleet, *loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 150.

<sup>46</sup> Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 154.

<sup>47</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 102.



But, as I have already said, from this time the harvest of monuments again becomes sufficiently ample for it to be useless to undertake enumerations which would necessarily be incomplete. I lay stress neither on the plates of the earlier Kadambas,<sup>48</sup> nor on those of the first Gurjaras, Dadda,<sup>49</sup> or Jayabhata.<sup>50</sup> They bring us down to a period too modern to affect the questions of formation and origin which alone interest us at the present moment.

These are the known dates of the monuments which enable us to put forward precise conclusions for the chronology of the linguistic history of India. The preceding summary has therefore, been indispensable. By language, or more exactly by grammar and spelling, the epigraphical types divided themselves, in the period under consideration, into two series. The two currents continually intermingle and become confused, but we are, nevertheless, compelled to follow them separately. Of the two sections which follow, the first will be devoted to Mixed Sanskrit and to classical Sanskrit, and the second to monumental Prakrit and to the literary Prakrit. I shall commence in each case by detailing the characteristic facts which are furnished by a study of the inscriptions, and shall then examine the general questions which connect themselves with it.

### WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from page 155.)

**XXXVII. Third chhēdasūtram, the vavahāra.** We have already seen above, pp. 447, 449, that the three texts dasā, kappa and vavahāra, according to the Āvaśy. 16, 100, are connected as one group. In the arrangement found in the Āvaśy. and in that handed down in the Nandī, vavahāra is placed in the last place after dasā and kappa. This position after the kappa is also allotted to the vavahāra [466] in the penultimate verse of the bhāṣhya<sup>55</sup> belonging to it, and consequently in Malayagiri's comm., where there are two statements to this effect—in the introduction<sup>56</sup> and at the conclusion of the seventh udd.<sup>57</sup> The same conclusion may be drawn from the compound kalpavyavahāra in schol. on Oghaniry. (see p. 449), though there may be here nothing more than a mere reference to the greater brevity of the word kalpa. In the *Ratanāgāra* (see p. 449), however, the vavahāra stands at the head of the chhēdasūtra.

We have already seen (*ibid.*) that kalpa as vavahāra is attributed especially to Bhadrabāhu and considered as an extract from pūrva 9, 3, 20. According to Āvaśy. 2, 5, Bhadrabāhu (supposing that he is here the speaker) composed at least a niyyutti on it. And we have also seen (p. 446) that the text is divided into ten uddesas<sup>58</sup> in agreement with the statements in Āvaśy. 16, 100. The contents consists of general regulations in reference to the penances etc., of the clergy and of disciplinary statutes concerning right and wrong—kappati, no kappati.

Each of the uddēsas closes, after the fashion of aṅgas 1—3, with ti bēmi. The text is in prose and well preserved. The Prakrit bhāṣhya in āryā, is found entire in Malayagiri's very detailed commentary, which is in reality rather a commentary on the bhāṣhya than on the text itself. [467] In the commencement of the very lengthy introduction<sup>59</sup> we find the relation of the text to the kalpa stated as follows:—kalpādhyayanē abhavat prāyaśchittam uktaṁ, na tu dānaprāyaśchittam dānam; vyavahāre tu dānaprāyaśchittam ālōchanāvidhiḥ chā 'bhīdhāsyatē.

<sup>48</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1877, p. 22; 1878, p. 34.

<sup>49</sup> Dawson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, I, 218; Bhāṇḍārkar, *J. R. A. S., Bo. X.* p. 19.

<sup>50</sup> Inscriptions of Kāvi, Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 109; of Umētā, *ibid.* 1878, p. 61.

<sup>55</sup> kappavyavahāragāṁ bhāṣaṁ muttōna vittharam savvaṁ.

<sup>56</sup> uktaṁ kalpādhyayanān, idānīṁ vyavahārādhyayanam uchyatē.

<sup>57</sup> pūrvaṁ kalpādhyayanē bhāṣitā.

<sup>58</sup> Or according to its own schol., also in 3 khaṇḍas (udd. 1, 2; 3—6; 7—10).

<sup>59</sup> pīṭhikā (see p. 453), in 2355 gr., corresponding to 182 verses of the bhāṣhya. The entire commentary embraces 35122 gr.! The MS. which I have before me is dated Śaṁvat 1565 A. D. 1509.



add. 1 treats of parihāraṭṭhāṇam lasting 1, 2, 3 or 4 months, — 2 of the relation of two sāhammiyas, — 3 of teacher and scholar, — 4 of the mēra (maryādā) sāhūpaṇ, — 5 of the mēra saṃjatiṇam, — 6 of mischances (also niggaṭṭhīṇa), — 7 of the rājādīnām avagraha, — 8 of the sādharmaikāvagraha, — 9 of the āhāra, — 10 of the abhigraha.

See above, p. 445, in reference to the vavahāra as source of the gachhāyāra.

**XXXVIII. Fourth chhēdasūtram, the dasā or āvaradasāu,** dasās, in fuller form dasāsrutaskandha, in 10 uddeśas (uddesapākāla Āvaśy. 16, 100), of which 1 to 9 are called dasā, the eighth is called also ajjhayaṇam and the tenth ajjhayaṇam only. In Āvaśy. 2, the speaker declares himself to be author of a dasāṇam niyyutti whose author tradition (see Jacobi, l. c. p. 12) calls Bhadrabāhu. The great antiquity of the text is proved by the fact that not only is it cited in aṅga 3, 10 under the title Āvaradasāu, but also the names of its ten ajjh. cited there are the same as those given here. See p. 272.

Each of the first seven dasās begins after the fashion of aṅga 1 with the formula: suyaṃ mē āusaṃ ! tēṇaṃ [468] bhagavayā ēvaṃ akkhāyaṃ and closes with ti bēmi. After akkhāyaṃ there follows another formula, which briefly says that the contents of the following section is as "thērēhiṃ bhagavantēhiṃ pannatta," as in up. 3 (p. 388), see Abhayadēva on aṅga 3, 10 f. 288<sup>b</sup>. The doctrines in question it refers to the predecessors of the bhagavant (see also up. 10, p. 423). In the first dasā 20 asamaḥiṭṭhānā are treated of, in the second 21 sabalā<sup>100</sup> (sabalāni), in the third 33 āsayaṇaṃ, in the fourth 8 gaṇisampadā, in the fifth 10 chittasamaḥiṭṭhānā, or, according to V. attasōhi (here there is a legend of a sermon of Mahāvīra at the time of Jiyasatta, king of Vāpiyagāma, closing with 17 ślōkas), in the sixth 11 uvāsagapaḍimāu, in the seventh 12 bhikkhupaḍimāu. All this deals with regulations having reference to the department of the viṇaya, and treats of the course of life and the discipline of the laity and clergy.<sup>1</sup> The method of treatment is short and compact.

The eighth section is called ajjhayaṇam, but in aṅga 3, 10 as in V., pajjōsāvaṇākappō, exceeds the first 7 dasās in its contents and in its extent. Certainly its largest portion has been inserted here at a later period. It is formed of the work called **Kalpasūtra** and in fact of the entire work of this name in its three parts, according to the MSS. and the **Kalpantarvāchyani**. Jacobi (Kalpas. pp. 22, 23) has already called our attention to the fact, that in reality only the last (the third) section, [469] which is called "sāmāchārī, rules for yatis," and also paryushaṇa-kalpa — cf. the title of this book in aṅga 3 and V. — belongs in this place, and that it alone could claim, together with the remaining parts of the dasās, to be ascribed to Bhadrabāhu. The closing words ti bēmi, payyōsaṇākappadasā atṭhamam ajjhayaṇam are similar to those of the other dāsāu and substantiates this conclusion. The contents of this section refers to the varshāvāsa, and treats of that which thereby is kappal and nō k. In the introduction commencing with the legendary formula — tēṇaṃ kālēṇaṃ — it is stated how Mahāvīra acted in these cases. The following portions, each of whose sentences invariably begins with a stereotyped refrain, is at the end ascribed to Mahāvīra in special legendary form likewise introduced by tēṇaṃ kālēṇaṃ. I will refer to the other parts of the Kalpasūtra below.

The ninth dasā, also called mōhaṇiyyaṭṭhāṇam, has the usual legendary beginning: tēṇaṃ kālēṇaṃ . . , and tells of a sermon of Mahāvīra under king Kōṇiya of Champā in reference to the 30 (so also aṅga 3) mōhaṭṭhāṇam. The portion dealing with this sermon consists of 39 ślōkas, for the most part with the refrain: mahāmōhaṃ pakuvvāi. The conclusion is ti bēmi.

The tenth book, āyātittṭhāṇam<sup>2</sup> commences with the usual formula: tēṇaṃ kālēṇaṃ, and tells in great detail<sup>3</sup> how Sēṇia [470] Bhimbhisāra, king of Rāyagiba, together with his spouse

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Āv. 18, 94 — 99, and Praśnavyāk. conclusion (Leumann).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Āvaśy. 16, 17 fg.

<sup>2</sup> ājananam ājāti(b) samamūrchhanagarabhōpapatatō janmā, tasyāḥ sthānam samśrāb Abhayadēva on aṅga 3, 10 (289<sup>a</sup>) in the introduction.

<sup>3</sup> It refers to up. 1.



Chellapā, listened to a sermon of Mahāvīra. The sight of the princely splendour turned the thoughts of the followers of Mahāvīra to worldly things, to rebuke which Mahāvīra preaches a lengthy sermon on the excellence of his doctrine, divided into 10 §§ and beginning with the same refrain.<sup>4</sup> Nor does he forget to mention the rewards of those who follow his teachings. The result of this sermon was that his audience were delighted and Mahāvīra continued to preach in Rājagṛīha.

The legendary excursi of the last dasāu (5, 8, 9 and 10) in reference to Mahāvīra are doubtless the cause of the introduction of the Kalpasūtra, the first part of which treats especially of the life of Mahāvīra.

The Kalpasūtram was the first Jain text which was made known, in 1848, in the very faulty translation of Rev. J. Stevenson. It is now carefully edited by H. Jacobi, 1879, to whose instructive introduction I have so often referred.

We have already observed, that of the three parts of which it is composed, the last alone can claim to belong to the dasāu. The two other parts were originally not connected. Each of them is divided into three portions, the first of which contains the history of Mahāvīra, the second that of his 23 predecessors, the third a list of his successors, [471] Thērāvālī, to Dēviddhi-khamāsamaṇa, the nominal redactor of the 45 āgama.

This Thērāvālī agrees as regards each of its first twelve parts with those statements which are found in the thērāvālī of the Nandī and of the Āvaśyakasūtra, and in the later tradition of the Jains (Rishimaṇḍalasūtra of the Dharmaghōṣha etc.). But from this point on there is no such harmony. The list found here is the most complete, since it embraces a large number of the lateral branches proceeding from each of the patriarchs; and contains all sorts of divergences from the other lists. Jacobi distinguishes "four or five distinct treatises" (p. 23).

It is self-evident that any connection is impossible between this Thērāvālī and Bhaddabāhu, the nominal author of the Kalpasūtra — see below — who appears in the seventh place in the list of patriarchs. The Thērāvālī contains eleven members more (ajja Vāira, Vajrasvāmin, as number 16) nor did it belong originally to the Kalpasūtra. This conclusion holds good also in the case of the account of the 23 predecessors of Vīra which introduces it. In this account we find some few details in reference to two of Vīra's immediate predecessors, Pāsa and Ariṭṭhanēmō, and in reference to Usabha who is placed first in the series. The other predecessors are treated of in a very few words. The relation is retrogressive, beginning with the 23rd. We find no mention that Malli (Mali in the text of Jacobi) was a woman.

The intention of collecting everything that had reference to Jainism is manifest in the addition [472] (see Stevenson, p. 99) of these two sections, in reference to the successors and predecessors of Mahāvīra, to the main part of the Kalpasūtra which treated of his life.

This main portion contains towards the close (§ 148) statements mentioning the dates 980 and 993 after Vīra. According to Jacobi (p. 23) it is self-evident that these dates do not "refer to the author, but to Dēvarddhiganim, the editor of the Kalpasūtra." Tradition places Bhadrabāhu, the nominal author of the Kalpasūtra, in the year 170 after Vīra (see Jacobi, p. 114). But as far as I can see, an error or confusion has brought it about that the Kalpasūtra has been ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, as tradition, *e. g.* the introduction to the Kalpāntarvāchyāni, states. In the well attested statement (see above, p. 449) that the Kalpavyavahāra was extracted from pūrva 9, 3, 20 by Bhadrabāhu, we must not understand by "kalpa" the Kalpasūtram, but the chhēdasūtra 5, a conclusion that may be drawn from the statements in reference to the division of the two texts kappa and vavahāra, which is found in Āvaśy. 16, 109. The similar statement concerning the dasa-kappa-vyavahāra in the Rishimaṇḍalasūtra (Jacobi, p. 11) is, after a consideration of this passage of the Āvaśy., not to be referred, as Jacobi refers it, to "the

<sup>4</sup> . . . māe dhammē pannattē, ipam ēva niggaṇṭhē pāvayaṇē, sa chē aputtarē paḍipunnē kēvalē . . . (cf. Aupapāt. § 56, p. 62, ed. Leumann).



ten kalpas and the Vyavahāra," but (see p. 357, 450) to the three chhēdasūtras 3—5: the dasān, the vavahāra and the kappa.<sup>5</sup>

Personally I am inclined on the strength of § 148 to hold Dēvarddhigapi as the editor, and and even as the [473] "author" of the chief part of the Kalpasūtra. I will even go a step farther and assert that in reality the Kalpasūtram, or its present essential part, has no claim to this title, which is at complete variance with its contents. It has received this name after its junction with the paryushanākālpa, the eighth chapter of the dasān. This ancient title (see p. 468) is cited in the beginning of the saṁdēhaviśhaushadhi as a collective title of the work. See Jacobi, p. 99.

The Pañchanamaskāra, placed "keshuchid ādarśeshu" at the commencement of the text, is known to us from aṅga 3 and upāṅga 4. It is followed here as in up. 4 by the passage in its praise, which is supposed to date back to Vajra (see Kup. 811), and is designed to glorify this commencement. This passage of the pañchanam. contains the form havaī—and not *hoi* as in up. 4—which in more modern times is regarded as the only well attested form. See p. 393, §§ 1, 2, which contain the recital so obnoxious to the Digambara (see Jacobi, p. 22)—see p. 261—that Mahāvīra first "entered the womb of (the māhaṇī) Dēvanandā<sup>6</sup> before he was placed (§ 21) in that of (the khattiyāṇī) Triśalā<sup>7</sup>", are borrowed outright from aṅga 1. Jacobi, p. 23, considers the portion containing the 14 dreams (§§ 33—46), with their long, complex compounds, as a secondary addition, since it is not in harmony with the prevailing "archaic style" of the text. I should prefer to regard the solemnity of the subject as the cause of these stylistic differences. [474] Upon such occasions the aṅgas contain numerous stylistic excrescences, which, it should be remarked, occur not infrequently in other parts of the Kalpasūtra. The differences of this kind in §§ 33—46 (or does J. extend the description of the dreams further than 46?) may therefore, I should think, be reduced to a minimum.

The historical kernel of the recital is exceedingly small. Up to § 96 (incl.) the events before the birth of Mahāvīra alone are treated of. The following §§ to 111 discuss the birth, naming, childhood of M. and his life as gihattha. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of foreign nurses, as is usual in the aṅgas and upāṅgas on such occasions, nor are the 72 kalās etc. referred to. The enumeration of the Brahminical sciences in § 10 is the usual one, which we have already met with in aṅga 5. The recital as to how Mahāvīra: aṇagāriyam paivvaē (§ 116), and of his further development up to the time of his death (§ 132) is devoid of every particle of life. There is no trace of the many legends concerning him which we find scattered here and there in the aṅgas, etc. They have not been made use of at all; hence the whole makes a most unsavoury impression as regards any biographical information. In § 147 the mention of the 55 ajjhayaṇas of the pāvaphalavivāyāṇī (see p. 271) is of interest, as also that of the 36 aputthavāyaraṇāṇī, which, according to Jacobi, p. 114, are to be referred to the uttarajjhayaṇam.

We have in the work entitled Kalpāntarvāchyāni, a production partly in Prākṛit, partly in Sanskrit, and in a mixture of the two [475]. After a self-evident introduction in reference to the ten forms of the kalpa: āchēlukka (achēlatvam), uddesia (auddeśika piṇḍa), sijjāyara (sijjatarō [sāyā<sup>8</sup>] vasatisvāmi), rāyapiṇḍa (presents from the king), kiikammē (kṛitī<sup>9</sup>), vaya (vrata), jīṭṭha (jyeshṭhatvam), paḍikkamaṇḍ, māsaṁ (māsakalpāḥ), pajjōvasaṇakappē (varshāsu chaturmāsāvasthānārūpaḥ), in reference to the pūrvas, out of the ninth of which the śrīkalpa of Bhadrabāhu, "uddhṛita," etc., is the Kalpāntar., in loose connection with the text of the Kalpasūtra, makes the text of the latter the point of departure for the insertion of a large number of legends and other statements in prose and verse. The frequent mention of Hēmachandrasūri and of Mānatuṅgasūri, Malayagiri, of the Vāmanaṁ, Sarasvatīkapṭhābharaṇam (as vyākara-

<sup>5</sup> We find, however, mention made of a ten-fold division of the kalpa, e. g. in the introduction to the Kalpāntarvāchyāni. See p. 475.

<sup>6</sup> Wife of Usabhadatta, cf. Wilson Sel. W. 1, 292 (see Bhagav. 9, 33. Leum.).

<sup>7</sup> Wife of Siddhattha of the Nāya race.



nam !!) and *Sārasvatām vyākaraṇam* shows that it was composed at a tolerably recent date. In general it may be said that there is a large amount of citations collected here. Of especial interest is the peculiar attempt made in the introduction to prove the great age of the *Jinaśāsanam* from supposed Vedic passages, as the two "vaiśvadeva-richau Yajurvede<sup>9</sup>:" *ōm ṛishabham pavitraṁ puruhūtam adhvaram yajneshu nagnam paramaṁ pavitraṁ | śrutadharaṁ yajnapatipradhānam ṛituryajana (!) paśum indram āhavē 'ti svāhā*, and : *trātāram indram ṛishabham vadaṁti anitāram indram tam arishtānēmim bhavē ; subhavam supārśvam indram | havē tu śakra ajitam jñemdraṁ tad vardhamānam puruhūtam indram svāhā*, and also Vs. 31, 13, Rik 2, 29, 6 etc. all of which is cited [476] incorrectly.<sup>10</sup> The detailed enumeration of the Brahminical sciences in § 10 contains much of interest (18 purāṇas, 18 smṛitis, 18 vyākaraṇas). The foreign serving-women are enumerated in § 16, essentially in the regular way : — *khujjāō chilāō vāmaṇō vaḍabhiō babbarō paūsiō jōṇiō palhaviō isipāō chāruṇiō lāsiō laūsiō dāmaliō sinhalīō ābarō (!) pulindlō pakkapiō maruṇḍiō bahaliō sabariō pārasīō jātyā dāsyah*. — On § 108 : *bhagavatō lekhanasālakaraṇaprārambhō likhyatē* (in *Prākṛit*), — on § 209 a double enumeration of the 72 kalās and of the 18 lipayas — see above p. 400 — on § 211, 64 *māhilaṅgās*.

The oldest of the commentaries to which I have had access is the *Samdōhaviśhaushadhir of Jinaprabhamuni*, composed in Ayodhyā A.D. 1307 ; at the end there is added a commentary to a *paryushaṇākalpanirukti*. Both texts are composed in *Prākṛit*, and the commentary is based especially on the *nīśīthachūṛṇi*. This fact recalls chap. 8 of *chhēdasūtra* 4.

**XXXIX.** Fifth *chhēdasūtram*, the *brihatkalpa*, in 6 uddēśas. Ordinances for the clergy of both sexes (*niggāṁtha* and *niggāṁthī*) in reference to that which is proper (*kappati*) and that which is not (*nō kappati*).

The agreement in reference to the division into 6 uddēśas shews that it is our text which (p. 446 ff.) is designated in the *Āvaśy.* 16, 100 in connection with *dasā* and *vavahara* and under the name of *kappa* simply.

[477] We shall have to recognize it under the designation of *kappa*, or *kalpādhyayana*, in other passages (see pp. 449, 472) where there is mention made of the extraction of *kalpavyavahāra* from *pūrva* 2, 3, 29 by *Bhadrabāhu*. Its designation as *brihatkalpa*, or *vṛihatsādhukalpa* is unsuitable if we regard the diminutive size of the text (only 475 gr.). The conclusion (*tī bēmi*) of udd. 4 and 6 is worthy of note.

The old *bhāshya* in *Prākṛit āryās*, belonging to this text, is designated simply as *kalpa-bhāshya*, and is an enlargement of the "*kappassa nijjuttī*," which the author of the *Āvaśy.* declares that he composed (2, 7). See *Kielhorn* (in the Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. 1880-81, pp. ix. x.), in reference to an old MSS. of it (*Saṁvat* 1218), and to its very curious use of letters of the alphabet to denote numerical notation.<sup>10</sup> The commencement differs considerably from that in a palm-leaf MS. similar to this, but much younger (*Saṁvat* 1334), of which the Berlin Library possess a copy made on transparent paper. The commencement of the Berlin MS. — after prefacing the first 6 §§ of the text — is *namō arahaṁtāṇaṁ, kākūṇa namokkāraṁ titthayaṛāṇaṁ tilōyamahiyāṇaṁ | kappavavahāraṇaṁ vakkhāpavibim pavakkhāmi ||*

**XL.** The sixth *chhēdasūtram* is called *pañchakalpa*<sup>11</sup> in *Bühler's* list ; — see p. 226. I have not had access to a text of this name, which is repeatedly mentioned (see pp. 448, 449)

<sup>9</sup> I am unable to explain the first passage, the second is manifestly Rik 6, 47, 11 (Ts. 1, 6, 13, 5) : *trātāram indram avitāram indram havē havē suhavam śūram indraḥ | hvayāmi śakraṁ puruhūtam indraḥ svasti nō maghavā dhātvy indraḥ ||* The words of the text which I have enclosed in brackets above do not occur here.

<sup>10</sup> *na chē 'dam Jinaśāsanam arvāchīnam, vēdādishv api tadvachanāt, tathā hi : vēdēshu jinapramāṇāṅgulā (P) darvī, tathā Yajurvedē vaiśvadeva-richau . . .*

<sup>11</sup> On this see *Bhagvanlal Indraji* on the ancient Nāgari Numerals in the *Indian Antiquary*, 6, 42 fg. (1877) and *Bühler*, *ibid.* p. 47 fg.

<sup>12</sup> In *Kielhorn's* report, p. 94, there is mention made of a *pañchakalpasūtrachūṛṇi* by *Āmradevāchārya*.



both in *Āvi.* and *V.*, together with a *jīakappa*. According to the *Vichārāmrītasamgraha*, the *pañchakappa* is a work of *Samghadāsavāchaka*, while the *jītakalpa* belongs to the *Jinabhadraganikshamā*[478]*śramaṇa*.<sup>12</sup> We find in it citations from both texts. The *jītakalpa* is also enumerated in the *Ratnasāgara*, p. 507, as the sixth *chhēdasūtram*. *Raj. L. Mitra*, however (see p. 227 above), mentions it as the last of his "five *Kalpasūtras*."

In lieu of commenting upon a text of the name of *pañchakalpa* I will at least remark on the *jītakalpa*, which is mentioned together with it, that a *śrāddhajītakalpa* in 141 *Prākṛit-gāthās* actually exists. It treats of the *prāyaścitta*, which suits the character of the *chhēdasūtras* exactly, but is referred to a definite author, *Dharmaghōsha*, scholar of *Dēvēndramuniśvara*. In the anonymous commentary on it it is designated as composed *upanishatkappa*(*l*)-*kalpa-vyavahāra-niśīthayatijītakalpānūsārēṇa*. In the commentary reference is paid to the *pravachanam* as *sāmāyikādibimindusārāparyamtam*, and in v. 58 erroneous doctrines and *pāṣaṇḍin* are treated of in detail. Then the *giatthās* (see above, pp. 437, 450, 464), to which the text refers in v. 141, are expressly explained as *śrīniśīthādichhēdagranthārthasūtradharāḥ*.<sup>13</sup> From all this we may draw the conclusion that the text is closely, [479] if not directly connected with the *chhēdasūtras*.

We have already mentioned in reference to the *mahākappa*, *Āvaśy.* 8, ss, above pp. 446, 447, that the *Nandī* in its *anaṅgapavitttha* list recognizes the existence of a *mahākappasūtram*, a *chullakappasūtram*, and a *kappiyākappiam*. In the scholiast *ibid.* we find the following explanation: *kalpākalpapratipādakam adhyayanam kalpākalpaṃ; tathā kalpaḥ sthavirakalpādiḥ, tat pratipādakam śrutam kalpasrutam, tach cha dvividhā: kshullakakalp° mahākulp° cha, tatrai°kam alpagramtham alpārtham, dvitīyam mahāgramtham mahārtham cha*. There is, therefore, no doubt but that texts of this class existed.<sup>14</sup>

### MISCELLANEA.

#### NOTES ON THE CHINBOKS, CHINBONS, AND YINDUS OF THE CHIN FRONTIER OF BURMA.<sup>1</sup>

**Geography.**—The *Wēlaung Chins* inhabit the villages on the head waters of the *Myitpā* river. They are bounded on the north and west by *Baungshē Chins*, on the south by *Chinbōks*, and on the east by *Taunggās* of the villages round *Wēpet*, which is distant four days' journey.

The *Chinbōks* live in the hills from the *Mō* River down to the *Sōchaung*.<sup>2</sup> They are bounded on the north by *Wēlaung* and *Baungshē Chins*, on the east by the *Burmans*, on the west by the *Arakan Yōmās*, on the south by the *Yindu Chins*.

The *Yindus* inhabit the valleys of the *Salinchaung* and the northern end of the *Mōn Valley*,

bounded on the south by the *Chinbōns*,—the other boundaries being the same as those of the *Chinbōks*.

The *Chinbōns* inhabit the southern end of the *Mōnchaung* and stretch across the *Arakan Yōmās* into the valley of the *Pīchaung*. They are bounded on the south by the *Chinbōns* of the *Minbu* frontier, on the east by the *Burmans*, on the west by the *Arakanese*.

**History.**—The *Wēlaung Chins* are stated to be of *Baungshē* origin. The *Chinbōks* claim a similar origin. The *Yindus* state that their origin is similar to that of the *Taunggās*, an industrious race, who inhabit the *Yō* and *Myitpā* Valleys in *Burmese* territory, and who claim to have come

<sup>12</sup> See above, pp. 427, 430, where both texts are counted in with the *paṇnas*. There are there several other texts ascribed to *Jinabhadra*. The passage reads: *Jinabha° śramaṇa kṛitō jītakalpaḥ, kshetrasamāśaḥ, samgrahapī vīśeṣapavattī cha*.

<sup>13</sup> In the scholiast on *Vichārāmrītasamgraha* the following explanation for *Jīyakappa* is found in citation from the *Pañchakappa*: *jaḥ jassa cha paṇchhittam āyariyaparamparāyāviruddham; jōgā ya° bahuvihī yā ēsō khalu jīyakappō u*; —and the word *jīyam* is *ibid.* explained as follows: —*jaḥ bahūhim gīyatthēhim āppam tam jīyam uḥittam āchittam ity anarīhāntaram vyavahāraschūrpīphē, jītam nāma prabhūtanēkagīrthakṛitā maryādā, tatpratipādanō granthō°py upachārāt*.

<sup>14</sup> Compare, also, the title of *upāṅga* 9.

<sup>1</sup> Notes, dated the 20th April 1890, by Lieutenant E. M. Rainey, Commandant, Chin Frontier Levy, regarding the Chin tribes bordering on the *Yō* Country in the *Pakōkku* District, and printed originally as a Government paper by the Chief Commissioner, Burma. [The original paper is very difficult reading, owing to want of care in composition. — *ś* as *aw* in 'awful' throughout.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [The word *chzung* in such compounds means 'stream' or 'river.'—Ed.]



from Pôpâ Hill. The Chinbôns, further south, point out a rock, which they state is the body of a *min* or official, who was killed in a quarrel with his brother, when they were emigrating from Pôpâ, and was turned into a stone. The brother returned to Pôpâ. The Chinbôns claim Burman origin. Further than this the Chins appear to have no history. In appearance they resemble Burmans, though some have better features.

**Languages.**—The four villages on the head waters of the Myitpâ speak two dialects: the village of Wêlaung having a dialect of its own, differing from that of the other three.

There are three distinct dialects of the Chinbôk language,—the northern, spoken from the Mò to the north bank of the Chè with slight variation; the central, spoken by the south bank of Chè and the Chauksitchaung; the southern, spoken by the Kadin and Sôchaung Chins.

The Yindus speak a language of their own; while the Chinbôns speak a language which is identical with that spoken by the Chins, who live in the Laungshê township, and to whom they are related. There is no written language.

**Government.**—There appears to have been no attempt at government further than an incomplete village system. Each village has a *thugyi*.<sup>2</sup> The title is hereditary, and does not necessarily indicate a man of influence. There is generally in each group of villages some man (or perhaps two of three), who is looked up to and respected either for being a brave sportsman or raider, or for having a knowledge of Burmese, or for some special qualification. These are the men who really lead the people.

Quarrels are wiped out with blood only. There are no laws, but certain customs, which all observe.\*

**Religion.**—There is no religion further than propitiating and consulting *nâts* or spirits. The Chinbôks appear to be perfect slaves to their *nâts* (spirits). To propitiate *nâts* an animal must be slaughtered; buffaloes, bullocks, *maiphan*, goats, pigs, fowls, and dogs are chiefly used for this purpose; the three latter being more commonly used as they are so prolific. All are afterwards eaten, if the offering was sacrificed near home; but when raiding, on a journey, passing through notoriously unhealthy jungles, &c., sacrifices are frequently made, animals being carried on purpose. For this purpose dogs are preferred,

as they follow and require no carriage. *Nâts* are consulted in a similar manner, the direction in which the blood flows, &c., being one of the signs. Eggs are also used for these purposes, being blown as we blow them for egg-collections, *i.e.*, with a hole at each end. They are afterwards painted and stuck on a stick, as also are cocks' feathers. Rows of these sticks are frequently seen across paths.

Raids are frequently abandoned at the last moment and after travelling long distances, if the omens are unfavourable. When *nâts* are consulted or propitiated near home, every one gets drunk off home-brewed rice-beer. Tom-toms, music, and dancing accompany the ceremonies. *Nâts* are sometimes humbugged by the wily Chins, an example of which will be found under the heading *Marriages*. They do not trouble about a future world. There are no priests.

**Medicine.**—Medical science and surgery are unknown. No medicines are used. When a person falls sick the *nâts* are consulted or propitiated: consulted to ascertain if the patient will recover or not; propitiated in hopes that the patient will be spared. The principal diseases are fever, bowel-complaints, skin diseases, and wounds.

**Dress, Arms, Customs, &c.**—The Wêlaung and Kwônân Chins more closely resemble the Baungshês than the Chinbôks; but, as I have seen but little of them, I will not attempt to describe them.

The dress of all the Chinbôks from the Mò down to the Chè is much the same everywhere, though there are slight differences. Those who inhabit the Chauksit, Kadin, and Sò streams wear a sort of compromise between the dress of the Chinbôks and of the Yindus. The dress proper of a Chinbôk man (*see Plate A*) consists of a very small *langôh*, as worn by natives of India when wrestling, and a piece of cloth, about three feet in length and one in breadth, which is folded and hung behind, being suspended by bits of string across the shoulders. The chief object of this cloth is apparently to have something warm to sit upon when the ground is cold. The women weave the clothes, and, when new, they are generally striped red and blue.

The dress of a woman (*see Plate A*) consists of a garment like a short jersey without sleeves and with an open V-shaped throat; also of a small *lângt*, which shows about 6 inches below the jacket. These jackets are also home-made and of similar patterns to the men's garments.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, *thugyi*—in Burma the man who actually collects the revenue and is a kind of village headman.

\* [These have to a certain extent been reduced to writing: *vide* Maung Tet Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chin Tribe*. Rangoon, Government Press, 1884.—Ed.]





*A Chinbök man.*



*A Chinbök woman.*



*Chinbök woman.*



*Chinbôn woman.*



*Yindu woman.*





*Chinbök in full dress.*



*A Yindu man.*



*A Yindu woman.*



In the presence of strangers the women either stand or kneel. Any other position they could not with modesty or decency assume on account of their scanty skirts.

The men tie up their hair with bits of rag,—red for choice. The hair is grown long.

In the cold weather men and women wrap blankets of Burmese or European manufacture round their shoulders.

The Yindu man (*see Plate B*) wears a *laungótt*, similar to that worn by the Chinbóks, and also a loose blouse, without sleeves and open at the throat, which reaches down to below the knees. Except in cold weather, they take their arms out of the sleeve-holes and wind the upper part of the garment round their waists. The dress of the women (*see Plate B*) is similar to that of the Chinbók women, except that the Yindu women, as well as the men, wear the blouse I have described above in addition to their other garments. The Yindus also use extra wraps and blankets in the cold weather.

The dress of the more civilized Chinbóns is exactly similar to that worn by the hundreds of emigrated Chinbóns, who live in the Laungshê township, and closely resembles the dress of the Burmans. The less civilized Chinbóns, who live on the Arakan side of the Yômás, wear what can hardly be called even an apology for clothing. It is stated that some even use the bark of trees to hide their nakedness. The Biblical fig-leaf would be more covering than was worn by some of the villagers we met.

**Ornaments.**—The clothing above described is supplemented by various ornaments. To begin with, the head is often decorated with coils of beads of different colours, *kauris*, &c. Brass skewers are generally stuck into the hair, and, in the case of the Yindus, are generally beautified by tassels of goat's hair dyed red or bunches of the teeth of the hog-deer. These skewers are used for scratching their heads, which are full of lice. Sometimes bone, ivory, bamboo, or porcupine quill skewers are worn. Feathers are universally used as head decorations by the men. Sometimes only a few, generally white cocks' feathers, are stuck into the topknot, for they wear their hair like Burmans: sometimes the whole of a cock's tail and part of the back is worn. In the latter case the bird is skinned, and the part to be worn is dried and stretched on a bamboo frame with a bamboo skewer to stick into the hair. This arrangement is worn at the back of the head and presents a peculiarly ludicrous appearance. Green parrots' feathers

are also used. Women wear skewers in their hair, but no feathers.

Necklaces are much worn by both men and women. They are made of beads of all kinds, glass marbles with holes drilled through them, white metal bands, little bells like ferret-bells, cockspurs, teeth of hog-deer, cockle shells, *kauris*, coral, and stones, according to fancy.

Earrings of one pattern only are worn by men; they are plain flat rings about two inches in diameter, supposed to be made of gold, but are probably generally of brass. They can be put on or off at pleasure by pressing the ends in opposite directions. The elasticity of the metal keeps them closed under ordinary circumstances. The holes in the ears are much pulled down by the weight of these rings. The women have large holes in their ears, in which they stuff thin strips of bamboo tightly rolled up. The only women I have seen actually wearing earrings were some Chinbók women on the Maungchaung, who wore bits of telegraph-wire about five inches long bent into an oval-shaped ring!

Bracelets of brass wire are much worn by the men, sometimes nearly the whole of the right forearm being enveloped in rounds of wire. They seldom wear them on the left arm. The women do not wear brass, but a white-metal bracelet.

Wristlets to protect the left arm from the bow-string are always worn by men. Among the Chinbóks they are made of cane wicker-work lacquered over; but sometimes a strip of leather is used. These wristlets are about six inches in length and are frequently ornamented with bells. The Yindus wind a piece of string or rope round their wrists in lieu of the wristlets described above.

The Chinbóks of the Chèchaung wear long brass guards, enveloping the whole of the back of the left arm up to the elbow, which are kept in position by the wristlets. They are intended partly to protect the arm from dagger-wounds when fighting, and partly for ornament.

**Arms and Accoutrements.**—Among the Chinbóks and Yindus every male carries a bow (*see Plate C*) from the time he begins to toddle. It is made of bamboo, well seasoned by being smoked for several years over the fireplace in the hut. It takes five years' seasoning to thoroughly mature a bow. The length of the bow of an adult is usually about four feet. It is thickest at the centre and tapers to the ends, where it is notched to hold the string. The string is made of cotton, sometimes plaited with bamboo and other fibres. When bows are not in use they are frequently unstrung.



The arrows are carried in a quiver or basket (see Plate C) on the left side. They are about a foot and a half in length (the shaft being made of bamboo about the thickness of a pencil), and are neatly tipped with feathers or bamboo shavings. The heads (see Plate C) are of several kinds. For war purposes and for killing big game iron heads are used. These again are of different shapes and various sizes, some being barbed and some lozenge-shaped. The other heads they use are hardened-wood points spliced on bone-heads for shooting fish,—these are said to be very deadly for this purpose,—and, lastly, shafts with the points sharpened for shooting birds.

The arrows with iron heads carry 150 yards and further, and are very deadly, killing bear, tiger, deer, &c., at 80 yards range. Chins do not poison their arrows, and usually keep them bright and clean. But, as they use their arrows time after time whenever they can find them again, and as wounded animals frequently escape only to die afterwards in the jungles, and as these arrows, which are frequently pulled out of the carcasses of animals in a putrid state, are used indiscriminately with those that are clean, blood-poisoning is very likely to follow an arrow wound. This has probably given rise to the idea that they poison their arrows by sticking them into dead animals.

The only other weapon which every man carries is a dagger (see Plate C) a little over a foot in length, worn in war-time in a bone scabbard on the right side attached to the shield or rather to the leather breast-plate (see Plate C). When engaged in peaceful pursuits it is stuck into a basket, worn on the right side, in which there is a sheath to receive it (see Plate C). The bone scabbard mentioned above is the shoulder-blade of a buffalo or bullock with a bamboo back.

These daggers are used both for fighting and for cutting up food, &c. The people make great use of them when fighting among themselves, which they frequently do when drunk. It costs nothing to stick a knife into a man, while if he were shot with an arrow and afterwards escaped, the arrow-head, which is valuable, would be lost.

Many men carry spears (see Plate C), which resemble Burman spears:—in fact, many are obtained from Burmans.

Every man wears a kind of leather armour. It consists of a strip of bent buffalo hide, about nine inches to one foot broad, reaching from the

waist in front to the small of the back behind. It is worn across the left shoulder, like the sash of a military officer, the ends being tied together at the right side with a string, to which the dagger in its bone sheath is attached. In the case of the Yindus this armour is frequently made of cane basket-work thickly covered with *kauris*. The Chinbôks also frequently adorn theirs with *kauris* and small bells like ferret-bells.

The arrows are carried as follows:—A neat basket, generally measuring about one foot four inches in depth, one foot eight inches in length, and eight inches in breadth, is slung on the right shoulder, hanging therefore on the left side. It is divided into compartments. Nearest the front a bamboo quiver containing the iron-headed arrows is kept in place by cane loops in the basket. This holds about twelve arrows, and has a top, sometimes of bamboo or canework lacquered over, and sometimes of bamboo ornamented with red beads. This top is attached by a string to the breastplate, the string being frequently adorned with small bells. The next compartment in the basket contains a somewhat smaller bamboo, which acts as a box for tobacco, tinder, steel, and flint. The tinder used generally consists of bamboo filings. The lid of this 'box' is generally ornamented with red seeds. The rest of the basket holds a pipe, arrows without heads, and odds and ends. Outside the basket at the back is fixed a small bamboo holding a spare bowstring.

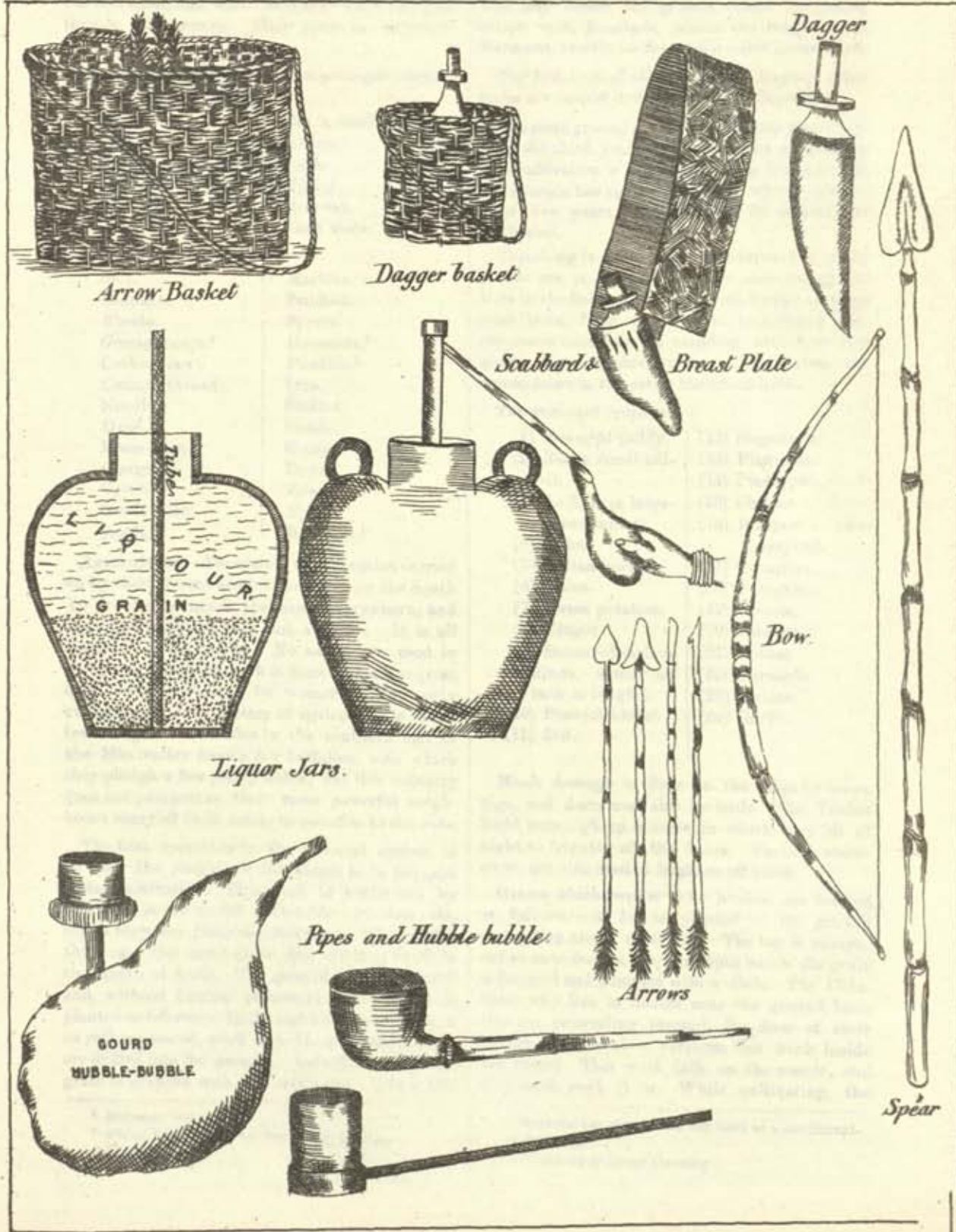
On the left [? Ed.] side a basket, measuring one foot in depth and length, and eight inches in breadth is generally worn. In this food, &c., is carried. It has a compartment, into which the dagger fits as already described.\*

The pipes smoked by Chinbôks and Yindus (see Plate C) are of three kinds:—firstly, a plain bamboo pipe with a bamboo stem a foot long; secondly, a pipe with a baked bamboo bowl and bamboo stem; thirdly, a pipe on the principle of the hubble-bubble. This last consists of a gourd, in which some water is kept, and from which a bamboo tube fitted with a neat earthen bowl, projects about an inch from the upper side. The smoke is drawn into the mouth through the end of the gourd, where it tapers off at its stem. The tobacco the people smoke is grown by themselves, and is very rank and offensive in smell. They are always smoking. The women smoke as well as the men.

The Chinbôks for the most part carry nothing but spears. They have a few guns and a few

\* [I make out from this that the dagger-basket, see Plate C, in the time of peace, is the food basket in time of war.—Ed.]











bows and arrows. They have a square leather shield, which, when on the war-path, they carry in the left hand, and with which they ward off spear thrusts and arrows. They have no accoutrements.

**Exports and Imports.**—The principal exports of these Chin tribes are—

Plantains.	<i>Sât</i> (a small millet).
Tobacco.	Ginger.
Indian-corn leaves (for cheroots.)	Pork.
Chillies.	Honey.
Turmeric.	Beeswax.
	Cane mats.

The principal imports are—

Salt.	Marbles.
Blankets.	Trinkets.
Sheets.	Spears.
<i>Gaungbaungs</i> . <sup>6</sup>	<i>Damauks</i> . <sup>7</sup>
Cotton (raw).	<i>Pauktis</i> . <sup>8</sup>
Cotton (thread).	Iron.
Needles.	Sickles.
Dyes.	Cattle.
Brass-wire.	Goats.
Gongs.	Dogs.
Cymbals.	Fowls.
Small bells.	<i>Ngapt</i> . <sup>9</sup>
Beads.	<i>Dambyas</i> . <sup>10</sup>

**Agriculture.**—The system of cultivation carried on by the different sections or tribes on the South Yò frontier is much the same everywhere, and the crops produced vary but slightly. It is all *taungyd*<sup>11</sup> cultivation. No cattle are used in ploughing. All the work is done by hand, a great deal being performed by women. The only exception to this system of agriculture is that a few villages of Chinbòns in the southern end of the Môn valley have a few buffaloes, with which they plough a few paddy-fields; but this industry does not prosper; as their more powerful neighbours carry off their cattle to sacrifice to the *ndts*.

The first operation in the *taungyd* system is to clear the jungle off the slopes to be brought under cultivation. This work is performed by the men in the month of October with *damauks*, which they buy from the Burmans. The jungle, thus cut, lies until quite dry, till it is burnt in the month of April. The ground is then cleared and, without further preparation, the grain is planted as follows:—In the right hand a sharpened or rather pointed stick is held, with which holes are drilled into the ground. Into these holes the grain is dropped with the left hand. After this

weeds have constantly to be kept down, and the work of weeding falls to the lot of the women, who also loosen the ground round the young shoots with *Dambyas*, which are bought from Burmans, as soon as the crop is a few inches high.

The first crop of *sât* is reaped in August; other crops are reaped in November and December.

The same ground is cultivated for two years only, as in the third year the grass grows so strongly that cultivation is impossible. It is therefore left until jungle has again grown on it, when,—usually after five years,—it can again be cleared and cultivated.

Threshing is performed as under:—The grain in the ear is collected in heaps near the grain-huts in the fields, and trodden out by foot on large cane mats, from which it is transferred into enormous cane baskets standing over four feet high. Some grains, such as Indian-corn, are stored loose in the ear in the grain-huts.

The principal crops are—

(1) <i>Taungyd</i> paddy.	(12) Sugarcane.
(2) <i>Sât</i> (a small millet).	(13) Plantains.
(3) <i>Chaiksan</i> (a large-grained millet).	(14) Pineapples.
(4) Millet.	(15) Chillies.
(5) Indian-corn.	(16) Brinjals. ( <i>Aubergine</i> ).
(6) Yams.	(17) Tomatoes.
(7) Sweet potatoes.	(18) Pumpkins.
(8) Ginger.	(19) Gourds.
(9) Beans (of various kinds, some an inch in length).	(20) Tobacco.
(10) Peas (of kinds).	(21) Cotton.
(11) <i>Dal</i> .	(22) Turmeric.
	(23) Onions.
	(24) Garlic.

Much damage is done to the crops by bears, pigs, and deer, and also by birds. The Yindus build huts high up in trees, in which they sit at night to frighten off the bears. Various scare-crows are also used to frighten off birds.

Grains which require to be husked are treated as follows:—A log is planted in the ground protruding about three feet. The top is scooped out so as to form a deep cup, into which the grain is dropped and pounded with a club. The Chinbòns, who live in houses near the ground, have this log protruding through the floor of their houses and therefore perform this work inside the house. This work falls on the women, and very hard work it is. While cultivating, the

<sup>6</sup> Burmese turbans.

<sup>7</sup> *dAs* or knives used for household purpose.

<sup>8</sup> Spades.

<sup>9</sup> Preparation of putrified fish used as a condiment.

<sup>10</sup> Trowels.

<sup>11</sup> Temporary forest clearing.



villages are deserted, the people living in temporary huts in their fields.<sup>12</sup>

**Local Products and Industries.**—The only local products, besides agricultural, are—

(1) Pottery, which is confined to a few villages only, Myaing on the Môn and Myin on the Maung being the foremost in this industry:

(2) The manufacture of daggers, arrow-heads, and spear-heads confined to certain villages:

(3) The production of lac, which is abstracted from trees in most villages and used in the manufacture of accoutrements, &c:

(4) The production of salt. The largest salt-springs are on the Mò at a place called Sànni, six *dains*<sup>13</sup> from Tlin, where 200 viss of salt can be produced daily, and there are other springs further up the stream. These are, however, the only springs of importance. A small quantity of salt is procured at a place on the Chèchaung, three *dains* from Yáyin, a Burman village. The salt is produced by boiling down the water:

(5) Spinning, which is done by the women; all the clothes of a purely national character being made by them. The people import most of their cotton, but grow a little:

(6) The manufacture of mats, brooms, baskets, and such like articles; besides bows, arrows, and accoutrements:

(7) Hunting, as a means of filling the pot, though the people collect heads (of animals) and trophies with a thoroughly sportsmanlike interest. They track their game and shoot it with arrows, bringing down tiger, bear, *sámbar*, pig, &c. They frequently come to grief and get badly mauled, and many are killed by tigers and bears:

(8) Fishing, which is carefully and systematically carried out in various ways;—(a) by shooting the fish with arrows, at which the people are wonderfully skilful; (b) by catching the fish in basket traps, in the manner of the Burmans on this frontier; (c) by catching the fish with nets made locally; (d) by diverting a stream and isolating stretches of it with dams, and then poisoning the fish with the bark of a certain tree, which is stripped off, pounded, and thrown into the water prepared as above.

**Forests.**—The lower slopes on the Burmese side of the Chin Hills contain some fine teak, especially near the mouths of the Yò, Maung, and Chè streams. Bamboos are plentiful throughout the hills. On the higher slopes are fine fir forests, oaks of various kinds, rhododendrons, and so on.

Dwarf bamboos, making excellent fodder, were constantly met with, even at heights over 7,000 feet above sea-level. There is some cutch on the lower slopes on the Burmese side.

**Flora and Fauna.**—On the lower slopes the usual flowers and vegetation seen in Burma are met with. Higher up flowers and plants of a colder climate are seen, including orchids, ferns, roses, lawn daisies, marguerites, thistles, mosses; also a shrub with a flower like hawthorn.

The wild animals are:—

Tigers.	Hare.
Bears.	Porcupine.
Leopards.	Otter.
Pigs.	Wild cats.
Deer of many kinds.	Jungle fowl.
Wild cattle ( <i>sain</i>	Pheasants (silver).
and <i>pyaung</i> ).	Partridge.
Monkeys.	Many kinds of
Apes (Hoolocks).	small birds.

The domestic animals are:—

<i>Maiban</i> .	Dogs.
Pigs.	Fowl.

Goats.

All are used for food and sacrifices, and for marriage gifts.

**Houses.**—The houses resemble those of Burmans, except that they are stronger and better built; the thatch on the roofs being often a foot thick, well put on, and firmly tied down. The floors are frequently of teak or fir planks hewn out of a single tree. The floors are raised three to six feet from the ground. Pigs, goats, dogs, and fowls live underneath and all round, and the houses, though otherwise clean, are full of fleas. The fireplaces are similar to those in Burman houses.

During the cultivating season the villages are abandoned and temporary huts are built in the fields, as well as sheds for storing grain. To prevent rats from getting into the latter they are raised six feet or more off the ground, and branches of fir, stalk-ends uppermost, are tied to the posts, because rats cannot run up them. Flat circular boards are also used for the purpose of preventing rats from running up a post, the post passing through a hole in the centre.

**Engineering Works.**—There are no engineering works on a large scale.

Fishing dams are constructed to isolate reaches of streams in order to catch or poison the fish, or to divert the stream.

<sup>12</sup> [A Shán custom also, — Ed.]

<sup>13</sup> *dain* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. = about 2 miles.



Bridges across streams are also made on the cantilever principle. These are wonderful constructions of bamboo and very clever. Other simple bridges are also made, including swing-bridges.

Aqueducts for bringing water into the villages are also ingeniously designed. They are made of bamboos, split so as to form a gutter, along which the water runs. The bamboo gutters are supported, according to the level required, on tripods. A spot higher than the village is chosen as the source of water-supply often nearly half-a-mile distant. The Chinbôns, who have paddy-fields, irrigate them in the same way as the Burmans.

The roads are mere tracks and are not in any way constructed.

**Household Furniture, Dishes, &c.**—The only articles of furniture to be found in a Chin house are the fireplace and cooking pots, similar to those used by Burmans. Water is kept in *ghayds*, bamboos, or gourds. They eat with their fingers off bits of matting, which take the place of plates.

Each house has a rough loom, spindle, &c., for spinning. In Chinbôn houses the grain-pounders protrude through the floor.

In all houses are found a few baskets containing grain for present use and some liquor jars.

**Trophies and Decorations.**—In the verandah of each Chinbôk or Yindu house are the heads of every animal shot, captured, or killed by the houseowner. The Chinbôks also carve boards, or rather posts, about eight feet high, which they erect outside their houses. These indicate the number of head of game which the owner has killed. No man is thought much of unless he has a good show of heads and posts. The heads include tiger, bear, *sambhar*, *sain*, and various kinds of deer, monkeys, and domestic animals. Chinbôns shoot but little.

**Raids.**—The objects of raids are to obtain possession of slaves, cattle, money, and property of all kinds; and are never undertaken with the sole object of (human) head-hunting. They are not only directed against British-Burman subjects, but also against those dwelling across the Yômâs, and even against another Chin tribe.

The captives taken in raids into Burma are usually held to ransom. The actual process of raiding is accompanied with much bloodshed and cruelty, but the prisoners are well treated if once they reach the village of their captors. Women are not outraged.

As captives, women, children, and *pôngyis*, (priests), are preferred: the two former as there is less chance of their effecting their escape than men; the latter because they can obtain such enormous ransoms for their release. Captives are at first placed in stocks, but are afterwards allowed out with a log attached to their legs, and a string to carry it by. To secure the leg to the log a hole is cut through the centre of the log. Through this hole the foot and ankle are inserted, and also a wooden pin so as to make the hole too small to allow of the foot being withdrawn. A string is attached to either end of the log, which the prisoner holds in his hand when walking, thus taking the weight off the ankle. If it is thought that prisoner is not likely to attempt to escape, the log is removed. Prisoners are obliged to work in the fields, fetch water, husk grain, &c.

Captives, if not quickly redeemed by their own people, are sold from village to village, which renders it very difficult to trace and recover them. They fetch from Rs. 80 to Rs. 300, sometimes paid in cash, but generally in cattle.

Cattle are much prized, and are driven off from the plains, whenever opportunity offers.

Iron is greatly valued for spear and arrow heads, &c. When raiding in Burma the Chins frequently tear off the *t'is* (summit ornaments) from pagodas for the sake of the iron they contain.

Certain villages are notorious raiders, cultivating but little and living by raiding. They are a terror to the weaker and more industrious Chin villagers, whom they greatly oppress, and who are consequently frequently driven to raid on Burman villages to recoup themselves for the heavy losses they sustain at the hands of their more powerful neighbours. This system of terrorism keeps the Chins the savages we find them. They have no incentive to become prosperous, as they are liable to lose their all, including wives and children, at any moment. They can ransom their relations, if well enough off, but the price demanded is beyond the means of most Chins.

Raids are organized as follows. The leading man or chief, who wishes to get up a raid, gets men together from his own and other villages. He gives a feast and arranges for rations on the road. All these expenses he defrays, but gets the lion's share of the captives and loot. Quarrels frequently occur, attended with bloodshed, over division of the spoil. The *adits* are always consulted and, if the omens are unfavourable, the raid is postponed and often abandoned altogether.



Moonlight nights are usually chosen for raids and a "surprise" is always attempted. While retreating they generally spike the path behind them with bamboos and, if pressed, they often kill their captives. On this account the Burmans frequently hesitate to follow them up.

**Warfare.**—The Chin system of warfare is almost identical with the system of raiding. When attacking an enemy's village, or a force encamped, they always attempt a surprise, and unless they consider themselves very strong, they content themselves with harassing a column on the line of march by creeping up and discharging arrows, generally at the rear-guard. They will also roll down boulders and rocks, if opportunity offers, upon an advancing force, and will attempt to burn the jungle through which a column is passing. They only attempt a front attack when confident of success, and then advance yelling and shouting. On the defensive they roll down rocks, spike roads, and discharge arrows from behind cover. They do not dig pits.

Chinbök villages are not fenced in any way. Yindu villages have a thorn or bamboo fence which presents no serious obstacle.

Chinbóns stockade with what is known as "Chin stockade-work" and form most formidable abattis by felling the bamboo jungle in which their villages are generally built, sharpening the ends of the bamboos, and planting innumerable spikes. There is only one gate to a Chinbón village and it is a very narrow one, approached by a path which admits of men advancing in single file only. A few of the villages are not stockaded, but built on high poles.

Chin villages are generally built in dense jungle hollows on the sides of the hills. They can always be taken in rear and commanded, and should never be attacked from below. Approaches will always be found to be spiked, and rocks will be rolled on the advancing column.

**Smoking and Washing.**—Men, women, and even small children are never without their pipes and tobacco, and smoke constantly. A description has already been given of the different kinds of pipes they smoke. The tobacco used is grown by themselves and sun-dried. It is very rank.

Chins, especially the Northern Chinböks, have the greatest dislike to water. They never wash their bodies, and very seldom touch their faces and hands, with water. Their clothes are never washed.

**Food and Drink.**—The food of the Chins consists of the grain and vegetables they grow, the

domestic animals they keep, and the game and fish they shoot and catch. Grain and vegetables are boiled, except *chaiksan*, which is generally roasted, as is also the flesh of animals. They cook like the Burmans, but do not use oil.

Except the beer they brew, water is their only beverage. The women draw water in *ghayds*, gourds or bamboos.

**Drunkenness.**—The most remarkable custom of these people is their habit of getting drunk on every possible occasion. Every and any incident is an excuse to bring out the beer jars (see *Plate C*)—the arrival of a stranger or visitor, the birth of a child, a marriage, a death, a case of sickness, an offering to or consultation of *nats*,—are all sufficient excuses for every one present, men, women, and even tiny children, to get drunk. They frequently keep up these debauches for days. The liquor is made of grain, boiled and fermented, and varies much in quality, depending on the grain used (rice is the best) and the length of time the liquor has been kept. Good Chin beer is a very palatable drink, much resembling cider in taste, but more like perry in appearance. The liquor is stored in jars, standing over two feet in height and filled half full with the fermenting grain. As the liquor is drawn off the jar is filled up with water.

The liquor is drunk as follows:—A hollow bamboo, the thickness of a little finger, is thrust into the jar, and pressed well down into the grain. The company sit round this and take sips in turn.

A more civilized way of drawing off the liquor is sometimes followed. A hole is made in the side of the bamboo above mentioned, the hollow top being stopped up; into this hole another bamboo is inserted sloping downwards over the side of the jar (see *Plate C*). The host gives a suck to start the liquor running; gourds are then filled and handed round.

**Tattooing.**—All women have their faces tattooed (see *Plate A*). The process is commenced when they are small children and gradually completed, the operations extending over several years.

The Chinböks cover the face with nicks, lines, and dots in a uniform design, the women's breasts being also surrounded with a circle of dots. The Yindus tattoo in lines across the face, showing glimpses of the skin. The Chinbóns tattoo jet black and are the most repulsive in appearance, though often fair-skinned. The beauty of a woman is judged by the style in which the tattooing has been done. Men are not tattooed at all.



**Proper Names.**—Most Chin villages have Burmese names. Many have two names, one a Chin and the other a Burman name, which causes great confusion. Among themselves they usually talk of a village as So-and-so's village, naming the *Djéf* (headman). Thus, a village of which the headman's name was Nga Tin would be called Nga Tinywá (Nga Tin's<sup>14</sup> Village). The names of men resemble Burman names, but they invariably prefix *Nga* instead of *Maung*.

The women's names are curious; they prefix *Mi* and *Ba*.

The following are examples of names:—

Men.	Women.
Nga Kwai.	Mi Ba Do.
Nga Shain.	Mi Ba Laung.
Nga Cha.	Mi Ba Sôk.
Nga Tin.	

**Sanitation.**—The villages are kept cleaner than Burman villages, otherwise their sanitary arrangements are similar.

**Carrying Loads.**—Everything is carried slung across the forehead by a strap, usually in cane baskets about the size of a Burmese pack-bullock's basket. Sometimes there is a second strap, which passes across the chest. Even water is carried in this manner, gourds being filled and placed in the basket, or, if *gharys* are used, the *ghary* is placed in the basket. A Chin makes nothing of a sixty-pound bag of *dâd* (flour) going over the worst possible tracks.

**Music and Dancing.**—Musical instruments consist of gongs, cymbals, drums, and bells. There is also a curious kind of banjo made out of one piece of bamboo a little thicker than a man's wrist and about eighteen inches long. The bamboo used is hollow and cut off at both ends just beyond the joint. Narrow strips of the bamboo are then slit and raised on small pegs without severing the ends; four or five strings are thus formed, which are manipulated with the fingers. The music produced is rather pleasant.

There is no tune, but time is kept on the drums. Dancing, in which both men and women take part, is generally commenced when they are all primed with liquor.

The men brandish spears and *dds* and shout, or rather yell. By firelight the sight is a curious and pretty one.

<sup>14</sup> [This confusion is universal in the East, e.g., an average Pathân village has six names; an average Sikkim village has five; a Kásmír village has four, and may have nine; in the Amherst District a village or place will have ordinarily a Burmese, Talaing, Shân and Tsangû name, to which may be superadded a Pâli name

**Oaths.**—Oaths are of several kinds and are supposed to be binding. The one most feared is drinking water that has been poured over the skull of a tiger.

Another oath is partly Burmese, [<sup>?</sup> Chinese—Ed.] in origin. The terms of the oath are written on paper and burnt, while the swearing parties place the butts of their arms, spears, *dds*, guns, bows, arrows, &c., in a basin of water. The ashes of the paper are then mixed with the water and drunk by the parties concerned.

Another oath is drinking blood.<sup>15</sup> In all oaths much liquor is drunk. It is doubtful whether oaths are of any value.

**Births, Marriages, Deaths.**—All these are great occasions and necessitate sacrifices to the *nâts*, feasting, and much drinking, accompanied by music and dancing.

When a child is born the *nâts* are consulted to ascertain if it will live or die.

**Marriage** among the Chinbôks is a love affair, and takes place at about twenty years of age. The young man proposes and, if accepted, the consent of the girl's parents is asked. They, if they approve of the suitor, consult the *nâts* to see if the marriage will be a lucky one.

If the omens are favourable, one *maiþan* at least must be given to the bride's parents. If the bridegroom has not got the value of a *maiþan*, he promises to pay by instalments and takes possession of the bride at once. If the girl has many necklaces, several *maiþan* must be given. A big drink and feast follows, and sacrifices to the *nâts*.

If, however, the omens prove unfavourable and the young couple are nevertheless anxious to be married, the *nâts* are periodically consulted until they are favourable. This always must happen in time, if the *nâts* are only consulted frequently enough.

The Yindu marriage customs are different. Among them the love is one-sided. The would-be bridegroom selects the lady of his fancy and goes to her father's house with ten pairs of earrings, or their value, and demands the girl, giving the father the earrings. The girl is immediately handed over to him, whether willing or not, and whether the parents approve of the match or not. The usual drinks and ceremonies follow.

also. See my papers on the Tal-Chotiali Route, *J. R. G. S.*, Vol. L., and *J. A. S. B.*, Part II. for 1892, and my Edition of Sir R. Temple's *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, 1887, preface, pp. xviii—xxi—Ed.]

<sup>15</sup> [See ante, Vol. XX. p. 423ff. Ed.]



There are no divorces. If a man's wife is carried off by another man, as frequently happens, the husband kills his rival, if he can, and takes back his wife.

There is no restriction as to the number of wives allotted to one man. If a man dies, his brother must take his wife and children. In this way one man may accumulate many families.

On a death occurring all the friends assemble and drink. A *maiṭhan*, or other suitable sacrifice, is slain. The number of days the body is kept, and consequently the duration of the festivities, depends on the age and importance of the deceased. The body is eventually carried far into the jungle to a burial-ground on the ridge of a hill, where it is burnt. The charred bones are collected and, together with the clothes of the deceased, are placed in an earthen pot.

The pot is, amongst the Chinbōks and Yindus, then placed on the ground under a slab of stone supported on four upright stones. In the Chinbōk and Yindu country there are large cemeteries of these stones, some of which are of enormous size and must have taken great labour to bring from the places where they abound to the burial-ground.

The Chinbōns do not use stones, but erect miniature houses, which are models of the style of architecture of the particular village to which the deceased belonged, being either raised on poles or not, as the case may be. In these houses, which form miniature villages, the pots are placed. Those Chinbōns who have emigrated to and died in Burma, are cremated where they die, but their bones are carefully collected and sent in a pot to be placed in the cemetery of the village, to which they or their forefathers originally belonged.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

When a young Brāhman visits or takes leave of an elderly man of his caste and sect, either in consequence of age or learning, the custom is for the younger to prostrate himself before the elder and to receive his blessing.

In poor Brāhman houses, a widow is the chief cook and she performs almost all the menial work in the house. She gets up early in the morning and shuns the presence of everybody else in the house, as it is superstitiously believed that if anybody sees a widow's face on rising from his bed he will have bad luck during the day. Even her own children, if she has any, are averse to seeing her face in the morning, and she herself, knowing the evil that would arise, will not approach them. When a person starts on a journey or on any special errand, if a widow comes before him, it is an evil omen. On entering upon her widowhood, a woman takes off the hair on her head, and a portion of her waist cloth is put round her head. She usually turns very religious, takes only one meal a day, and sets aside all worldly pleasures. She is also prohibited from singing on marriage occasions.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

### SUPERSTITIONS AS TO SNAKES IN MADRAS.

Take half a measure full of native onions and make about three or four dozen small bags, put half a dozen onions into each and then tie up the bags at some small distance from each other to the rafters under the tiles, or tie up to the rafters

about half a dozen peacock feathers. As snakes have a very acute sense of smell, and as the smell of these two things is very repugnant to them, they will always keep away. The above is said to be very effective in the case of cobras.

Snake charmers in Southern India have often been seen to catch cobras with their right hand, while keeping a small stick in their left hand. This stick is always besmeared with onion juice.

A pinch of tobacco snuff thrown over the head of a cobra acts as chloroform and the cobra is benumbed as it were.

It is considered a great sin to kill a cobra. When a cobra is killed the people generally burn it as they do human bodies. A man who has killed a cobra considers himself as polluted for three days or at least for ninety hours, and in the second day milk is poured on the remains of the cobra. On the third day he is free from pollution.

### SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT ANIMALS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Indian screech owl or death-bird is held in great fear by the Hindus of Southern India. If this bird happens to sit on the roof of a house and screech thrice, it is said that the chief member of the house will die within one week from that date.

If bees build a nest in any part of a house, it is said that the chief member of the house will die within one month from that date.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.



# SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages),—except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage,—is this:—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ज	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
ऋ	ऋ	ṛi	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
ल	ल	lṛi	त	त	ta
—	—	e	थ	थ	tha
ए	ए	ē	द	द	da
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ध	ध	dha
—	—	o	न	न	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	प	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	फ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Jihvāmūlīya, or old			भ	भ	bha
Visarga before क्	—	ḥ	म	म	ma
and ख्			य	य	ya
Upadhānīya, or			र	र	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	—	ra
fore प् and फ्			ल	ल	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m̐	ळ	ळ	ḷa
Anundāsikā	—	m̐	—	—	ḷi
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	श	श	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	ष	ṣha
घ	घ	gha	स	स	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	ह	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣhara* or syllable.







## BHARAUT INSCRIPTIONS.

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

THE remains of the Buddhist Stūpa of Bharaut<sup>1</sup> were discovered in 1873 by General Sir A. Cunningham, who very judiciously saved most of them from destruction by removal to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. His richly illustrated monograph *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (London, 1879) contains eye-copies and tentative transcripts and translations of the Bharaut inscriptions, both of those which are now at Calcutta, and of those which remain *in situ*. Part of the Calcutta inscriptions have been minutely treated by Dr. Hoernle.<sup>2</sup> With the kind permission of Dr. Anderson, Superintendent of the Indian Museum, I prepared mechanical copies of all those at Calcutta in 1885 and published them with German translations.<sup>3</sup> The importance which the Bharaut inscriptions undoubtedly possess on account of their antiquity, now induces me to republish my German paper, with some additions and corrections, in English, and thus to make it more generally accessible.

The age of the Bharaut inscriptions is approximately fixed by the inscription No. 1, which records that the East gateway of the Stūpa was built "during the reign of the Suṅgas," *i. e.*, in the second or first century B. C., by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti. From the manner in which he refers to the Suṅgas, it may be concluded that this king was one of their tributaries. One of those inscriptions which have not been removed to Calcutta<sup>4</sup> contains the name "of prince Vādhapāla (*i. e.*, Vyādhapāla?) the son of king Dhanabhūti." At the beginning of another fragment, one is tempted to conjecture *tiss* instead of *kasa*, the reading of General Cunningham's eye-copy,<sup>5</sup> and to translate: — "The gift of Nāgarakhitā (*i. e.*, Nāgarakṣitā) the wife of king [Dhanabhū]ti." A gift by some later Dhanabhūti is recorded in a Mathurā inscription, which has been removed to Aligarh.<sup>6</sup>

With the exception of No. 1, the Bharaut inscriptions do not contain any historical information. They are simply labels which record the names of the donors of the pillars (*stambha*) or rails (*śūchi*) on which they are engraved, or explain the subjects which some of the reliefs represent. The following towns from which some of the donors hailed, are incidentally mentioned: — Bhōgavardhana, Bhōjakata, Bi[m]bik[ā]na[n]dikata, Kākandī, Karahakata, Kubjatinduka (?), Mayūragiri, N[an]d[i]nagara, Pāṭaliputra, Purikā, Sirīshapadra, Sthavirākūta and Vaidīśa. The epithets Chikulanīya or Chekulana, Chudāṭhlikā and Dabhinikā appear to be likewise derived from names of localities, the Sanskrit originals of which are, however, doubtful. In General Cunningham's eye-copies of those inscriptions which were not removed to Calcutta, occur: — Karahakata (Plate lv. No. 96), Moragiri (No. 95), Nāsika (No. 87) and Vedisa (No. 100, and Plate lvi. No. 1); also Bhojakataka, 'a resident of Bhōjakata' (Plate lvi. No. 46), Kosabeyeka, 'a female resident of Kauśāmbī' (Plate liv. No. 53), and Selapuraka, 'a resident of Sailapura' (Plate lv. No. 91). Among these geographical names, Kauśāmbī, Nāsika, Pāṭaliputra and Vaidīśa are the modern Kōsam, Nāsik, Patna and Bēsnagar.

Of the Buddhist scenes which are represented in the sculptures and referred to in the inscriptions, part are still obscure, and part have been successfully identified by General Cunningham. The most interesting among these representations are the *Jātakas*, or supposed previous births of the founder of the Buddhist creed. As will be seen from the subjoined table, a considerable number of them have been traced by the Rev. Subhūti, Professor Rhys Davids, and myself, in the Pali collection of *Jātakas*, for the publication of which we are indebted to the scholarship of Professor Fausboll.

<sup>1</sup> As stated by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 133, note 1, this appears to be the correct spelling of the name. General Cunningham uses the form Bharhut.

<sup>2</sup> *ante*, Vol. X. pp. 118 ff. and 255 ff. Vol. XI. pp. 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. pp. 58 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Plate lvi. No. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* No. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Plate liii. No. 4, and *Arch. Survey of India*, Vol. III. Plate xvi. No. 21.



Below, No. 3.	Maghâdeviya jataka.	Fausboll's No. 9.	Makhâdêva-jâtaka.
" "	6. Sujato gahuto jataka.	" "	352. Sujâta-jâtaka.
" "	7. { Biḍala-jata[k]a, (alias) Kukṇa-jataka. }	" "	383. Kukṇa-jâtaka.
" "	10. Isi-migo jataka.	" "	Vol. IV. pp. 252 to 254.
" "	12. Kinara-jâtakam.	" "	No. 400. Dabbhapuppha-jâtaka.
" "	14. Uda-jataka.	" "	174. Dûbhiyamakka-jâtaka.
" "	15. Sechha-jataka.	" "	488. Bhisâ-jâtaka.
" "	17. Bhisaharaniya jataka[m].	" "	267. Kakkâ-jâtaka.
" "	32. Nâga-jâtaka.	" "	482. Ruru-jâtaka(?).
" "	37. Miga-jâtakam.	" "	514. Chhaddanta-jâtaka.
" "	72. Yavamajhakiyam jâtakam.	" "	357. Laṭukika-jâtaka.
" "	85. Chhadantiya jâtakam.	" "	528. Alambusa-jâtaka.
" "	86. Vitura-Punakiya jâtakam.	" "	62. Aṇḍabhûta-jâtaka.
" "	109. Laṭuvâ-jâtaka.	" "	32. Nachcha-jâtaka.
" "	155. M[n]ga[pa]k[i]y[a] j[â]ta[ka].	" "	206. Kurugamiga-jâtaka.
" "	156. Isis[iṅgiya jâ]ta[ka].	" "	181. Asadisa-jâtaka.
" "	157. Yam bram[h]ano avayesi jâtakam.	" "	461. Dasaratha-jâtaka.
" "	158. Haṁsa-jâtaka.	" "	407. Mahâkapi-jâtaka.
Cunningham's Plate xxvii. No. 9.		" "	12. Nigrôdhmiga-jâtaka.
" " " " 13.		" "	Nos. 46 and 268. Arâmadûsaka-jâtaka.
" " " " 14.			
" " xxxiii. " 4.			
" " xliii. " 8.			
" " xlv. " 5.			

It appears from the above table that the titles of the single *Jâtakas* in the Bharaut inscriptions generally differ more or less from those which are adopted in the standard redaction of the *Jâtaka* book. A very curious proof for the antiquity of the verses which are handed down to us in the *Jâtaka* book, is afforded by the inscription No. 157, which quotes the first *pâda* of one of these verses.<sup>7</sup> As discovered by the late Professor Childers (*Pâli Dictionary*, p. ix. note 3), an almost literal quotation from the *Life of Buddha*, which is prefixed to the *Jâtaka* book (Vol. I. p. 92), occurs in the inscription No. 38. The announcement of the future conception of Buddha (No. 80), his descent to earth (No. 98), and the festival in honour of his hair-lock (No. 78), are referred to in the same introduction to the *Jâtaka*, Vol. I. pp. 48, 50, and 65. The assembly (of ascetics) with matted hair' (*jaṭila*, No. 13) is probably intended for Uruvêla-Kassapa and his followers (Vol. I. p. 82 f.). The Indraśâla cave (No. 99) corresponds to the Indraśâla cave of the Northern Buddhists, who also mention the visits of king Prasênajit of Kôsala and of the serpent king Airâvata to Buddha (Nos. 58 and 60). The visit of Ajâtaśatru (No. 77) is described in the records of both Northern and Southern Buddhists.

In the inscriptions, *Buddha* is generally designated *Bhagavat*, 'the Blessed one,' and once (No. 46) *Sâkyamuni*. Of the former *Buddhas* the following are named: — *Vipaśyin*, *Viśvabhû*, *Kakutsandha*, *Kôṇagamana*, *Kâśyapa*. The inscriptions also mention 'Sudharmâ, the hall of the gods,' 'Vaijayanta, the palace (of Indra),' the two classes of deities called *Kâmâvachara* and *Suddhâvâsa*, and give the names of four celestial nymphs (*apsaras*), three goddesses (*dêvatâ*), one angel (*dêvaputra*), one *vidyâdhara*, six male and two female *yakshas*,

<sup>7</sup> The chief story of the fifth book of the *Pañchatantra* is closely related to the *Chatudvârajâtaka* (Fausboll's No. 430). At the beginning of the *Pañchatantra* story occurs the following verse (No. 22 of the Bombay edition): —

अतिलोभो न कर्तव्यो लोभं नैव परित्यजेत् । अतिलोभाभिभूतस्य चक्रे धमति मत्तिके ॥

The fourth *pâda* of this verse is identical with that of the 5th verse of the *Chatudvârajâtaka*, the second half of which reads: — *icchhâhâtassa pêsassa chakkaṁ dhāmati matthakê*.



and two serpent kings (*nāgarāja*). Buddhistical terms are:—*chaitya*, *bōdhi* or *bōdha*, *bōdhichakra* and *dharmachakra*. The mention of donors who were versed in the *Piṭakas*, (No. 134), in the *Sūtrānta* (No. 95) and in the five *Nikāyas* (No. 144) proves that the Buddhist canon and its subdivisions were known and studied in the second or first century B. C. Among the donors are one householder (*grihapati*), one trooper (*aśvavārika*), one sculptor (*rūpakāraka*), four preachers (*bhāṇaka*) and twelve nuns (*bhikkhūṇī*). Others are characterised as members of the priesthood by the epithet 'reverend' (*ārya* or *bhadanta*).

### TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. 1 (Cunningham's Plate liii. No. 1).<sup>9</sup>

- 1 Suganaṃ raje raṇo Gāgī-putasa Visadevasa
- 2 pautēṇa Goti-putasa Āgarajusa puteṇa
- 3 Vāchhi-putena Dhanabhūtiṇa kāritaṃ toraṇaṃ<sup>9</sup>
- 4 silā-kammaṃto cha upamaṃ.<sup>10</sup>

During the reign of the *Suṅgas*,—*Vātsi-putra Dhanabhūti*, the son of *Gauṇḍi-putra Aṅgāradīyut*<sup>11</sup> (and) grandson of king *Gāgī-putra Visvadēva*, caused (*this*) gateway to be made, and the stone-work<sup>12</sup> arose.

No. 2 (liii. 1 b).

Aya-Nāgadevasa dānaṃ.

The gift of the reverend *Nāgadēva*.

No. 3 (liii. 2 b; Hoernle's No. 5).

Maghādeviya jātaka.

The *jātaka* (which treats) of *Makhādēva*.

No. 4 (liii. 3 b; Hoernle's No. 6).

Dighatāpasi sise anusāsati.

*Dighatāpasvin* instructs (*his*) pupils.

No. 5 (liii. 4 b; Hoernle's No. 7).

Abode chātiyaṃ.<sup>13</sup>

The *chaitya* on (*Mount*) *Arbuda*.

No. 6 (liii. 5).

Sujato gahuto jātaka.

The *jā taka* (entitled) "*Sujāta caught*."<sup>14</sup>

No. 7 (liii. 6).

Biḍala-jātara<sup>15</sup> kukuṇa-jātaka.

The cat *jātaka*, (also called) the cock *jātaka*.

No. 8 (liii. 7).

Daḍanikamo chakama.

The enclosure (called) *Daḍanishkrama* (?).

<sup>9</sup> The text of Nos. 1 to 154 is transcribed from impressions which I prepared at Calcutta in 1885. A facsimile of No. 1 is found ante, Vol. XIV. p. 139, and facsimiles of Nos. 2 to 15, 17 to 51, 55 to 151, and 153 in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. pp. 60 and 70.

<sup>10</sup> Read *toranaṃ* (I instead of U).

<sup>11</sup> Read *upamaṃ* (T instead of I).

<sup>12</sup> As suggested by Dr. Bühler, this name has to be explained by *Aṅgāra[ka] iva dyōtata ity Aṅgāradīyut*, 'shining like (the planet) Mars.' The custom, in accordance with which each of the three kings bears a secondary name derived from the *gōtra* of his mother, has descended through the Andhras to the Kadambas and Chalukyas; see Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 5, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *kammaṃto*.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly a clerical mistake for *chatiyaṃ*.

<sup>15</sup> *Gahuto* (Sanskrit *grīhṭāḥ*) appears to mean either 'surprised' or 'understood' (by his father); see the *Sujātajātaka*, Fausboll's No. 352.

<sup>16</sup> This is a clerical mistake for *jātaka* (i. e. *jātakam*).



No. 9 (liii. 8).

Asaḍḍa vadhu susāne sigāla<sup>16</sup> ṇati.<sup>17</sup>The woman **Ashaḍḍa**, who has observed the jackals on the cemetery.

No. 10 (liii. 9).

Isi-migo jataka.

The *jātaka* (entitled) "the antelope of the saint."

No. 11 (liii. 10; Hoernle's No. 1).

Miga-samadaka[m] chetaya.<sup>18</sup>The *chaitya* which gladdens the antelopes.

No. 12 (liii. 12).

Kinara-jātakam.

The *Kinnara jātika*.

No. 13 (liii. 13).

Jaṭila-sabbhā.

The assembly (of ascetics) with matted hair.

No. 14 (liii. 14).

Uda-jataka.

The *jātaka* (which treats) of the (two) otters.

No. 15 (liii. 15; Hoernle's No. 4).

Sechha-jataka.

The *śaiksha*<sup>19</sup> *jātaka*.

No. 16 (liii. 16).

1 Karahakaṭa-nigamasa

2 dāna.

The gift of the city of **Karahakaṭa**.<sup>20</sup>

No. 17 (liii. 17).

Bhisaharaniya jataka[m].

The *jātaka* (which treats) of the stealing of the lotus-fibres.

No. 18 (liii. 18; Hoernle's No. 8).

Veḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate.

**Vēṇuka**<sup>21</sup> milks<sup>22</sup> *katha*<sup>23</sup> on Mount **Naḍōda**.

No. 19 (liii. 19; Hoernle's No. 9).

Jabū Naḍode pavate.

The *jambū* (tree) on Mount **Naḍōda**.

No. 20 (liii. 20; Hoernle's No. 2).

U . . . . . Janako rāja Sivala devi.

. . . . . King **Janaka**. Queen **Sivalā**.<sup>24</sup><sup>16</sup> Read *sigāle* (acc. plur.)?<sup>17</sup> *ṇati* probably represents the Sanskrit *jātrī*, as *ketā* in No. 38 stands for *krētā*.<sup>18</sup> It remains doubtful whether the vowel *a* in the second syllable of this word is due to a clerical omission of the sign for *i*, or if it is the expression of an indistinct pronunciation of the vowel *i*. Compare *Sabbhā* for *Subhadrā* in *Ajātasata* for *Ajātasatru* in Nos. 52 and 77.<sup>19</sup> See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *śekho*.<sup>20</sup> *Karahakadaka*, 'a resident of *Karahakadā*,' occurs in the Kuṭā inscription No. 18, *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 87. *Karahakadā* or *Karahakada* is probably identical with *Karahātaka*, which is referred to in a Rāshṭra-kūṭa inscription of Śaka 675 (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 110), and with the modern *Karhāj* in the Sattārā district.<sup>21</sup> According to No. 63, this person was a gardener. *Vēṇuka*, 'little reed,' occurs in the *Jātaka* No. 43 as the name of a snake.<sup>22</sup> See the corresponding relief, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Plate xlviii. No. 9.<sup>23</sup> This word may be meant for *katha* (Pāli *kathā*, Sanskrit *kāṣṭhā*), or, according to Dr. Bühler, for *kratha* or *krātha*, 'a decoction.'<sup>24</sup> Similar formations are *Ahila* and *Vasula* in the Kuṭā inscriptions, and *Himāla*, *Isila* and *Sivalā* in the *Amarāvati* inscriptions.



No. 21 (liii. 21 ; Hoernle's No. 3).

Chitupāda-sila.

The Chitrōtpāda rock.<sup>25</sup>

No. 22 (liii. 1 c).

Vediśā Chāpadevāyā Revatimita-bhāriyāyā paṭhama-thabho dānaṃ.

The first pillar (is) the gift of Chāpadēvā, the wife of Rēvatimitra, from Vaidiśa.

No. 23 (liii. 2 c).

Bhadāntasa<sup>26</sup> aya-Bhutarakhitasa Khujatidukiyasa dānaṃ.

The gift of the lord, the reverend Bhūtarakshita, from Kubjatinduka(?).

No. 24 (liii. 3 c).

Bhagavato Vesabhuno bodhi sālo.

The sāla (which was) the bōlhi (tree) of the blessed Viśvabhū.

No. 25 (liii. 4 c).

Aya-Gorakhitasa thabho dānaṃ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend Gōrakshita.

No. 26 (liii. 5 b, 6 b).

Aya-Paṃthakasa thaṃbho dānaṃ Chulakokā devatā.

A pillar, (representing) the goddess Kshudrakōkā,<sup>27</sup> the gift of the reverend Panthaka.

No. 27 (liii. 7 b).

1 Dabhinikāya Mahamukhisa dhitu Badhika-

2 ya bhichhuniya dānaṃ.

The gift of the nun Badhika,<sup>28</sup> the daughter of Mahāmukhi, from Dabhina(?).

No. 28 (liii. 8 b).

2 Pāṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍi-

1 yāniyā dānaṃ.

The gift of Nāgasenā, a Kōḍyāni,<sup>29</sup> from Pāṭaliputra.

No. 29 (liii. 9 b).

1 Samanāyā bhikhuniyā Chudaṭṭhikāyā

2 dānaṃ.

The gift of the nun Sramanā<sup>30</sup> from Chudaṭṭhila.

No. 30 (liii. 11 b).

Bhagavato Konāgamenasa<sup>31</sup> bodhi.

The bōlhi (tree) of the blessed Kōnāgamana.

No. 31 (liii. 12 b).

Bhojakataṭṭhāyā Diganagay[e] bhichhuniya dānaṃ.

The gift of the nun Diṇnāgā from Bhōjakata.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Chitrā utpādā yatra sū silā, 'the rock where miraculous portents happen.' The Pāli utpāda represents both utpāda and utpāta; compare Anādhā for Anōtha in No. 38.

<sup>26</sup> tasa looks like taso, and the ta of Bhuta like tā.

<sup>27</sup> i. e. 'the little Kōkā.' Her counterpart, 'the big Kōkā,' is mentioned on Plate lv. of the Stūpa of Bhāruk, No. 98, which reads:—Mahakoka devata.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps Bōdhikā has to be restored. The name Bōdhi occurs in three Kūḍā inscriptions.

<sup>29</sup> Koḍiyāni, which is found again in No. 100, might be the feminine of Kōḍiya (No. 63); compare aya—aryā, and kshatriya—kshatriyāni. On the Kōḍiyas, a tribe residing near and related to the Śākyaas, see Dr. Kern's *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. I. pp. 174 and 295. Besides, Koḍiyāni might correspond to the patronymic Kaupḍinyāni; compare Kachchāna = Kātyāyana, and Moggallāna = Maudgalyāyana.

<sup>30</sup> It follows from Nos. 103 and 104, that Sramanā is here used as a proper name.

<sup>31</sup> In the fourth syllable of Konāgamenasa we appear to have a case of short (Prākṛit) e for Sanskrit a. Short e for i occurs in Peṭakī (No. 134) for Piṭakī, and Serī (No. 149) for Sīrī (Śrī); short o for u in Aboda (No. 5) for Arbuda; long e for ā in the termination yā (Nos. 65, 103, 120, 121, 146, 148 and 150) for yāḥ; and long ē for ā in dāna (No. 130) for dāna.—The first syllable of bodhi is injured and looks like be.

<sup>32</sup> According to a grant of the Vākātaka king Pravaraśena II. the village of Charmāka,—the modern Chammak the Ilchpur district,—belonged to the Bhōjakata-rājya; see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 236.



No. 32 (liii. 13 b).

Nāga-jātaka.

The elephant *jātaka*.

No. 33 (liii. 14 b).

1 Bib[i]k[ā]nadikaṣa Buddhino gahapatino

2 dānaṃ.

The gift of the householder **Buddhi** (from) **Bimbikānandikaṣa** (?).

No. 34 (liii. 15 b).

Supāvaso Yakho.

The *Yaksha* **Suprāvṛṣha** (?).

No. 35 (liii. 16 b).

Dhamagutasa dānaṃ thabho.

A pillar, the gift of **Dharmagupta**.

No. 36 (liii. 17 b).

1 Bībikanadikaṣa Suladhasa asavārikā-

2 sa<sup>33</sup> dānaṃ.The gift of the trooper **Sulabdhā** (from) **Bimbikānandikaṣa**.

No. 37 (liii. 18 b, 19 b).

1 Pusasa thaṃbho dānaṃ

2 miga-jātakam.

A pillar, (representing) the antelope *jātaka*, the gift of **Pushya**.

No. 38 (liii. 20 b).

Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭi-saṃthatena ketā.

**Anāthapiṇḍika** gives **Jētavana**, (which) he has bought by a layer of crores (of gold pieces).

No. 39 (liii. 21 b).

Kosa[m]ba-kuṭi.

The hall at **Kausāmbi**.

No. 40 (liii. 22 b).

Ga[m]dhakuṭi.

The hall of perfumes.<sup>34</sup>

No. 41 (liii. 23).

Dhamarakhitaṣa dānaṃ.

The gift of **Dharmarakshita**.

No. 42 (liii. 24).

Chakavāko Nāgarājā.

**Chakravāka**, the king of serpents.

No. 43 (liii. 25).

V[i]ruḍako Yakh[o].

The *Yaksha* **Virūḍhaka**.<sup>35</sup>

No. 44 (liii. 26).

Gaṅgito Yakho.

The *Yaksha* **Gaṅgita**.

No. 45 (liv. 27; Hoernle's No. 17).

Aya-Isidinasa bhānakasa dānaṃ.

The gift of the reverend **Ṛishidatta**, a preacher.<sup>33</sup> Read 'vārikasa.<sup>34</sup> On *gandhakūṭi* see ante, Vol. XIV. p. 140, and Arch. Survey of W. India, Vol. V. p. 77.<sup>35</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, s. v., and Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *virūḍho*.



## No. 46 (liv. 28; Hoernle's No. 11).

- 1 Bhagavato Sakamunino
- 2 bodho.

The *bôdha* (tree) of the blessed *Sakyamuni*.

## No. 47 (liv. 29; Hoernle's No. 12 a).

- 1 Purathima [di]sa Sudhâ-
- 2 vâsâ de[va]t[â].

In the eastern direction, the deities (called) the *Suddhâvâsas*.

## No. 48 (liv. 30; Hoernle's No. 12 b).

- 1 Utaram disa [tini sa]-
- 2 vatani sisâ[ni].

In the northern direction, [three covered] heads (?).

## No. 49 (liv. 31; Hoernle's No. 13).

- 1 Dakhinam disa chha Kâ-
- 2 mâvachara-sahasâni.

In the southern direction, six thousand *Kâmâvacharas*.

## No. 50 (liv. 32; Hoernle's No. 14).

- 1 Sâḍika-saṁmadam
2. turam devanam.

The music<sup>36</sup> of the gods, which gladdens<sup>37</sup> by (i. e. which is accompanied with) acting.<sup>38</sup>

## No. 51 (liv. 33; Hoernle's No. 15 a).

Misakosi<sup>39</sup> Achharâ.

The *Apsaras* *Misrakôṣi*.

## No. 52 (liv. 34; Hoernle's No. 15 d).

Sabhad[â] Achhar[â].

The *Apsaras* *Subhadra*.

## No. 53 (liv. 35; Hoernle's No. 15 c).

- 1 Padumâvati
- 2 Achharâ.

The *Apsaras* *Padmâvati*.

## No. 54 (liv. 36; Hoernle's No. 15 b).

- 1 Alam-
- 2 busâ Achharâ.

The *Apsaras* *Alambushâ*.

## No. 55 (liv. 37; Hoernle's No. 18).

Ka[m]ḍariki.

*Kaṇḍariki*.

## No. 56 (liv. 38; Hoernle's No. 21).

- 1 Vijapi
- 2 Vijâdharo.

The *Vidyâdhara* *Vijayin*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> On *târa* for *târya*, see Hémachandra, ii. 63, and Dr. Pischel's note thereon.

<sup>37</sup> With *saṁmadâ* compare *samâdâ* in No. 11.

<sup>38</sup> According to Böttlingk and Roth, s. v., Bharata explains *sâḍaka* by *nâḍaka-bhâda*.

<sup>39</sup> Read *Misakosi*.

<sup>40</sup> *Vijapi* might be derived from *Vijayin* by the double change of *y* to *v* and of *v* to *p*. Regarding the first change, see Dr. Kuhn's *Pâli-Grammatik*, p. 42 f. and *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 99, note 1, where *Bhaddivaniya* (p. 109, text line 10) might be added. Instances of the second change (Kuhn, l. c. p. 45) are *Erapata* for *Airdvata* (Nos. 59 and 60), *Kupîra* for *Kuvêra* (No. 92), *bhagapato* for *bhagavata* (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 557, No. 32) and *pârdpata* for *pârdvata* (*Jâtaka* No. 42).



No. 57 (liv. 39; Hoernle's No. 10 a).

Bhagavato dhamachakam.  
The *dharmachakra* of the Blessed one.

No. 58 (liv. 40; Hoernle's No. 10 b).

1 Rājā Pasenaji  
2 Kosalo.  
King **Prasēnajit** the **Kōsala**.

No. 59 (liv. 41; Hoernle's No. 16 b).

Erapato [Nā]garajā.  
**Airāvata**,<sup>41</sup> the king of serpents.

No. 60 (liv. 42; Hoernle's No. 16 a).

1 Erapato Nāgarajā  
2 Bhagavato vadate.  
**Airāvata**, the king of serpents, worships the Blessed one.

No. 61 (liv. 43; Hoernle's No. 20).

Bahubathiko.  
(The banyan tree) **Bahuhastika**.<sup>42</sup>

No. 62 (liv. 44; Hoernle's No. 19 a).

1 Bahuhathiko nigodho  
2 Naḍode.  
The banyan tree **Bahuhastika** on (Mount) **Naḍōda**.<sup>43</sup>

No. 63 (liv. 45; Hoernle's No. 19 b).

1 Susupālo Koḍāyo<sup>44</sup>  
2 Veḍuko a-  
3 rāmako.  
**Sisupāla** the **Kōḍiya**. The gardener **Vēṇuka**.<sup>45</sup>

No. 64 (liv. 48, 49).

1 Chekulana-Saghamitasa thabho dānam  
2 bhagavato Kasapasa bodhi.  
A pillar, (representing) the *bōdhi* (tree) of the blessed **Kāsyapa**, the gift of **Samghamitra** from **Chikulana**.<sup>46</sup>

No. 65 (liv. 50).

Nāgaye bhichhuniye dānam.  
The gift of the nun **Nāgā**.

No. 66 (liv. 51).

Bhadānta-Valakasa bhanakasa dāna thabho.  
A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Valaka**, a preacher.

No. 67 (liv. 52).

1 Karahakaṭa  
2 aya-Bhutaḥakasa thabho dānam.  
A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Bhūṭaka** (from) **Karahakaṭa**.

<sup>41</sup> The *Chullavajja* (v. 6) uses the form *Ērāpatha*, which has been wrongly Sanskritised by *Ēlāpatra*; see Dr. Kern's *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. II. p. 234, note 3. The usual form *Ērāvata* is derived from the Sanskrit *Airāvata*, a vicarious form of *Airāvata*.

<sup>42</sup> *Bahav' hastin' yatra saḥ*, 'where many elephants (are worshipping)'; see the corresponding relief on Plate xv. of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*.

<sup>43</sup> Compare Nos. 18, 19, and *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Plate liv. where two identical inscriptions (Nos. 70 and 79) appear to read:—*Naḍōda-pāde Chenachhako*, "at the foot of (Mount) *Naḍōda* . . . ."

<sup>44</sup> Probably *Koḍiyo* must be read; see p. 229, note 29, and compare No. 58, where the name of the country or tribe (Kosalo) likewise follows the name of the king (Pasenaji).

<sup>45</sup> See No. 18.

<sup>46</sup> *Chekulana* is synonymous with *Chikulaniya* in No. 88.



No. 68 (liv. 54).

Tikoṭiko chakamo.

The enclosure (called) **Trikōṭika**.<sup>47</sup>

No. 69 (liv. 55).

Bhadata-Matilasa thabho dānaṃ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Mahila**.

No. 70 (liv. 56).

**Karahaka**[ā] Samikasa dāna thabho.A pillar, the gift of **Syamaka** from **Karahaka**.

No. 71 (liv. 57).

Bhadata-Samakasa thabho dānaṃ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Syamaka**.

No. 72 (liv. 58).

Yavamajhakiyaṃ jātakaṃ.

The *jātaka* (which treats) of the *yavamadhya*.<sup>48</sup>

No. 73 (liv. 59).

Sirimā devata.

The goddess **Śrīmattī**.

No. 74 (liv. 60).

Suchilomo Yakho.

The *Yaksha* **Suchilōma**.

No. 75 (liv. 61).

1 . . . . . to bhikhuniyā thabho

2 dānaṃ.

A pillar, the gift of the nun . . . . .

No. 76 (liv. 62; Hoernle's No. 24).

Bhadatasa aya-Ispālitasa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānaṃ.

The gift of the lord, the reverend **Rishipālita**, a preacher, who superintends the building-operations.<sup>49</sup>

No. 77 (liv. 63; Hoernle's No. 22).

Ajātasata Bhagavato vaṃdate.

Ajātasatru worships the Blessed one.

No. 78 (liv. 64; Hoernle's No. 25 a).

1 Sudhanimā devasabhā

2 Bhagavato chūḍāmaho.

**Sudharmā**, the hall of the gods. The festival (in honour) of the hair-lock of the Blessed one.

No. 79 (liv. 65; Hoernle's No. 25 b).

1 Vejayaṃto pā-

2 sādē.<sup>50</sup>**Vajayanta**, the palace (of Indra).

No. 80 (liv. 66; Hoernle's No. 23).

**Mahāsāmāyikāya** Arāhaguto devaputo vokato Bhagavato<sup>51</sup> sāsaṇi paṭisaṃdhi.The angel **Arhadgupta**,<sup>52</sup> having descended, announces to the great assembly the (future) conception of the Blessed one.<sup>47</sup> *Tierak kṛtayaṣa yasya saḥ*, 'triangular'; see the corresponding relief on Plate xviii. of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*.<sup>48</sup> This is the name of a kind of *chāndrāyāsa*.<sup>49</sup> On *navakammika* see *Vinaya Texts*, Part III. pp. 189 ff. and compare *navakamaṇa* in an *Amarāvati* inscription (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 346, No. 53) and *kumantika*, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 334.<sup>50</sup> Probably a clerical mistake for *pāsādo*.<sup>51</sup> to looks almost like tā. Read *sāsaṇi*.<sup>52</sup> The name *Arāhaguta devaputa* is also contained in a fragmentary inscription on Plate lvi. No. 3, of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*.



No. 81 (liv. 67, 68).

1 Moragirimha Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṃ thabhā

2 bhagavato Vipasino bodhi.

Pillars, (representing) the *bōdhi* (tree) of the blessed *Vipasyin*, the gift of the nun *Nāgilā*<sup>53</sup> from *Mayūragiri*.<sup>54</sup>

No. 82 (liv. 69).

.Vedisā Phagadevasa dānaṃ.

The gift of *Phalgudēva* from *Vaidisa*.

No. 83 (liv. 71).

Purikāya dāyakana dānaṃ.

The gift of donors from *Purika*.<sup>55</sup>

No. 84 (liv. 72).

Bhagavato Kakusadhasa bodhi.

The *bōdhi* (tree) of the blessed *Kakutsamdhā*.

No. 85 (liv. 73, 74).

1 Vedisā Anurādhāya dānaṃ

2 Chhadamtiya jātakam.

The *jātaka* (which treats) of the *Shadlanta* (elephant), the gift of *Anurādhā* from *Vaidisa*.

No. 86 (liv. 75; Hoernle's No. 26).

Vitura-Punakiya jātakam.

The *jātaka* (which treats) of *Vidhura* and *Pūrpaka*.

No. 87 (liv. 76).

Bramhadevo mānavako.

The youth *Brahmadēva*.

No. 88 (liv. 77).

Bhadata-Kanakasa bhanakasa thabho dānaṃ Chikulaniyasa.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend *Kanaka*, a preacher, from *Chikulana*.

No. 89 (liv. 78).

Yakhini Sudasana.

The *Yakhini* *Sudarsanā*.

No. 90 (lv. 80).

1 Bhadata-Budharakhitasa sa[tu]padā[na]-

2 sa dānaṃ thabho.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend *Buddharakhita*, who is versed in the sciences (?).

No. 91 (lv. 81).

Chadā Yakhi.

The *Yakshī* *Chandrā*.

No. 92 (lv. 82).

Kupiro Yakho.

The *Yaksha* *Kuvēra*.

No. 93 (lv. 83).

Ajakālako Yakho.

The *Yaksha* *Ādyakālaka*.

<sup>53</sup> Regarding the formation of this name, see Pāṇini, v. 3, 84, and *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 551, No. 5, note 2. Compare further Ghātīla (No. 138), Mahila (No. 69), Saghila (No. 123) and Yakhila (No. 126).

<sup>54</sup> With *Mayūragiri* compare *Mayūraparvata*, a locality which is referred to in a quotation of the *Charana*. *Yāgyavalkya*; see Dr. Bühler's translation of *Āpastamba*, p. xxxi note, and Dr. von Schroeder's *Maitrayani Sāhitya*, p. xxiv.

<sup>55</sup> The same place is mentioned in Nos. 117 to 119. On a town of this name, which is referred to in the great epic, see Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, s. v. At the time of the Śilāhāras, Puri was the capital of the Kōṅkan; ante, Vol. XIII. p. 134. Another Puri in Orissa is well-known by its shrine of Jagannātha; ante, Vol. XX. p. 390.



No. 94 (lv. 84).

Moragirimhā Pasāyā dānam thabbā.

Pillars, the gift of Pushyā from Mayūragiri.

No. 95 (lv. 85).

1 Aya-Chulasa Sutamtikasa Bhogavaḍha-

2 niyasa dānam.

The gift of the reverend Kshudra, who is versed in the *Sūtrānta*,<sup>56</sup> from Bhōga-vardhana.<sup>57</sup>

No. 96 (lv. 86).

Moragirimhā Thupadāsasa dānam thabbā.

Pillars, the gift of Stūpadāsa from Mayūragiri.

No. 97 (lv. 88).

1 Maharasa amtevāsino aya-Sāma-

2 kasa thabbho dānam.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend Syāmaka, the disciple of Mahara.

No. 98 (lv. 89).

Bhagavato okramti.<sup>58</sup>

The descent of the Blessed one.

No. 99 (lv. 92).

Idasāla-guha.

The Indrasāla cave.

No. 100 (lv. 2).

Pāṭaliputā Kodiyāniyā Sakaṭadevāyā dānam.

The gift of Sakaṭadēva, a Kōḍiyāni, from Pāṭaliputra.

No. 101 (lv. 3).

Kākāṁḍiya Somaṇi bhikkhuniyā dānam.

The gift of the nun Sōmā from Kākāṁḍi.<sup>59</sup>

No. 102 (lv. 4).

Pāṭaliputā Mahādasenasa dānam.

The gift of Mahāndrasēna from Pāṭaliputra.

No. 103 (lv. 5).

Chudāḥḥlikāyā Nāgadevāyā bhikkhuniyā<sup>60</sup> [dānam].

The gift of the nun Nāgadēva from Chudāḥḥla.

No. 104 (lv. 6).

Chudāḥḥlikāyā Kuṇḍarāyā dānam.

The gift of Kuṇḍarā from Chudāḥḥla.

No. 105 (lv. 7).

Dha[m]maguta-matu Pusadevaya dānam.

The gift of Pushyadēva, the mother of Dharmagupta.

No. 106 (lv. 8).

[U]jjhikāye dāna.

The gift of Ujjhikā.

No. 107 (lv. 9).

[Dha]marakhitaya dāna suchi.

A rail, the gift of Dharmarakshita.

<sup>56</sup> On *Suttantika*, see *Vinaya Texts*, Part I. p. xxx. and on the school of the *Sautrāntikas*, Dr. Kern's *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. II. p. 504.<sup>57</sup> The same place is repeatedly mentioned in the Sāśhi inscriptions.<sup>58</sup> The first letter of this word looks like *ś*, which is phonetically impossible.<sup>59</sup> Kākāṁḍi is mentioned in the *Paṭṭaculī* of the *Kharataraṅgachhā*; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 247.<sup>60</sup> Read *bhikkhuniyā*.



Atimutasa dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Atimukta</b> .	No. 108 (lv. 10).
Laṭuvā-jātaka. The <i>laṭvā jātika</i> .	No. 109 (lv. 11).
Nadutaraya dāna suchi. A rail, the gift of <b>Nandōttarā</b> .	No. 110 (lv. 12).
[Mu]ḍasa dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Muḍa</b> .	No. 111 (lv. 13).
Isānasa dāna. The gift of <b>Isāṇa</b> .	No. 112 (lv. 14).
Isidatasa dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Ṛishidatta</b> .	No. 113 (lv. 15).
Aya-Punāvasuno suchi dānaṃ. A rail, the gift of the reverend <b>Punarvasu</b> .	No. 114 (lv. 16).
Devarakhitasa dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Dēvarakshita</b> .	No. 115 (lv. 19).
Vedisāto Bhutarakhitasa dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Bhūtarakshita</b> from <b>Vaidiṣa</b> .	No. 116 (lv. 20).
Purikayā Idadevāya dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Indradēva</b> from <b>Purikā</b> .	No. 117 (lvi. 22).
Purikāyā Setāka-mātu dānaṃ. The gift of the mother of <b>Śrēshṭhaka</b> , <sup>61</sup> from <b>Purikā</b> .	No. 118 (lvi. 23).
Purikāyā Sāmāya dānaṃ. The gift of <b>Syāmā</b> from <b>Purikā</b> .	No. 119 (lvi. 24).
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Bhutaye bhichhuniye dānaṃ. The gift of the nun <b>Bhūtā</b> .	No. 121 (lvi. 26).
Aya-Apikinakasa dānaṃ. The gift of the reverend <b>Apikinaka</b> . <sup>62</sup>	No. 122 (lvi. 27).
Saghilasa dāna suchi. A rail, the gift of <b>Samghila</b> .	No. 123 (lvi. 28).

<sup>61</sup> Regarding the loss of the aspiration, see Dr. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 41, and compare **Asaḍā** for **Aśāḍhā** (No. 9), **Virūḍhaka** for **Virūḍhaka** (No. 43), and **Vitura** for **Vidhura** (No. 86).

<sup>62</sup> Compare **Amipikipaka** in a **Bhājā** inscription; *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV, p. 82, No. 3.



No. 124 (lvi. 29).

Sagharakhitasa mātāpituna athāyā dānaṃ.

The gift of Samgharakshita for the benefit of (his) mother and father.

No. 125 (lvi. 30).

Dhutasa suchi dāna.<sup>63</sup>

A rail, the gift of Dhūrta.

No. 126 (lvi. 31).

Yakhilasa suchi dāna.

A rail, the gift of Yakshila.

No. 127 (lvi. 32).

Mitasa suchi dānaṃ.

A rail, the gift of Mitra.

No. 128 (lvi. 33).

Isirakhitasa dānaṃ.

The gift of Rishirakshita.

No. 129 (lvi. 34).

Sirimasa dānaṃ.

The gift of Srimat.

No. 130 (lvi. 35).

Bhadata-Devasenasa dānaṃ.<sup>64</sup>

The gift of the reverend Dēvasēna.

No. 131 (lvi. 36).

. . . . kaya bhichhuniya dānaṃ.

The gift of the nun . . . .

No. 132 (lvi. 37).

N[am]d[i]nagarikaya Idadevāya dānaṃ.

The gift of Indradēvā from Nandinagara.<sup>65</sup>

No. 133 (lvi. 40).

Jeṭhabhadrassa dānaṃ.

The gift of Jyēshṭhabhadra.

No. 134 (lvi. 41).

Aya-Jātasa Petakino suchi dānaṃ.

A rail, the gift of the reverend Jāta, who is versed in the *Piṭakas*.

No. 135 (lvi. 42).

Budharakhitasa rupakārakasa dānaṃ.

The gift of the sculptor Buddharakshita.

No. 136 (lvi. 43).

Bhadata-Samikasa Therāk[ū]ṭiyasa dānaṃ.

The gift of the reverend Syāmaka from Sthavirākūṭa.

No. 137 (lvi. 44).

Sirisapada Isirakhitāya dānaṃ.

The gift of Rishirakshitā (from) Sirishapadra.<sup>66</sup><sup>63</sup> *dāna* is used as a masculine!<sup>64</sup> The *ḍ* probably represents a dimmed (*anahrita*) pronunciation of the vowel *ā*.<sup>65</sup> A place of this name is mentioned in several Sāśhi inscriptions.<sup>66</sup> A village called Sirishapadraka is mentioned in two inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty; *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88. Similar names are Sāmalipada (Sālmallipadra) in a Nāsik inscription (*Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 111) and Vaṭapadra, the modern Baroda (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 124, note 85).



No. 138 (lvi. 45).

Moragirimā<sup>67</sup> Ghāṭila-matu dānaṁ.The gift of the mother of **Ghāṭila**, from **Mayūragiri**.

No. 139 (lvi. 47).

Samidatāya dānaṁ.

The gift of **Svāmidattā**.

No. 140 (lvi. 48).

Chulanasa dānaṁ.

The gift of **Chullana**.<sup>68</sup>

No. 141 (lvi. 49).

Avisanasa dānaṁ.

The gift of **Avishanna**.<sup>69</sup>

No. 142 (lvi. 50).

[A]visanasa dānaṁ.

The gift of **Avishanna**.

No. 143 (lvi. 51).

Saṁghamitasa bodhichakasa dānaṁ.

The gift of a *bōdhichakera* by **Saṁghamitra**.

No. 144 (lvi. 52).

Budharakhitasa Pachanekāyikasa dānaṁ.

The gift of **Buddharakshita**, who is versed in the five *Nikāyas*.<sup>70</sup>

No. 145 (lvi. 53).

Isirakhitasa<sup>71</sup> suchi dānaṁ.A rail, the gift of **Rishirakshita**.

No. 146 (lvi. 55).

Phagudevāye bhichhuniye dānaṁ.

The gift of the nun **Phalgudēva**.

No. 147 (lvi. 56).

Koḍāya Yakhīyā dānaṁ.

The gift of a *Yakhī* by **Krōḍā**.<sup>72</sup>

No. 148 (lvi. 57).

Ghosāye dānaṁ.

The gift of **Ghōshā**.

No. 149 (lvi. 59).

Seriya putasa Bhāranidevasa dānaṁ.

The gift of **Bharanidēva**, the son of **Sri**.

No. 150 (lvi. 60).

Mitadevāye dānaṁ.

The gift of **Mitradēva**.No. 151.<sup>73</sup>

Isānasa dāna.

The gift of **Isāna**.

<sup>67</sup> *Moragirimā* is either a clerical mistake for *Moragirimhā*, or stands for the assimilated form *Moragirimā*. Compare *vaichitāmmi* for *vaichitāmmi*, and *pannikā* for *pārāṇikā* in the *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 287 and 445.

<sup>68</sup> This word is derived from *chulla* (Sanskrit *chudra*). Compare *Dhamanaka*, *Nākapaka*, *Pusapaka*, *Rāmapaka*, *Usabhapaka* and *Vasulapaka* in the cave inscriptions.

<sup>69</sup> Compare *Avisinā* in two *Sāśchi* inscriptions.

<sup>70</sup> See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *nekkyiko*.

<sup>71</sup> *Isa* looks like *tāsa*.

<sup>72</sup> Compare *Koḍi* in a *Kārlī* inscription (*Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV, p. 91, No. 16) and *Koḍa* in a *Sopārā* inscription (Dr. Bh. Indrajī's *Sopārā and Padana*, p. 18). The word *dānaṁ* governs both a subjective and an objective genitive, as in No. 143; see *Pāṇini*, ii. 3, 65.

<sup>73</sup> On the same rail as the identical inscription No. 112, but in more modern characters.



No. 152.<sup>74</sup>

Bo[dhigu]tasa dānaṃ.  
The gift of Bōdhigupta.

No. 153.<sup>75</sup>

..... Himavate i .....

No. 154.<sup>76</sup>

..... [m]ika[sa dānaṃ].

No. 155 (xxv. 4; lv. 94).<sup>77</sup>

M[u]ga[pa]k[i]y[a] j[ā]ta[ka].

The *jātaka* (which treats) of the cooking of beans (?).

No. 156 (xxvi. 7).

Isis[iṅgiya jā]ta[ka].

The *jātaka* (which treats) of Rīsyasṛiṅga.

No. 157 (xxvi. 8; lv. 97).

Yaṃ bram[h]ano avayesi jatakaṃ.

The *jātaka* (entitled) "yaṃ brāhmaṇo avādēsi."

No. 158 (xxvii. 11; liii. 11).

Haṃsa-jātaka.

The swan *jātaka*.

No. 159 (lvi. 66).

Tirami timigila-kuchhimha Vasuguto māchito Mahadevānaṃ.<sup>78</sup>

Vasugupta is rescued from the belly of the sea-monster (and brought) on shore by Mahādēva.<sup>79</sup>

No. 160 (lvi. 19).

1 [Ba]huhathika āsana

2- [bhaga]vato Mahādevasa.

The seat of the blessed Mahādēva (under the banyan tree) Bahuhastika.<sup>80</sup>

PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT INDEX.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> On rail 8, Plate xxxviii. No. 3; much injured.

<sup>75</sup> On rail 12, Plate xxiv. No. 3.

<sup>76</sup> On pillar 28, Plate xix.

<sup>77</sup> Nos. 155 to 160, the originals of which were not removed to Calcutta, are transcribed from General Cunningham's photographs and eye-copies in his *Stūpa of Bharhut*.

<sup>78</sup> Read *Tirami timigila-kuchhimha Vasuguto mochito Mahadevena*.

<sup>79</sup> See the corresponding relief on Plate xxiv. No. 2, of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*. Mahādēva probably refers to the Mahāsatta or Bōdhisatta; compare No. 160.

<sup>80</sup> See p. 232, note 42.

<sup>81</sup> Arabic figures refer to the Nos. of the inscriptions, Roman figures to the Plates of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*.



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## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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

(Continued from page 210).

## PART II.

## MIXED SANSKRIT AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.

It is in the monuments of the last Kshaharāta, Nahapāna, and in those of the first Andhrabhṛityas that we find the knot of the questions with which we are concerned. According to my opinion, these monuments are dated with certainty. Even for those who may not share my opinion, they are not one whit of less capital importance. A difference of 50 or 100 years is, in this matter, of small consequence, and, at any rate, there can be no dispute about one point, *viz.*, that all these texts are to all intents and purposes contemporaneous. Nevertheless, from the point of view of language, they present characteristic differences.

At Nāsik, Kārli, and Junnar, seven inscriptions<sup>51</sup> of the reign of Nahapāna have been brought to notice. Not only do they all belong to the same time, but also, with the exception of the last, they all emanate from the same person, Usavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna. Of these inscriptions, one, No. 5 at Nāsik, appears at the first glance to be couched in grammatical Sanskrit, spelled according to classical rules. But, on closer examination, we observe more than one irregularity, the transgression of certain rules of Saṁdhi, Prākṛitizing methods of spelling,<sup>52</sup> such as *dvātrīsatnāligēra*<sup>2</sup>, *lēnaṁ*, *pādhiyō*, *bhaṭṭārkanātiya*<sup>2</sup>, *varshāratuṁ*, *utamabhadraṁ*, &c. These irregularities, which are very rare at the commencement, multiply towards the end of the inscription. Another (Nāsik 6 A) is, on the other hand, entirely Prākṛit in its terminations; homogeneous consonants are not doubled; *r* is retained after a consonant (*kshatrapa*), but assimilated where it precedes (*sapa*); it distinguishes three sibilants, but, by the side of *śata*, we read *sata*, and even *panarasa* for *pañchadaśa*; by the side of the ordinary assimilations of Prākṛit, the group *ksha* is retained unchanged, and we find *nētyaka* equivalent to the Sanskrit *naiṭyaka*. It is hardly otherwise with No. 7 of Nāsik. It contains both *kubana* and *kisana*, *śrēṇṣu* beside *Ushavadāta*,<sup>53</sup> *kārshāpaṇa* and *kāhāpaṇa*, *sata* and *śata*, all which does not prevent its using the vowel *ri* in *krīta*.

In another inscription, No. 19 of Kārli, pure Prākṛit reigns supreme, except in the orthographies *brāhmaṇa* and *bhāryā*. The fact is the more striking because the formula employed is the exact counterpart of the Sanskrit formula of the monument first referred to. The case is the same at Nāsik, in Nos. 8-9, save for the orthographies *putra*, *kshatrapa*, and *kshaharāta*, by the side of *Dakhamitā* (equivalent to *Dakshamitrā*). Finally, in No. 11 of Junnar, the *ksha* gives way to *kh*, which, nevertheless, does not prevent them from writing *amātya* and not *amacha*, by the side of *sāmi* for *svāmi*, and even of *maṭapa* for *maṇḍapa*. I cannot dispense with again referring to No. 10 of Nāsik which, although we are unable to fix its date with precision, is undoubtedly contemporaneous. This time, the terminations, the genitive masculine in *asya*, have the appearance of Sanskrit; but we also find the genitive *-varmanaḥ*, side by side with *varmasya*; as a general rule the orthography is Sanskrit, but, nevertheless, we read in it *gimhapakhē*, *chōthē* (= *chaturthē*), *vishṇulatāyā*, *gilānābhēshaja*. This is the exact reverse of the preceding inscriptions, which write *kshatrapa*, and have the genitive in *asa*.

This capricious and unequal mixture of classical and popular forms is no new thing. In the literature of the Northern Buddhists, it has a name. It is the 'Gāthā dialect.' Nowadays, that this same mode of writing has been found not only in prose religious

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. IV. pp. 99 and ff.<sup>52</sup> Hoernle, Ind. Ant. 1883, pp. 27 and ff.<sup>53</sup> *Ushavadāta* itself could easily contain an instance of confusion between the sibilants. The *s*, which is almost constant, does not appear to me to lend itself to the transcription *śishabhadatta* of Dr. Bühler. It is, unless I am mistaken, *Utsavadatta*, which we should understand.



treatises, but also in lay<sup>54</sup> works, and that we meet it in the texts of inscriptions, this terminology has become both inaccurate and inconvenient. I propose to substitute the term 'Mixed Sanskrit,' a name which will, I hope, be justified by the observations which follow.

The same caves preserve the memory of the Andhrabhṛityas who were contemporary with or the immediate successors of Nahapāna, — Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and his descendants.<sup>55</sup> In general (Nāsik, 11 A, 11 B, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22; Kārli, 20, 21; Kaṇhēri, 4, 14, 15) the inscriptions are couched in pure Prākṛit, though not without certain inconsistencies in detail (svāmi beside °śāmiyēhi, Nās. 11 A, 15); Pulumāyi (Nās. 13, beside Pulumāvi, Nās. 15, and Pulumāi, Nās. 12, &c.). This means that assimilation occurs everywhere, though the consonants are never written double. This does not, however, prevent us from finding at Kārli (No. 22), a donation of the reign of Vāsiṭhīputa Pulumāyi, which has *siddhaṇ*, according to the classical method; which, beside numerous genitives in *asa*, writes *puttasya*, *sōvasakasya*, *vāthavasya*, and, beside *niṣhitō*, *hitasughasth(i)ṭayē*. It thus unites in the same word forms which were already no longer found in the inscriptions of Piyadasi, and others which are still rare in the 2nd century of our era, to which epoch they belong! On the other hand, at Kaṇhēri (No. 11)<sup>56</sup>, a dedication of the reign of Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakaṇi, the son-in-law of the Satrap Rudradāman, is couched in pure Sanskrit, save for one single irregularity: *Sātakarnīya*.

Are these facts, I will not say isolated, but circumscribed in a narrow region? Quite the contrary. It is sufficient for conviction to cast the eye over the monuments of the Turushka kings, Kanishka and his dynasty, monuments which are either exactly contemporary with those to which we have just referred, or of very little earlier date. The inscription of Suē Vihar<sup>57</sup> is dated the 11th year of Kanishka. It may be said to be couched in Sanskrit, but in a Sanskrit seriously disfigured by spellings like *bhichhusya*, *aṭhavi(ṇ)ṣē*, *nagadatasya*, *saṅkhakafisya(?)*, *yaṭhiṇ*, *yaṭhipratīṭhanam*, &c. In the 18th year of the same reign, the stone of Manikyāla,<sup>58</sup> however imperfectly we may understand it, allows us clearly to recognise, side by side with the retention of the three sibilants and of groups containing an *r*, a number of Prākṛit forms, such as °*budhisa*, the termination *aē*, *maharajasa*, *vēspaśisa*, *chhatrapasa*, &c. Mathurā possesses, from the year 28,<sup>59</sup> a fragment of correct Sanskrit. So also for the time of Huvishka. At Mathurā (Growse, 2, 11; Dowson, 1, 2, 5, 7) the language of the dedications is classical; yet they present the genitive *bhikshusya*, and the phrase *asya* (or *śtasya*) *pūrvāyē*. On the Wardak vase, in the year 51, appear forms so much altered as *thuvamhi* (= *stūpē*), *bhagaē*, *arōgadachhinaē*, to speak only of those which are certain. The date of the inscription of Taxila is not fixed with certainty, but I do not think that any one can consider it as more modern than those to which I have just referred; and the name *Chhaharāta*, which I think I have identified at the end of the first line seems to assign it a place in about the same epoch, or in an epoch slightly earlier. Here, excepting the sibilants and a few groups (*chhatrapa*, *bhratara*, *vardhita*, *sarva*, *samvatsara*), everything is Prākṛit, the genitive in *asa*, the assimilation in *aṭha*, *takhaśila*, *pratīṭhapita*, &c., and mixed up with very debased forms such as the locative *samvatsarayē*, and the dative *puyāē*.

It is necessary to complete this review, by noting that it is towards the end of the period of which we are treating, towards the year 75 or 80 of the Śāka era, i.e. 155 to 160 A. D., that we find the first known inscription in perfectly correct Sanskrit, — the inscription of the

<sup>54</sup> The Bashkhali Manuscript, which has been published by Dr. Hoernle.

<sup>55</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* pp. 104 and ff.

<sup>56</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* V. p. 78.

<sup>57</sup> Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* X. 324 and ff. Paplit Bhagwanlal Indrajī has submitted this document to an independent revision (*Ind. Ant.* 1882, p. 129), in which he has frequently come to conclusions different from those of Dr. Hoernle. In cases of divergency, except in certain doubtful passages in which the truth appears to me to be still undiscovered, I consider that it is Dr. Hoernle who is right.

<sup>58</sup> Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* XX. p. 230.

<sup>59</sup> Growse, *Ind. Ant.* 1877, pp. 216 and ff. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S. V. 182 and ff. (after Cunningham).



Satrap king Budradāman, at Girnar.<sup>60</sup> The inscription of Jasdhan, dated 127, and consequently 50 years later, emanating from the grandson of Rudradāman, only returns to the mistakes of Mixed Sanskrit in a few details.<sup>61</sup>

**What is precisely this Mixed Sanskrit?**

Various attempts have been made to explain its existence and its peculiarities. It has been held to be a dialect intermediate between the ancient period of Sanskrit and the more modern period of the Prākṛits; — a sort of jargon created by ignorance or, if it is preferred, by incomplete knowledge on the part of the people, their ambition being incommensurate with their powers, who wished to give themselves the honour of writing in the literary language, without possessing a sufficient acquaintance with it (Burnouf); — the special dialect of bards, who appear to have taken a middle course between the popular speech and the learned language, in order to make themselves intelligible, without too great derogation, to their audience (Rajendralāla Mitra).

Neither of these explanations, taken alone and in the exact meaning which was intended by its author, can be reconciled with facts as they are known to us at the present day.

The conjecture of Burnouf was an excellent explanation, when he seemed to be dealing with only a few stanzas lost in a vast literature. We can no longer attribute to the pedantry of an editor or of a clumsy scribe a language which is employed on a vast scale, and applied to royal inscriptions, and we are unable to explain by a vulgar ignorance a mixture, which rather appears to bear witness to an extensive acquaintance with the literary language.

It is no more possible to represent, as a special poetical language, a dialect which is fluently used in the inscriptions, and which is employed in lengthy prose works and even in didactic treatises.

As for seeing in Mixed Sanskrit the direct expression of the current language at a certain period of its development, the theory hardly deserves the trouble of refutation. A dialect so void of all stability, at one moment closely resembling classical Sanskrit, and at another very different from it, a dialect which brings together, in complete confusion and in arbitrary proportions, phonetic phenomena which belong to most unequal degrees of linguistic development, could never be a faithful echo of the popular language at any epoch whatever. Mixed Sanskrit is, neither in its grammar nor in its phonetics, intermediate between Sanskrit and the Prākṛits; it constitutes an incoherent mixture of forms purely Sanskrit and of forms purely Prākṛit, which is an altogether different thing.

Mixed Sanskrit has, moreover, a history. In the chronological series of monuments which it is represented, far from shewing signs of gradually increasing phonetic decay, it continues to approach more and more nearly to classical orthography and to classical forms. In the inscriptions of Mathurā, the remnants of Prākṛit orthography are so rare, that the general appearance as a whole is that of pure Sanskrit.<sup>62</sup>

This observation comes to our assistance in answering the question which we have before us. It is not sufficient to know what Mixed Sanskrit is not. We must determine what it is.

Towards the end of the 2nd century, we find upon the monuments three dialects which, in their phonetic condition, appear to correspond to different ages of the physiological development of the language: Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit, and Prākṛit. All three are destined in the future to continue concurrently in literature. Here we find them used side by side, at the same time, and at the same places. It is inadmissible to suppose that they represent contemporary states of the vulgar tongue; at most, that could be represented only by the most corrupted of the three dialects, the Prākṛit. As for Mixed Sanskrit, like

<sup>60</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* III. p. 128.

<sup>61</sup> Hoernle, *Ind. Anl.* 1883, p. 32.

<sup>62</sup> This gradation becomes still more evident if, as we ought to do, we take as our point of departure the inscriptions of Piyadasi at Girnar and at Kapur di Giri.



regular Sanskrit itself, it cannot be anything other than a special literary language, or, more exactly, a special literary orthography. In itself, it is no more surprising to find side by side two literary idioms like Sanskrit and Mixed Sanskrit than to find the parallel use of the various Prākṛit dialects which were established for religious or poetic usage. From the facts proved for the time of Piyadasi, we are prepared to see a double orthographical current establish itself, one more near to the popular pronunciation, and the other approaching, and tending to approach more and more nearly, etymological forms. In the hundred and fifty or two hundred years which separate our edicts from the most ancient monuments of Mixed Sanskrit properly so-called, these tendencies, which we have grasped in their rudimentary state, have had time to become accentuated, and to develop in the strict logical sequence of their principles. As it appears to us in the most recent monuments, **Mixed Sanskrit** is so nearly the same as Sanskrit, that it seems impossible to separate the history of one dialect from that of the other. What is the relationship which unites the two?

From the time when Sanskrit first appears, we find it in a definite form. Neither in grammar nor in its orthography do we find any feeling the way, any development, any progress. It leaps ready armed from its cradle. As it was at the first day, so it has remained to the end. **Mixed Sanskrit** is altogether different. Uncertain in its orthographical methods, without any absolute system or stability, it appears to us, from Kapur di Giri to Mathurā, progressing, in spite of many hesitations, in spite of many minor inconsistencies, in one continuous general direction. At Kapur di Giri the language is entirely Prākṛit, but several consonantal groups are preserved without assimilation. In the inscription of Dhanabhūti at Mathurā,<sup>63</sup> the terminations are Prākṛit, but spellings like *vātsīputra*, *ratnagriha* approach the classical standard. At Sūē Vihar, even the terminations take the learned spelling; *asya* and not *asa*; only a few irregularities connect the language with Prākṛit. In the caves we have seen that some inscriptions have side by side the genitive in *asya* and that in *asa*. These examples will suffice.

Besides these characteristics, two important facts, which mark their true significance, deserve mention.

In the north, the first inscriptions written in Sanskrit, or at least so nearly Sanskrit that they bear witness to its diffusion, are those of Mathurā, and date from the reign of Kanishka. Shortly after this period we find no further examples of monumental Mixed Sanskrit. In the west, the son-in-law of Rudradāman inaugurates the use of Sanskrit with the inscription of Kanḥēri; from the end of the second century, the use of Mixed Sanskrit is, in the west, banished from the inscriptions. In a word, the introduction of regular Sanskrit marks the disuse of Mixed Sanskrit. That is the first fact.

The second is of another nature. All texts in Mixed Sanskrit, both in the north and in the west, preserve uniformly one very characteristic peculiarity, which we have already noticed in the spelling of Piyadasi. They never write as double, identical or homogeneous consonants, which are really doubles either by origin or by assimilation. This trait only disappeared at the precise moment when Mixed Sanskrit ceased to be used. In the north, the first inscriptions which double these consonants are those of Mathurā, which are almost entirely couched in regular Sanskrit. The practice was certainly a new one, for the other inscriptions of the reign of Kanishka, even those which, as at Sūē Vihar, approach most nearly the learned orthography, do not adopt it. It is quite true that they are

<sup>63</sup> *Bharhut Stūpa*, pl. LIII. 4. The transcription proposed by General Cunningham requires corrections. We should read,—

Kaḥ . . . . . dhana  
bhūtiśa . . . . . vātsī  
putraśa [vādhapā] laśa  
dhanabhūtiśa dānaśa vādikā  
toranāni cha ratanagriha sa  
rabudhapūjāya saha mātāpi  
tihi (?) saha . chatu . pariśāhi



engraved in the Aramæan alphabet of the north-west, while the Indian alphabet is employed at Mathurā; but at Mathurā itself, the inscription of Dhanabhūti, although written in Indian characters, does not observe the practice of doubling any more than they do. This neglect is, therefore, not the peculiarity of one particular mode of writing; it is a general fact down to a certain epoch, which, in the north is marked by the reign of Kanishka. On the west coast, the first inscription in which we find the notation of double consonants is No. 11 of Kaghêri (*Arch. Surv.* V. 85). It is one of the latest of the series, and is certainly not earlier than the end of the 2nd century. The doubling of consonants, therefore, only makes its appearance at the period in which the monuments testify that correct Sanskrit was becoming taken into common use, and the parallel application, in the inscriptions of the time of Kanishka, of the ancient procedure, and of the new method, indicates that we have grasped the precise moment of the evolution.

It is not difficult to come to a conclusion.

Mixed Sanskrit is certainly not a direct copy of literary Sanskrit, attempted at an epoch when the latter had already been established in common use. The progressive march by which it gradually approximated classical forms as well as its feeling its way in matters of detail, would be, under this hypothesis, without any possible explanation. Its tendency towards an etymological and regulated orthography is everywhere visible. If it had had before its eyes a fixed, a definitive model, previously realized by writing and literary practice, it would from the first have imitated it in all its particulars. It would not have waited three centuries before doubling its consonants in writing. As it constantly tended to go as close as possible to the orthographical conditions, of which the learned Sanskrit is the completed perfect type, it would have gone right up to it. From the moment at which real Sanskrit appears, Mixed Sanskrit disappears, and this most naturally; for, in face of real Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit is without reason for existence, its efforts would be without honour, and its shortcomings without excuse. Far, therefore, from being able to pass for an imitation of pre-existing Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit proves, by its very existence, that Literary Sanskrit did not exist, I mean for current use. The date on which the classical language appears in the monuments, coincides with that at which the Mixed Sanskrit ceases to be employed, and marks very exactly the epoch at which the learned language took possession of that empire which was destined never to escape it. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the current of this diffusion may, at least in one direction, be traced by the monuments. Regular Sanskrit can be considered as under process of establishment in the north-west towards the end of the first century of our era. The practice immediately began to spread towards the south. In the second half of the following century, the inscription of Rudradāman presents to our notice, in Gujarāt, the first incontestable monument. It was the influence of the same sovereign which caused it to extend still further, for in an inscription of his daughter it makes its first appearance in the dominions of the Andhrabhṛityas. Until then these princes had only employed a Monumental Prakṛit now and then affecting the appearance of Mixed Sanskrit.

Although Mixed Sanskrit is not a direct imitation of a pre-existing Sanskrit, the close connexion between the two terms is evident. But is, therefore, Mixed Sanskrit the source of Classical Sanskrit? Is it Classical Sanskrit in course of formation? By no means, any more than the converse case is true. The reasons are peremptory.

All the elements from which Sanskrit, in its classical form, has been built up, were pre-existing in the Vedic language. Its system of phonetics, which is that which gives it its special character in comparison with the popular idioms, had long been fixed and analysed for the purpose of religious recitation. In order, therefore, to fix Sanskrit, there was no room for much feeling of the way. So far as there may have been any, it was certainly not of the kind we witness in Mixed Sanskrit. In fixing classical Sanskrit, a regular course would have been followed, instead of the constant alternate progress and retrogression which we find in the mixed variety. We do not find in it side by side the two-fold reflexion, the learned and the



popular, of the same forms. So also, the classical language, being derived directly from the learned and Vedic tradition could have made no delay in noting the duplication of consonants.

It should not, however, be assumed that Literary Sanskrit must have sprung at once from the schools into public life. The necessary grammatical elaboration, even the accommodation of the alphabet to its needs, must have required a greater or less length of time, but the course of its development was certainly not the same as that which the inscriptions allow us to see in the case of Mixed Sanskrit, with its inconsistencies, and its blunders.

While Mixed Sanskrit is neither the reflected imitation nor the source of classical Sanskrit, it is, nevertheless, something of both. If Sanskrit had previously existed in common use, Mixed Sanskrit would never have existed at all; but at the same time, unless Sanskrit had been in existence to serve for its type, the existence of Mixed Sanskrit would have been equally impossible. This paradox is not difficult to solve, if we place before us the very peculiar conditions which have ruled the linguistic development of India.

Sanskrit presents itself to our notice under an aspect calculated to perplex the observer. Literary languages are usually vulgar tongues in current use, which, being applied, at a moment of high intellectual development, to works destined to endure as abiding national monuments, have been through the means of these works crystallised into a shape which becomes the norm for future writers. Not so with Sanskrit. It does not issue directly from the popular idiom. It first appears at an epoch when the vulgar and general tongue had, for centuries, arrived at a much further advanced degree of phonetic and grammatical degeneration. It represents an archaic language preserved at first by oral tradition, and subsequently retouched by the labours of learned men. It is, in a manner, a literary language in the second degree, — a profane language, grafted on a more ancient religious one; or, to state the matter more accurately, it represents the reform of an earlier literary language.

The oral preservation of the Vedic hymns down to an epoch when the language in which they were composed had long ceased to be used by the people, is a cardinal point in the linguistic history of India. A caste had kept guard over the treasure of religious songs. Their importance for ritual assured their conservation to the most minute degree; the necessity of protecting their efficacy together with their material form gave rise to rules of pronunciation. These gradually developed into a phonetic system which was refined even to subtilty, and which prepared the way for the study of grammar properly so-called. The religious bearing of the hymns inspired the zeal necessary for assuring their oral transmission; and the fear of making the privilege common to all, maintained the oral tradition even down to an epoch when it would have been easy to substitute for it preservation by the art of writing.

Whatever may have been the authority of this tradition, the knowledge of writing could not have failed to exercise a sensible action on the future of the language, and this action was the more certain, because the attention already paid to the phonetic questions had the better prepared men's intellects for the application of writing and for the comprehension of the questions of grammar.

Being given this state of things and the introduction of so new and so powerful a factor, we have now to see how affairs actually occurred, and how, on the one hand Classical Sanskrit and on the other hand Mixed Sanskrit were developed.

Sanskrit by its roots which dive deep into the language and the tradition of the Védas, by its regularity founded on earlier phonetic studies, by its most ordinary applications, is essentially a Brāhmanical language.<sup>63</sup> By the manner in which it was constituted and fixed, it is a scholastic language, born and elaborated in restricted and exclusive surroundings.

<sup>63</sup> This character is so marked, that the fact, that such inscriptions as those of Nānāghāt, although entirely devoted to the commemoration of liturgic ceremonies, are couched in Prākṛit, would almost of itself suffice to prove that, at the period to which they must be referred, Sanskrit had not yet expanded into exterior use. At any rate, it furnishes a remarkable confirmation of the conclusions on which I am endeavouring to throw some light.



It is quite otherwise with Mixed Sanskrit. Every application of it which is known to us, whether in monuments or in literature, is, without exception, Buddhistic. The irregularities and inconsistencies of its grammar and of its orthography mark it with an evident character of spontaneity. It is not a dialect which has undergone alterations and after-touches, or which has bowed itself to those precise rules which denote the idea of a really literary language.

From this two-fold point of view, therefore, the contrast between the two dialects is as marked, as, in other respects, their analogies are striking, and such hints are of considerable value to us.

There is little appearance of the every-day use of writing in India much before the time of Aśoka. The inscriptions of Aśoka are certainly the most ancient examples of the art which have hitherto been accessible to us. At this period we know of the existence of an archaic religious language preserved by a privileged caste in memorials, which are surrounded by a traditional reverence, and which, though it has never been written, has still been the object of a certain amount of culture. The Brāhmins, the exclusive depositaries, through the oral tradition, of a religious literature on which their authority was founded, have always shewn themselves little disposed to deprive themselves, by writing, of their monopoly. At that time their disposition must have been the same. On the other hand, it is natural that the habitual study of the Vedic texts and the continuance of their religious avocations should have led them to preserve, or, in a measure, to evolve for their personal use an idiom akin to that of their traditions, and very superior, in its general aspect of preservation, to the contemporary dialects of the common people. The Buddhists must, on the contrary, have been anxious to avail themselves of the art of writing to spread abroad their doctrines. The monuments of Piyadasi bear witness to this, and the vulgar tongues were the necessary instrument of this propaganda.

When people set themselves to the task of fixing, by writing, the current tongue, the religious language, and the experience gained in the efforts devoted to assuring its integrity, cannot fail to have exercised a certain amount of influence. This is exactly what we find in the orthography of the edicts. This influence continued, and gained increased power with time, and explains the continual progress with which, from Kapur di Giri to Sūē Vihar, and from Sūē Vihar to Mathurā, the popular orthography comes nearer and nearer to learned accuracy. At the same time, the practice of writing exercised upon the culture of the religious language a reaction which was none the less certain because it was indirect. People might refuse to write it, but it was impossible that the use of the alphabet should not have acted as a stimulus towards phonetic and grammatical studies. The attempts to fix the orthography of the vulgar tongue must have suggested and urged on the definitive fixation of the more learned language, the idea and general prototype of which must have long been dormant in the Brāhmanical schools. The labour devoted to this must, in its turn, have extended its influence to the vulgar orthography. The Buddhists, as we know, were recruited from the Brāhmanical, as well as from the other castes, and they were, to a certain degree, initiated into its learning. This explains how their orthography, in Mixed Sanskrit, continually tended to approach nearer and nearer that of correct Sanskrit. It followed it from afar, if not step by step, at least in its general direction. It was, without doubt, in this manner the Buddhists who unconsciously determined, partly the final constitution, and certainly the diffusion of Sanskrit. It was they who, little by little, introduced into wider circulation the habits of an orthography which was inspired by the labours and practice of the schoolmen. They followed on that track, though, it is true, with imperfections and shortcomings. By this slow and instinctive revelation, the secrets of the learned so to say, became public. All that remained for the Brahmins to do was to recover their vantage ground on the strength of their superior technical knowledge, to take the initiative again by teaching their learned language in its correctness, and to develop its public use, both official and literary. It was thus that the diffusion of Sanskrit



found itself secured. It suppressed the use of Mixed Sanskrit, after having, nevertheless, been one of its principal factors. Before, however, the latter disappeared from current use and from the monuments, it had already secured a future course for itself as a literary language. The very aspect of the Buddhist dialect "of the Gāthās," so nearly does it approach Classical Sanskrit, proves that it was first settled at a period close to the definitive domination of the latter. In this respect, the tradition which places the arrangement of the Canon of the Northern Buddhists in the time of Kanishka, agrees very well with the conclusions to which we have been led by epigraphy. Not, indeed, that we are to assume that all the works or fragments written in Mixed Sanskrit are necessarily so ancient as that; but that the fixing of this system of orthography and the application to literary use which assured it its survival, must be referred to that epoch, which marks, together with the diffusion of classical Sanskrit into general use, the hour in which Mixed Sanskrit, when on the eve of being absorbed into it, borrowed from it the largest proportion of learned elements.

We thus see how, under the common, but on the one hand direct and on the other indirect, influence of an ancient religious language, there was produced in parallel lines, and not without reciprocal reactions, the two-fold development of Classical and of Mixed Sanskrit. Their final fusion, to the benefit of the classical language marks the hour of its definitive establishment,—of the commencement of an undisputed supremacy which yet endures.

Thus is explained the apparently paradoxical formula within which we found ourselves shut up. The endless chain is broken. Mixed Sanskrit is, to speak exactly, neither a copy nor the source of regular Sanskrit, but is something of both. Classical Sanskrit, without enjoying a public and consecrated existence at the time when the early form of Mixed Sanskrit makes its appearance, nevertheless did exist in the close circle of the schools, in a stage of formation more or less advanced. It will be understood how the Vedic language could, without being written, exercise a profound action, and how the Brāhmins, in spite of their distaste for writing, were led to fix and to put into circulation that great instrument of literary production in India, Sanskrit. This profane language did not compromise the privilege belonging to their religious language, of which they still remained the jealous guardians.

#### MISCELLANEA.

##### NOTES ON THE TRADITIONAL AND MYTHICAL MEN AND BEASTS OF THE MALAGASY.

From the general appearance of the Malagasy, especially of the leading Hova tribe, and from their language, we can easily see that they are of Malay extraction. Their numerals, for instance, up to ten are identical; and it is a curious fact, that in the Malagasy language we find words from almost all of the many different dialects spoken in the Malay islands of the Archipelago. However, in their customs, folklore and religion the Malagasy have, I believe, but little in common with the Malays. I have never heard of any tradition among the natives of Madagascar as to their arrival in the island, and they are entirely unconscious of any relationship to the Malays.<sup>1</sup>

There is, however, a tradition of the arrival of

the Hova tribe in the Province of Imerina, in which are the Highlands they now occupy. These people say that their forefathers came from somewhere unknown, and drove out a race of men called the Vazimba, which, they say, is now extinct, but was a diminutive race, with the head small in proportion to the body. The phrase *Vazimba loka* (Vazimba-headed) is still occasionally used to express anything, such as a nail, that has an unusually small head. But whether the tribe in question is extinct is a matter of doubt. A friend, when exploring an unknown part of western Madagascar, came across people of a distinctly negro type calling themselves Vazimbaz, and having, as aborigines, an hereditary right over the river traffic, albeit in subjection to the Betsiriry tribe of the Sakalavas. They had not, however, as far as he noticed, anything peculiar in the formation of the cranium. I may add, while speak-

<sup>1</sup> They are not in any way a seafaring people, except the Sakalava tribe on the west coast, and this tribe is very much more akin to the Negro type than the Malay.

<sup>2</sup> Stanley, I think, mentions a tribe called Wazimba in Central Africa. Some derive the name from the Swahili word *wazimu*, an ogre or madman, others from *kuzimu*, in the grave.



ing of the Betsiriry, that the same explorer saw one individual of a tribe of aboriginal dwarfs, who live in caves and are very shy, and speak a distinct language of their own; whereas all the other tribes in every part of Madagascar speak dialects of Malagasy.

The Hovas greatly venerate the graves of the Vazimbias, and imagine that the spirits of these people, whom their fathers drove out, exert great power over the living. There are many such graves close to the Capital, to which offerings are constantly taken, and it is considered a heinous sin to desecrate, in any way, the places in which these spirits are supposed to dwell. The consequences can only be averted by superstitious rites entailing considerable trouble. The dwelling place of a spirit seems to be more or less arbitrarily chosen: sometimes it is an old tomb, sometimes it is a running brook, or a marsh in which the *bararatra* reed (*Phragmites communis*, Trin.) grows, sometimes it is a whole mountain on which it is wicked even to burn the grass in the manner customary with the Hovas. Consequently the touchy spirits are often unwittingly offended by some unfortunate stranger. Then again each, or almost each, spirit has his particular likings and aversions. Some like mutton, others cannot endure tobacco and onions; while all dislike pork. To make a wrong offering is quite enough to bring disease, if not death, to the offender. Great is the dread among the people of these spirits, and I remember a few young sceptics offering tobacco out of sheer bravado, to a spirit who disliked it, and so overwhelming was the fear of one of them, after he had committed the offence and the excitement had worn off, that he actually frightened himself into a serious illness.

I must now pass on to a description of some of the mythical animals. First and most renowned is the *Songomby*. This word is used figuratively by the natives to mean lion-hearted, showing the courage they suppose the animal to possess. It is said to be an animal somewhat resembling a horse, but with large, hanging ears, and a heavy mane: so large, in fact, are the ears that when the animal is running down hill they fall over its eyes and blind it. Hence the natives will tell you that in case you are pursued by a *songomby* your only chance is to run down hill! It is a most ferocious animal, having a predilection for young children, and hence many a poor little child is threatened with this awful beast, if it oversteps the patience of its parents. It is said to live in caves, but to be so wary that it is seldom seen and never captured. When horses were first introduced the natives thought them to be a kind of *songomby* caught by the white men; and when

riding in outlying districts, where a horse had never been seen, I have often put a whole village to rout, for the sudden appearance of a white man, (never perhaps seen before,) riding a *songomby* was enough to strike terror into the boldest. I remember quite well one poor woman stealing back after a general stampede caused by myself to save her child, when my men stopped her and quieted her fears. After confidence was restored she confessed to having thought we should want a baby or two to feed the horse with. It often took one hour or more to gain the people's confidence.

Next to the *songomby* is the *Fananim-pitolo*, the Hydra with seven heads. This is not an awe-inspiring reptile, as one might easily imagine; far from it, it is respected and venerated. It has its origin in man, and the spirit of the person from whom it springs is embodied in it. As a rule it springs from the entrails of the dead. Among the Betsileo tribe living to the South of the Hova Province of Imerina, it is said to be a common custom to take a portion of the entrails of a dead relation and place them near a running stream or pond, in order that a *fananim* may be generated and an embodiment of the spirit effected. If such should happen the hydra proceeds to the village, and those of the inhabitants, who have lost a relative, ask it who it is, by repeating the names of the departed. Should the *fananim* wave its head sideways it is not the person named, but should it nod, there is a great rejoicing among the relations of the person named, and offerings are given daily to it. The appearance of the *fananim* is variously described, but the most authentic accounts state it to be striped, and of a dull brown colour, with seven heads. When it has reached maturity horns grow on each head.

There are many curious fables about this hydra. Here is one. Once upon a time one attacked a bull, but the seven horns being broken, for it butted and did not bite as one might suppose, it was despatched by the bull. This took place near a village, and next day the *fananim* had swollen to such an extent, that it was like a mountain overshadowing the houses, so that the inhabitants had to flee the place during its putrefaction. Sometimes we are told they grow so large that they can span a mountain at its base, but as soon as the tail overlaps their heads they bite off the extra piece, and, fixing the stump firmly in the earth, rear themselves up on it and shoot into heaven!

(Am assured that the reason so few are seen with seven heads at the present day is that they are all young, and that it takes many years before they gain their full complement.



Another mythical animal is the *tokan-dia*,<sup>2</sup> the single step. This is a large white animal with one leg in the middle of its body and one in its chest, and although only gifted with these two legs, it travels at the most extraordinary speed. It eats men, and is, but seldom, if ever, seen now!

Then there is the most uncanny of all the fabulous beings, the *kinoly*. It is a supposed resurrection of the body after partial decomposition. Should a tomb—the natives always bury in large vaults in Imerina and Betsileo—be opened as soon as the bowels and skin of a corpse have become putrid, the corpse is said to

run away. Its eyes become red like fire, and its nails long as talons. It loses all likeness to the living, except its human form. It is harmless from want of strength, only prowling about and stealing such food as it can lay its hands on. This is a Betsileo superstition, and it is said that some people leave their tombs open, so as to allow their relatives the chance of becoming *kinolies*.

Such are the chief myths among the natives of Madagascar. I have heard also of a few others of unicorns and mermen, whose distinctive feature is, curiously, their long hair, and of a hairy tribe of dwarfs that live in trees.

C. P. CORT.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### SUPERSTITIONS IN MADRAS.

It is a superstitious belief in Southern India that we should not eat at evening twilight, as it is said that the Asuras of the infernal regions wander over this world at that time, and when food is served they will come in and partake of it, leaving for us mortals only the remainder of what they have eaten.

If a person dies in the house on an unpropitious day, the house is shut up for six months continuously. After the expiration of this period, the usual ceremonies for cleansing the house must be performed, and then it becomes habitable.

Don't shave during July, August, (*Adi*); September, October, (*Purattasi*); December, January (*Margashi*); February, March (*Masi*); Sunday, Tuesday or Saturday.

If you anoint your body with oil or bathe in hot water on Sunday you will get heart disease, on Monday health, on Tuesday death, on Wednesday gain, on Thursday loss of a child, on Friday loss of money, on Saturday increase of age.

K. SEIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

### EUPHEMISMS IN BENGAL.

In colloquial Bengali euphemisms are common with a view to avoiding the use of expressions of unpleasant import. Such eu-

phemisms have generally arisen from an undercurrent of superstition that it is unlucky to use unpleasant expressions, a belief which has universally prevailed at all times. *E.g.*, the expression '*asi*' on taking leave means 'let me go,' and is never understood in its real sense of 'let me come.' The reply is invariably '*esi*,' or politely '*astin*' which means 'you may go,' while their real sense is 'you may come.'

GAURDAS BYSACK.

Calcutta.

### ORIGIN OF ALOMPRA.

The story that Alompra (*Alaungp'ayá*) was a hunter, as stated by most European historians of Burma<sup>3</sup> is a pure myth. He belonged to a respectable well-to-do family, and to a class, which would be called the landed gentry in England.

The very fact of his being able, in a short time, to rally round himself a large following, and of his possessing the respect and confidence of his adherents, proves the unsubstantial basis of the story. For in Burma, from time immemorial, the hunter and the fisherman has always been looked down on, and treated as an outcast, beyond the pale of refined society. Had Alompra been a hunter<sup>4</sup> his assumption of leadership would not have been tolerated by his followers.

TAW SEIN KO.

<sup>2</sup> I have often wondered if this is the last tradition of the huge extinct bird of Madagascar, *apyornis maximus*.

<sup>3</sup> See Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 150 ff.

<sup>4</sup> [Phayre, *History of Burma*, loc. cit., says in effect that Alompra was originally a "hunter captain," who, on succeeding against the Talains, claimed royal des-

cent. There were many instances of sham 'princes' amongst dacoit leaders (*bōs*) from 1885 to 1890 against the English. One was whilom a schoolmaster of the Educational Department in Lower Burma. There is in fact much to be said both for Phayre's view and for Taw Sein Ko's. No doubt future search will settle the point.—ED.]



# SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages),—except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage,—is this:—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ज	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
क	क	ka	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ख	ख	kh	ण	ण	ṇa
ग	ग	ga	त	त	ta
घ	घ	gh	थ	थ	tha
ङ	ङ	ṅ	द	द	da
च	च	ca	ध	ध	dha
—	—	o	न	न	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	प	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	फ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Jihvāmūlīya, or old			भ	भ	bha
Visarga before क	—	ḥ	म	म	ma
and ख			य	य	ya
Upadhūmūlīya, or			र	र	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	—	ra
fore प and क			ल	ल	la
Anuvāda	Anuvāda	ā	ळ	ळ	ḷa
Anuvādikā	—	ā	—	—	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	श	श	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	ष	ṣa
घ	घ	gha	स	स	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	ह	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.







## THE MUNGIR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DEVAPALADEVA.

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

THE plate containing this inscription — so far as I know, the first Sanskrit inscription that was ever brought to the notice of European scholars — was found about 1780 by Colonel Watson<sup>1</sup> at Mungir, the chief town of the Mungir District of the Bengal Province, on the south bank of the Ganges. The inscription was translated by Charles Wilkins in 1781, and his translation was published, with a few notes by Sir W. Jones and a lithographed facsimile<sup>2</sup> (but without a transcript) of the original text, in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. pp. 123-130 and 142. The plate having been lost, I now venture to edit the inscription from the published lithograph, which, with all its defects, is by no means so valueless as may appear to be the case, at first sight.

The plate was a single one. Judging from the lithograph, it was surmounted by an ornament, fixed on the upper part, and advanced some distance on the plate so as to occasion a break in the upper lines. As in the case e.g. of the Dinājpur plate of Mahipālādēva, this ornament in all probability contained a seal, across which were engraved the words *īri-Dēvapālādēvasya* which in the lithograph are put at the top. The plate itself contained 52 lines of writing, 36 of which were on the front and 16 on the back of the plate. The writing was well preserved throughout. The characters clearly were of the same type as those of the Budāl pillar inscription and of the Dinājpur plate. Thus, to mention a characteristic feature of this alphabet, there can be no doubt that the letter *r*, preceding another consonant, was ordinarily denoted by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part. By the lithographer this short line has been altogether overlooked, and accordingly the letter *r* is omitted in the lithograph about twenty-five times. Similarly, the peculiar way in which medial *ā*, *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* were written in the original plate, has often caused the engraver of the lithograph to omit the signs for the medial *ā* and *ē*, and to put *ā*, *ē* and *ō* in the place of *ō*, *ai* and *au*. The sign of the *avagraha* was exceptionally employed in the original in *mārttā* & *thavā*, in line 16, and *ś kiñchitpragrāhyō*, in line 40. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *ōm svasti*, the inscription is in verse down to the commencement of line 24. Lines 24-46, containing the formal part of the grant, are in prose; they are followed, in lines 46-50, by four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses; and the inscription closes with another verse, in lines 50-52, which gives the name of the *dātaka* of this grant. The inscription was written and engraved with great care, and in regard to orthography I need only state here that *ḍ* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been employed in the word [*va\**]śā, in line 50.

In writing out my text, I have not considered it necessary to record all the very numerous minor errors and omissions of the lithograph.<sup>3</sup> The only passages about which I am at all doubtful, and in which the rediscovery of the plate may prove me to have gone wrong, are the words *suvīnayindū*, in line 5, *rājakūliya-samasta-*, in line 40, and *kara-hirany-*, in line 45. For the rest, my text will, I trust, speak for itself.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata, or Buddha, the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Dēvapālādēva*, who meditated on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata, the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhi-*

<sup>1</sup> See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> The statement of the late Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra (*Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 219), that the translation was published without any facsimile, is of course incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> In the lithograph it is often quite impossible to distinguish between *p*, *m*, and *y*, or even *s*. *D* is engraved instead of *n*, or *m*, or *y*, or *v*; *dā* instead of *s*; *nd* instead of *nt*, or *ndh*, or *nn*; *bh* instead of *s*; *yy* instead of *ch*, or *dy*, or *sy*; *v* instead of *ch*, or *n*, or *r*, or *ṛh*. The signs of the original for *keḥ* and *ḍ* are drawn quite wrongly. And the signs of *anusvāra* and *visarga*, and those of the subscript *u*, *ri*, and *r*, are often omitted. But it is one great advantage that the lithograph was prepared by an artist who did not understand the language of the original.



*rāja*, the illustrious **Dharmapāladēva** (lines 28-29). After the words *ōṃ svasti* and a verse in honour of both Buddha and the ruling king, it gives (in lines 4-24), in thirteen verses of which a full translation will be given below, the genealogy of **Dēvapāladēva**. All we learn from this part of the inscription is, that **Dēvapāla** was the son and successor of the king **Dharmapāla** and his wife **Raṇṇādēvi**, who was a daughter of the illustrious **Parabala** of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family; and that **Dharmapāla** again was the son and successor of the king **Gōpāla**. **Dēvapāla**, as well as his father and grandfather, are eulogized as very powerful monarchs, who each of them are represented as having conquered almost the whole of India. I have already had occasion to state<sup>1</sup> that in later inscriptions of the same dynasty **Dēvapāla** is described as the brother's son of **Dharmapāla**, and that I would identify his father-in-law **Parabala** with the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** **Gōvinda III**, also called **Śrīvallabha** (or **Śrīballaha**), etc., but I must add here that my chief reason for proposing this identification is the circumstance that we know **Gōvinda III** to have ruled at the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and that this would be about the time when **Dharmapāla**'s father **Gōpāla** may be supposed to have lived.

The wording of the formal part of the grant (lines 24-46) is much the same as in the three other known copper-plate grants of the so-called **Pāla** kings. As regards the object of the grant, **Dēvapāladēva**, from his camp at **Mudgagiri** on the Ganges, informs his officials and the people concerned that he has given the village of **Mēshika**, which was in the **Krimilā vishaya** of the **Śrinagara bhukti**, to the *bhaṭṭa* **Vibēkarātamiśra**, a son of the *bhaṭṭa* **Śrīvarāharāta** and son's son of the *bhaṭṭa* **Viśvarāta**, of the **Aupamanyava gōtra** and **Aśvalāyana śākhā**; and he orders the people to make over to the donee whatever may be due to him in accordance with this donation. Among the numerous officials, enumerated in this part of the grant, two occur who are not mentioned in the other **Pāla** grants, the *pramātri* and *sarabhaṅga* (in line 32). I am unable to explain these terms, and can only state that the same officials are mentioned, under the names of *pramātāra* (or perhaps *mahārājapramātāra*) and *sarabhaṅga*, in line 11 of the **Paṇḍukēśvar** grant of **Lalitāśūradēva**, published in the *Proceedings, Bengal As. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73; and that we find *pramātri* in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 88, l. 49, p. 115, l. 32; *pramātāra*, *ib.* p. 72, l. 9; and *mahāpramātāra*, *ib.* p. 73, l. 17.

The formal part of the grant closes (in line 46) with the date, the 21st day of the month **Mārgaśira** of the year 33. Lines 46-50 contain, as already stated, four of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. And these are followed (in lines 50-52) by another verse which will be translated below, according to which the king had appointed, as *dūtaka* of this grant, his own son, the **Yuvarāja**, the illustrious **Rājyapāla**. The year 33 of the date must of course be referred to the king's reign, which I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in assigning to about the end of the 9th century A. D.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription **Mudgagiri** and **Śrinagara** have already by Sir Charles Wilkins been identified with the modern **Mungir** and **Patnā** respectively. The **Krimilā vishaya** and the village of **Mēshika** I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

##### First Side.

- 1 *Om*<sup>6</sup> *svasti* | *Siddhārthasya*<sup>7</sup> *parā[rtha]-susthira-*
- 2 *matēḥ saumārgam=abhyasyatas=siddhis=siddhim=a-*
- 3 *nuttarām=bhagavatas=tasya prajāsu kriyāt | yas=traidhātuka-sat[t\*]va-siddhi-padavīr=*  
*atyugra-vīry-ōdayājejitvā nirvṛiti-*
- 4 *m=āśasāda sugataḥ sarvvārtha-bhūmiśvaraḥ || Sanbhāgyan\*=dadbad=atulam śriyas=*  
*sapatnyā Gōpālāḥ patir=abhavad=vasu-*

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> From the lithograph in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 123.

<sup>7</sup> *Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

<sup>8</sup> *Metre, Praharahipi.*



- 5 ndharāyāḥ | dṛiṣṭāntē [suvinayinām]<sup>9</sup> surājñi yasmiñ=śraddhēyāḥ Pṛithu-Sagar-  
ā[dayō]=py=abhūvan || Vijitya<sup>10</sup> yēn=ā jaladhēr=vasundha-  
6 rām vimōchitā mōgha-parigrahā iti | savāshpam=udvāshpa-vilōchanān=punare=  
vvanēshu va(ba)ndhūn=dadṛi[su]r=mmataṅgajāḥ || Cha.<sup>11</sup>  
7 latsv=anantēshu va(ba)lēshu yasya viśvambharīyā nichitam rajōbhīḥ | pāda-  
prachāra-kshamam=antariksham<sup>12</sup>=vihaṅgamānām suchiram=va(ba)bhūva ||  
8 Śāstrārtha<sup>13</sup>-bhājā chalatō=nusāśya<sup>14</sup> varṇān=pratiśṭhāpayatā sva-dharmmē | śrī-  
Dharmmapālēna sūtēna sō=bhūt=svarga-sṭhitānām=anṛiṇaḥ  
9 pitṛiṇām || Achalair<sup>15</sup>=iva jaṅgamair=yadīyair=vichaladbhir=dviradīḥ kadarthyamānā |  
nirupaplavam=amva(mba)raṁ prapēdē śa-  
10 raṇām rēgu-nibhēna bhūta-dhātṛi || Kēdārē<sup>16</sup> vidhin=ōpayukta-payasām Gaṅgā-  
samēt-āmva(mbu)dhaū Gōkarṇ-ādīshu ch=āpy=anu-  
11 shṛitavatām tīrthēshu dharmmyāḥ kriyāḥ | bhṛityānām sukham=ēva yasya  
sakalān=uddhṛitya dushṭān=imān<sup>17</sup> lōkān=sā-  
12 dhayatō=nushaṅga-janitā siddhīḥ paratr=apy=abhūt || Tair=tair=digvijay-āvasāna-  
samayē samprēshītānām=paraiḥ sa-  
13 tkārair=apanīya khēdam=akhilām svām svām=gatānām bhuvam | kṛityam=  
bhāvayatām yadīyam=uchitam prītyā nṛipānām=abhūt=sō-  
14 tkaṇṭham hṛidayām divas=chytavatām jātismarāṇām=iva || Śrī<sup>18</sup>-Parava(ba)lasya  
duhituḥ kshitipatinā Rāshṭrakūṭa-tilakasya |  
15 Rāṇnādēvyāḥ pāgīr=jagṛihē gṛīhamēdhinā tēna || Dhṛita-tanur<sup>19</sup>=iyām Lakshmīḥ  
sākshāt=kshitir=nu śārīṇi kim=avani-patēḥ  
16 kīrttir=mūrttā śthavā gṛīhadēvatā | iti vidadhatī śuchy-āchārā vitarkavatīḥ  
prajā[h]<sup>20</sup> prakṛiti-gurubhir=yā sūddhāntām guṇai-  
17 r=akarōd=ādhaḥ || Ślāghyā<sup>21</sup> pativrat=āsau muktā-ratnam samudra-śūktir=iva |  
śrī-Dēvapālādēvam prasanna-vaktraṁ sutam=asūta ||  
18 Nirmmalō<sup>22</sup> manasi vāchi samyataḥ kāya-karmmaṇi cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchau |  
rājyam=āpa nirupaplavam pitur=vō(bō)dhīsat[t\*]va iva  
19 saugataṁ padam || Bhrāmyadbhir<sup>23</sup>=vijaya-kramēṇa karibhi[h svā]m<sup>24</sup>=ēva Vindhy-  
ātavīm=uddāma-plavamāna-vāshpa-payasō dṛiṣṭāḥ punar=vā(bā)ndha-  
20 vāḥ | Kamvō(mbō)jēshu cha yasya vāji-yuvabhir=dhvast-ānyarāj-ajusō hēshā-mīśrita-  
hāri-hēshita-ravāḥ kāntās=chiram vikshitāḥ ||  
21 Yaḥ pūrvvam=Va(ba)linā kṛitāḥ kṛita-yugē yēn=āgamad=Bhārgavas=trētāyām pra-  
hataḥ priya-praṇayinā Karṇēna yō dvāparē | vichchinnāḥ kali-  
22 nā Sakadvishi gatē kālēna lōkāntaram yēna tyāga-pathaḥ sa ēva hi punar=  
vispashṭam=anmilitaḥ || Ā<sup>25</sup> Gaṅg-āgama-mahitā-  
23 t=sapatna-śūnyām=ā sō[tōh]<sup>26</sup> prathita-Daśāsyakētu-kīrttēḥ | urvīm=ā Varuṇa-nikē-  
[ta]nāch=<sup>27</sup>cha sindhōr=ā Lakshmi-kulabhavanāch=cha yō  
24 vu(bu)bhōja || Sa khalu Bhāgirathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nauvātaka-sampā-  
dita-sētuva(ba)ndha-[ni]hita-śaila-śikhara-śrē-  
25 ṇi-vibhramān = niratīśaya - ghana - ghanāghana - ghaṭṭā(tā) - śyāmāyamāna - vāsaralakshmi -  
samāravdha(bdha)-santata-jaladasamaya-sa-

\* What the lithograph actually has, is *śādinatīnām*; but the second *akshara*, *dī*, is very oddly shaped. The English translation has 'by comparison of the learned.'

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Varṇasāstra.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>12</sup> Read °ksham.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>14</sup> The lithograph apparently has 'syē.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Apachchandasika.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Sārdūlavikṛīṭa; and of the next verse.

<sup>17</sup> Read *śādhilō*.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Hariṇi.

<sup>20</sup> The lithograph omits the *visarga*.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Rathōddhatā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Sārdūlavikṛīṭa; and of the next verse.

<sup>24</sup> In the lithograph there is no *visarga*, and the syllable, here read *svā*, looks rather like *prā* or *mā*.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Rathōddhatā.

<sup>26</sup> The lithograph apparently has *sā* (or *bhē*).

<sup>27</sup> The lithograph has *nikēnāchcha* (or *vikēnāchcha*).



- 26 ndēhāt <sup>29</sup> udichin-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-  
dhūli-dhūsarita-dī-
- 27 gantarālāt <sup>29</sup> paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-Jamvu(mbu)dvīpa-bhūpāla-pādāta-bhara-  
namad-avanēh <sup>30</sup> śrī-Mudgagiri-samāvā-
- 28 sita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt paramasaugata-paramēśvara-paramabhattāraka-mahārājā-  
dhirāja-śrī-Dharmapālādēva-
- 29 pādānudhyātāḥ paramasaugataḥ paramēśvara[h]<sup>31</sup> paramabhattārakō mahārājādhi-  
rājāḥ śrīmān=Dēvapālādēva[h]<sup>31</sup> kuśali
- 30 Srinagara-bhuktau Krimilāvishay-āntaḥpāti-svasamva(mba)ddhāvichchhinna-talōpēta-  
Mēshikāgrāmē samupagatā-
- 31 n sarvān=ēva rājaka-ī rājaputra-ī amātya-ī mahākārttākṛitika-ī mahādāṇḍanāyaka-ī  
mahāpratibhāra-ī mahāsā-
- 32 manta-ī mahādauḥśādhāsādhānika-ī mahākumārāmātya-ī pramāṭṛi-ī sarabhaṅga-ī  
rājasthāniya-ī uparika-ī dāsā-
- 33 parādika-ī chaurōddharāṇika-ī dāṇḍika-ī dāṇḍapāsika-ī śaulika-ī gaulmika-ī  
[kshē]trapa-ī prāntapāla-ī kōṭṭapāla-[ī]
- 34 khaṇḍara[ksha]-ī tadāyuktaka-ī viniyuktaka-ī hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-[ī]  
kiśōra-va[ḍa]vā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvika-ādhyaksha-ī dūtaprāishanī-
- 35 ka-ī gamāgamika-ī abhitvaramāṇa-ī vishayapati-ī tarapati-ī turika-ī Gaṇḍa-Mālava-  
Khaśa-Hōṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa-Lā[ta-chā]ṭa-bhaṭa-
- 36 sēvak-ādīn anyāmś=ch=ākirtitān sva-pādapadm-ōpajīvalaḥ prativāsinaś=cha vrā(brā)hmaṇ-  
ōttarān mahattara-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-mēd-ā-

## Second Side.

- 37 ndhraka<sup>32</sup> chaṇḍāla-paryantān [sa]mājñāpayati [ī\*] Veditam=a-
- 38 sta bhavatām yath=ōparilikhita-Mēshikāgrāmāḥ sva-si-
- 39 mā-trīṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ satalaḥ sōddēśaḥ sāmramadhakāḥ sajalasthalāḥ  
samatsyaḥ satrīṇaḥ sōparikarāḥ sadsā-
- 40 parādhaḥ sachaurōddharāṇaḥ parihṛita-sarvvapidaḥ <sup>33</sup> achātabhata-pravēśō śki-  
ñchitpragrāhyō rājakulīya-[samasta]-<sup>34</sup>pratyāya-samē-
- 41 tō bhūmiechhidra-nyāyēu=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālaḥ pūrva-datta-bhukta-bhujya-  
māna-dēva-vra(bra)hma-dēya-varjitō mayā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś=cha pu-
- 42 nya-yaśō-bhividdhayē vēdārtha-vidō yajvanō bhāṭa-Viśvarātasya putrāya vidy-  
āvadāta-chētasō bhāṭa-Srīvarāharātasya putrāya <sup>35</sup>
- 43 pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vidyā-pāraṇ gatāya <sup>36</sup> Apamanyava-sagōtrāya <sup>37</sup> Āślāyana-  
savra(bra)hmachārīṇē bhāṭa-pravara-Vi[hē]karāta-miśrāya
- 44 śāsanikṛitya pratipāditaḥ [ī\*] Yatō bhavadbhīḥ sarvvair=ēva bhūmēr=dāna-phala-  
gauravād=apaharaṇē mahānaraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha dānam=i-
- 45 dam=anumōdya pālaniyam prativāsibhīḥ kshētrakaraiś=ch=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair-  
bhūtva samu[chi]ta<sup>38</sup>-[kara-hirany]<sup>39</sup>-ādēy-ādi-sarvva-pratyāy-ōpana-
- 46 yaḥ kīrya iti [ī\*] Samva<sup>40</sup> 33 Mārga-dinē 21 Tathā cha dharmānuśāsana<sup>41</sup>.  
ślōkāḥ 1 Sarvān<sup>42</sup>=ētān bhāvināḥ pārthivēndrān

<sup>29</sup> Read "ād-udl."<sup>30</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>31</sup> The published text of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyapāla has mēdāndha; but the original plate has mēdāndhra.<sup>32</sup> Read "plāḍ-chāḍa."<sup>33</sup> I am doubtful about this word. What the lithograph has may possibly be intended for paryanta.<sup>34</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>35</sup> Read "trāy-Āślāyana-".<sup>36</sup> The words in these brackets are, I believe, certain; but the lithograph gives kamakara-.<sup>37</sup> Read "mhat."<sup>38</sup> Probably, the reading intended was "śāsinaḥ." The lithograph actually has "śāsana."<sup>42</sup> Metro, Śilini.



- 47 bhūyô bhūyaḥ prārthayaty-ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyô=yam dharma-sêtur=nṛipānam<sup>43</sup>  
 kâlê kâlê pālaniyaḥ kramēṇaḥ<sup>44</sup> || Va(ka)hubhi<sup>45</sup>=vasudhā  
 48 dattâ rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1\*] yasya yasya yadâ bhūmih<sup>46</sup> tasya tasya tadâ  
 phalaṁ || Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vâ<sup>47</sup> yô harêta vasu-  
 49 ndharām [1\*] sa viśthāyām kṛmir=bhūtvâ pitṛibhis=saha pāchyata<sup>48</sup> [11\*] Iti<sup>49</sup>  
 kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vindu-lôlām<sup>50</sup> śriyam=anuchintya manushya-  
 50 jīvitāṇ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitāṇ=cha vu(bu)ddhvâ na hi puruṣaiḥ para-  
 kirttayô vilôpyâ[h]<sup>51</sup> || Śrēyô-vidhāv<sup>52</sup>=ubhaya-[va\*]śā<sup>53</sup>-vi-  
 51 śuddhi-bhājam rāj=ākarôd=adhigat-ātma-guṇam guṇa-jōḥ | ātm-ānurūpa-charitaṁ sthira-  
 yauvarājam śri-Rājayapālam=i-  
 52 ha dūtakam=ātma-putram ||

## TRANSLATION OF LINES 1—24 AND 50—52.

Om! May it be well!

May the perfection of that venerable being, whose objects are accomplished, whose mind is steadfast in the cause of others, and who is ever treading the path of virtue, procure for his people unsurpassed perfection, — that being who, a Sugata<sup>54</sup> and in all things a lord of the earth, having excelled the ways of perfection of the creatures of the three worlds by the display of his awful might, has attained unto bliss!

(Line 4.) Possessed of matchless prosperity, Gōpāla was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the earth.<sup>55</sup> While he, the type of a well-conducted (*king*), carried on his beneficent rule, even (*kings*) like Prithu and Sagara came to be believed in.

When he had conquered the earth as far as the sea, he set free his elephants, regarding them a useless train; and they with tears (*of joy*) saw again in the forests their kindred whose eyes became filled with tears.

When his innumerable forces were marching, the sky continually was so filled with the dust of the earth that the birds of the air could walk upon it.

(L. 8.) He paid his debt to his forefathers in heaven by begetting the illustrious Dharma-pāla, who, conversant with the precepts of the Sāstras, by restraining those who swerved from the right course, made the castes conform to their proper tenets.

By the elephants of this prince, who were moving about like walking mountains, the earth was so tormented that, in the guise of the dust, it took refuge in the peaceful heavens.

With ease uprooting all the wicked and subduing this world, he at the same time secured for his followers the blessings of the world to come; for (*on his expeditions*) they bathed according to precept at Kōdāra (*and*)<sup>56</sup> where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and performed holy rites at Gōkarṇa and other sacred shrines.

When he had completed the conquest of the regions, he released the princes (*whom he had made captive*); and they, made to forget all their distress by the various great honours shown to them, and having each returned to his own country, pondered upon his generous deeds, and

<sup>43</sup> Read nṛipānam.<sup>44</sup> Read kramēṇa.<sup>45</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse.<sup>46</sup> Read bhūmih-tasya.<sup>47</sup> Read -dattām vā.<sup>48</sup> Read pachyatē.<sup>49</sup> Metre, Pushpitāgrā.<sup>50</sup> Read -lôlām śriyam.<sup>51</sup> The lithograph omits this visarga.<sup>52</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>53</sup> Read -vāśā-.

<sup>54</sup> i. e., either a Buddha or, applied to the king, a follower of Buddha, a Buddhist. For, like the verse at the commencement of the Dinājpur, Bhāgalpur, and Āngāchhl plates, this verse is applicable both to the founder of the Buddhist religion (*Siddhārtha, Sugata, Sarvārthasiddha*) and to the king, in this case Devapāladeva, who issued this grant.

<sup>55</sup> Literally, 'Gōpāla was a lord of the Earth who was the fellow-wife of the goddess of fortune.'

<sup>56</sup> It appears necessary to add this particle, because, so far as I know, there is only one Kōdāra, which is situated in the Himālaya mountains. Gōkarṇa is in the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency; it is even now a place of pilgrimage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India.



their hearts were fondly longing for him, as of mortals banished from heaven who remember their former existence.

(L. 14.) As a householder, that lord of the earth took the hand of **Rannadēvi**, the daughter of the illustrious **Parabala**, the ornament of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family.

By the purity of her conduct causing the people to deliberate as to whether she might be **Lakshmi** incarnate, or the earth embodied in human form, or the king's fame in visible shape, or his household goddess, she surpassed the ladies of the court by the excellent qualities with which nature had endowed her.

As the shell of the sea yields the precious pearl, so that praise-worthy husband-devoted lady bore a son with a pleasing countenance, the illustrious **Dēvapāladēva**.

(L. 18.) Unsullied in thought, controlling his speech, and steadfast in the performance of blameless actions, he inherited the kingdom of his father free from troubles, as a **Bōdhisattva** attains the status of a **Buddha**.

In the course of conquest his elephants, roaming over their own **Vindhya** forest, met again with their kindred who shed plentiful tears (*of joy*); and, after he had crushed the power of other kings, his young chargers in **Kambōja** at last saw their mates, and it was a pleasure to hear them loudly neigh at each other.

He indeed has again clearly opened that road of liberality which was first made by **Bali** in the **Kṛita** age, on which **Bhṛigu**'s descendant walked in the **Trētā** age, and which was trodden by **Karṇa**, devoted to his friends, in the **Dvāpara** age, but which had been choked up by the **Kali** age, ever since the enemy<sup>87</sup> of the **Śaka** went to heaven.

He has ruled the earth, free from rivals, up to the (*mountain*) celebrated for **Gaṅgā**'s descent, as far as the bridge which proclaims the fame of **Rāvaṇa**'s foe, as far as the ocean which is **Varuṇa**'s home, and as far as (*that other ocean which is*) **Lakshmi**'s birthplace.

\* \* \* \* \*

(L. 50.) The king, who knows how to appreciate excellent qualities, has made his son, the illustrious **Rajyapāla**, who is of pure descent on both sides, who has acquired the excellent qualities of his parent and whose conduct resembles his, and who is firmly appointed as **Yuva-rāja**, the *dūtaka* for this deed of merit.

### THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

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

(Concluded from page 156.)

### PART III.

#### MONUMENTAL AND LITERARY PRAKRIT.

In the period which extends from the 2nd century before our era to the 3rd century A. D., all the inscriptions which are not in Sanskrit or in Mixed Sanskrit are couched in a dialect which may be designated by the name of **Monumental Prakrit**.

In all the places where it is found it is essentially identical. This does not mean that the monuments present no inconsistencies between themselves. These inconsistencies and irregularities are many, and as they are also instructive, it is worth the trouble of quoting a certain number of them. They are of two kinds. On the one hand, the writing varies for the same words or for identical sounds; and, on the other, forms unequally altered,

<sup>87</sup> i. e., the great king **Vikramāditya**, the reputed destroyer of the tyrant **Śaka**. See ante, Vol. XIX. p. 261.



and, consequently, belonging to different linguistic strata, are found in juxtaposition on the same monuments or on monuments of the same date.

In the first category, the most general fact is the inconsistency with which the dental *n* and the cerebral *ṇ* are employed. Sometimes one or other is introduced indifferently into the same word, or they are even applied in a manner contrary to every known rule; and sometimes one or other is exclusively used. This cannot be a question of dialectic divergencies, for instances occur in contemporary and neighbouring monuments. I quote a few examples<sup>1</sup> Nās. 11 A; *ānapayati* and *ānata*: the same in Nās. 15. C. T. I., p. 33, No. 13: *ṇadiyā, yapaṇatha*. Nās. 22: *seṇāpati*. Kaṇh. 15: *āṇanda, āpaṇō*. C. T. I., p. 46, No. 14: *udēsēṇa*; p. 55, No. 33: *yavaṇa, bhōjaṇa*; p. 44, No. 8: *bhātūṇaṇ, dāṇa*; p. 42, No. 2: *bēṇa jaṇāna*; p. 30, No. 6: *dhēnukākata-kēṇa*; p. 6, No. 5: *bhāgiṇēyīya*. Kaṇh. 28: *bōdhikāṇa, pāṇiya, saṅghāṇaṇ, diṇā*. Kaṇh. 15: *āṇa[ṇ]dēṇa, saṅghēṇa, &c.* Nās. 12, Kaṇh. 10, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2; p. 18, No. 25, &c., use exclusively *n*: C. T. I., p. 44, No. 9; p. 9, No. 9: *Amravati*, No. 175, &c., use exclusively the dental *n*.

Inconsistencies of orthography are manifested in an infinity of other cases. Take the weakening of hard consonants into soft ones: *sugha*, Kārli, 22; Kaṇh. 15, 28, &c.; *mugha* C. T. I., p. 29, No. 4, No. 6, beside *sukha, pamukha* (e. g. Amrav. No. 196); *kuḍuṇbini*, Kaṇh. 15, Nās. 8-9, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, &c., beside *kuṭuṇbini* (e. g. Kaṇh. 4); *dhēnukākāḍa*, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, beside *dhēnukakāṭa*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 4; p. 31, No. 7; *thupa*, Kaṇh. 10 (of the time of Vāsithīputa Pulumāyi), beside *thupa*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 3; p. 26, No. 1. The inscription of Mādhariputa (C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2) gives *paṭiṭhāpita*, while elsewhere, as for example Amr. 8 (pp. 52-53), we find *paṭiṭhavita*, and again elsewhere the spellings *paḍiṭhāpita* (Kaṇh. 15), *paḍiḍātavā* (Nās. 7, time of Nahapāna), *paṭiasiya* (Kaṇh. 4) and *paḍiasitava* (Kaṇh. 16-18), of the time of Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi, *paṭiṭhāna* (Kaṇh. 5) in an inscription of earlier date. Of two monuments of Gōtamīputa Sātakaṇi, one (Nās. 11 A) has *Sadakaṇi*, the other *Sātakaṇi*. C. T. I., p. 15, No. 19 has *sādaḥ[ṭ]ra*, while p. 4, No. 1 and p. 9, No. 9, which belong to exactly the same date, have *sādagēri*. Sometimes the alteration is still more complete such as in *gōyaṇmā* equivalent to *gautamā* (°mā), C. T. I., p. 15, No. 160. In several instances the suffix *ka* is changed into *ya*; C. T. I., p. 49, No. 20 presents to us, side by side, *bhārukachhakānaṇ* and *laṇḡuḍiyānaṇ* for *laṇḡuṭikānaṇ*; in Kārli, 22, we read *mahāsauṅghiyānaṇ* in a passage dating from the 24th year of Pulumāyi, and which retains several genitives in *asya*, beside the Prākṛit form in *asa*. It is true that, at about the same period, the Wardak vase presents the intermediate form *mahasauṅghiganaṇ*; and that, at Kaṇhēri, Nos. 12 and 20 have, at the same epoch, the spellings *Sōpārayaka* and *Sōpāraga* respectively.

As a general rule, it is the soft consonants of Sanskrit which thus disappear or which leave *y* as the only trace behind them: *pāyuna* (Nās. 7, an inscription of the time of Nahapāna) and *pāūna* (C. T. I., p. 47, No. 6) equivalent to *pādōna*; *bhayaṇta*, C. T. I. p. 18, No. 25; p. 24, No. 4; p. 50, No. 22, &c., or *bhaṇta*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 3, beside *bhadanta*; *siaguta*, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, beside *sivabhutimhā*, p. 9, No. 9; *pāvayitika*, C. T. I., p. 6, No. 5, or *pavaṭita*, p. 6, No. 5; p. 37, Nos. 21, 22; Kaṇh. 21, 28, &c., beside *pavajita*; *bhōja*, C. T. I., p. 14, No. 17; p. 4, No. 1; p. 9, No. 9, beside *bhōya*, in an inscription emanating from the same family (p. 15, No. 19), *bhōa* (p. 2, No. 9), *bhōṭgiyā*, (Kaṇh. 24, earlier than Gōtamīputa Sātakaṇi), and even *(mahā)bhuviyā* (C. T. I., p. 100). It is clear that, when *y* is introduced, it is done in a very arbitrary fashion. It is also on several occasions omitted.

In an inscription, No. 21, of Kaṇhēri, beside *bhayaṇta, thēriya, &c.*, we find *pavaṭikāa pōnakāa saṇāa*, and *chiarika* beside *chivarika* of the preceding numbers which are exactly contemporary. *V* and *y* are here subjected to the same treatment, and we, therefore, need not

<sup>1</sup> I quote in general *Cave Temple Inscriptions* according to number and page in the collection of Messrs. Burgess and Bhagwanlal. For Nāsik, I follow the numbers given in the *Arch. Surv. IV. 98, &c.* For Kaṇhēri, the numbers of the order in the same collection, V. pp. 74 and ff.



be surprised at sporadic instances of orthography such as *purisadatāva* (Nās. 24), *bhayāva* *vēlidatāva* and *nyaraka* (C. T. I., p. 17, No. 23), beside the usual *ōvaraka*, and the terminations in *āya*. So, also, we find in the inscriptions of the north, side by side, *sahvatsarayē*, *aḥasatatimāē*, *tachhasilayē*, *puyāē* (Taxila), &c. We find *kaliāna* (Kaṇh. 13, 24, &c.) as well as *kaliyāna* and *puḥumāi*, *puḥumāyi*, and *puḥumāvi* (Nās. 12, 13, 15); *dhutua*, *mātua* (Kaṇh. 27) beside *dhutuya*, *mātuya*, &c.; *ya* and *ja* are used indifferently the one for the other, when it is necessary to represent an etymological *j*: on the Wardak vase we read *puyāē*, beside *raja*, at Taxila, *raya* beside *puyāē*, and, to confine ourselves to the cave inscriptions, Kaṇh. 18 reads *puyatha*[*ū*], C. T. I., p. 16, No. 20, *vāṇiyiyasa*, Amr. 26 B, *vāṇiyasa*; while on the other hand, beside the usual *bhayā* (equivalent to *bhāryā*), we have *bhajayā*, Kaṇh. 19, *bharījāyē*, Nās. 11 B.

Inversely, a hard consonant is sometimes substituted for a soft one. For example, *nēkama*, beside *nēgama* (C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2), *nākaṇaka* (Kaṇh. 2), *nākanikā* (Amr. 121), *nākachanda* (Amr. 56), in the frequently occurring *ma*[*ū*]*tapa*, beside *maṇḍapa* and *maṇḍava*; Kaṇh. 16 reads *bhāka* for *bhāga*; Amr. 222, *lōgāticha* equivalent to *lōkāditya*, and *bhagapatō* for *bhagavatō*.

Although the palatal nasal *ñ* is not unknown, its use is very irregular. Kārli 20 has *anō* equivalent to *anyah*; Kaṇh. 5, *anāni*, Kaṇh. 27, *pūnaṁ* equivalent to *puṇyaṁ* and *nāti* equivalent to *jñāti*. The same spelling *nāti* occurs again at Amravatī, e. g. in Nos. 232, 249, while, on the other hand, I have noted in two inscriptions (C. T. I., p. 53, Nos. 28 and 30) *kañāṇaku*.

Similarly, other modes of orthography sometimes bring us nearer to, and sometimes take us further from, the learned standard. I may mention *amasa*[*ū*]*taka*, Nās. 11 B; *baṇmaniya* beside *baṇmhana*, C. T. I., p. 14, No. 15; these methods of writing are the more worthy of note because, long before, at Kapur di Giri, we regularly find the spelling *bramaṇa*. C. T. I., p. 46, No. 14, writes *shaṇuvisa* equivalent to *śaḍviniśati*, an absolutely sporadic instance of the use of *sha* in this Prākṛit: a similar inscription, no less Prākṛit, writes *putrasa* beside *putasa*, (C. T. I., p. 40, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7).

These inconsistencies of orthography are all sporadic. That they certainly do not depend on differences of time, can easily be proved by reference to the monuments from which the examples have been drawn.

These monuments are dispersed over a very wide area. Now, between the inscriptions of Gujarāt or of the caves of the Western coast, and those of Amravatī at the mouth of the Kṛishṇa, those of Khandagiri in Orissa, of Sāñchi in Mālava or of Bharhut in Bihār, we find no trace of differences of dialect. They extend over at least four centuries, from the second century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D., without disclosing, between the most ancient and the most modern, any appreciable variation. In an area so extensive, the vulgar tongue certainly could not have failed to divide up into numerous dialects. This is a phenomenon escaped by no language. Literature bears witness to it for the following period, and no one can be tempted to imagine that the fact was then a new one. On the other hand, it is clear that a language cannot pass through four or five centuries in the mouth of the common people without decay and transformation. The earliest literary specimens which we possess of the Prākṛits, the stanzas of Hāla, and the Prākṛits of the most ancient dramas, although in origin but a short distance from the end of the period to which we refer, reveal a phonetic alteration which was much further advanced. Let us, therefore, bring ourselves face to face with the orthographical facts which have just been pointed out.

The parallel employment of forms unequally altered, belonging to different strata of the language shew that this dialect of the monuments, however near we may suppose it to the living popular language, is neither its direct expression nor its faithful imitation. It conceals under a level in part conventional, a more advanced degeneration of the current language — a degeneration of which the distortions are reflected in these more corrupted spellings which accidentally escaped the engravers.



The frequent inconsistencies of the methods of writing shew that we, nevertheless, are not dealing with a language which is rigorously subject to minute rules, and fixed by studies so definitive that their authority had cut short all individual caprices. Nor can we, on the other hand, see in it the spontaneous efflorescence of local dialects freely expanding in their native diversity.

The language is, therefore, neither purely popular, nor entirely subject to rules. Taking all in all, it is to Mixed Sanskrit that the Prākṛit of the inscriptions can be most exactly compared. Both, by the general use to which they were subjected, and by their relative stability, were raised above the character of simple local dialects. In each case each represented an analogous effort, — though arrested at unequal stages, — to compass a regularity, a unification, which, not being yet defined, left more or less room to hesitation and to caprice.

We have just now had to investigate the relationship which united Mixed Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit; it is no less necessary to determine what, in the linguistic series, were the respective positions which we should assign to this Monumental Prākṛit, and to the Literary Prākṛits.

People are accustomed to call this dialect of the inscriptions, which I designate by the name of Monumental Prākṛit, simply Prākṛit, or, more often, Pāli. This name lends itself to serious misunderstandings. If all that is meant is that in its constituent elements it is very analogous to the Prākṛits, of which Pāli is only a particular form, that is all right; but, so great is the danger arising from the use of terms, which are either imperfectly defined or inaccurately employed, that people are ordinarily prepared to go much farther. They admit, as proved, or simply as self-evident, the identity between the two dialects; and such an identity in no way exists.

It is, on the contrary, a very remarkable fact, the explanation of which will have to be methodically searched for, that the literary Prākṛits never appear in the epigraphic monuments: and that the Prākṛit of the monuments never appears in literature.

The material elements being in each case identical and drawn from the same popular source, the points of difference deal more with the form than with essentials. They have less to do with inflexion than with orthography, but they, none the less, certainly exist. Compared with monumental Prākṛit, two features above all others characterize the Prākṛits of literature: on the one hand the regularity with which the orthographical rules peculiar to each are applied, and on the other, the invariable custom of writing double those homogeneous consonants whose doubling is etymologically justifiable, or which results from the assimilation of a non-homogeneous group of consonants.

The few examples given above are sufficient to shew how unstable in its orthography is the Prākṛit of the inscriptions. A reference to the monuments themselves will shew plenty of other proofs. Sometimes a medial consonant is elided, sometimes it is retained: a hard consonant is usually maintained unchanged, but is sometimes softened: the cerebral *ṇ* and the dental *n* are sometimes distinguished, and sometimes one is used alone to the exclusion of the other. The palatal *ṇ* is by turns used or abandoned in words of identical formation. What need we say about the perpetual omissions and confusions which affect the notation of the long vowels? There is nothing like this in the Prākṛit of the books. In them the value of the vowels is everywhere strictly fixed. Does this Prākṛit weaken a medial hard letter to a soft one? Then it does so always. Does that elide a medial soft letter? Then it elides it in every instance. One dialect exclusively employs the dental nasal, another no less exclusively adopts the cerebral. If they use both, they do so under distinct and clearly defined circumstances. I know that in several of these peculiarities people have sought for traces of dialectic or of chronological variations, but we have seen what confusion reigns in a number of inscriptions which belong to the same region and to the same epoch. That confusion allows us to



attribute to such causes only a very secondary action. It, in any case, assigns to Monu-mental Prākṛit a place apart, nigh to, but independent of the Prākṛits of the books.

In order to be more accurate, it is indispensable to examine more closely those Prākṛits of the books, — the Literary Prākṛits.

It has long been recognized that the Prākṛits of the grammarians and of literature are, to a greater or less extent, languages which possess an artificial and a learned character. The very commencement (v. 2) of the collection of Hāla is significant:—

*Amiaṇ pāṇakavvaṇ  
paḍhiuṇ soṇṇ a jē ṇa jāṇaṇti  
kāmaṣṣa taṇtataṇtiṇ  
kuṇaṇti, tē kaha ṇa lajjaṇti?*

It could, therefore, very well happen that people were unable to understand Prākṛit poetry. A special study was required to follow it. — This is not the only piece of evidence, but the very appearance, the nature of the language, and the way in which it was used, furnish, in this respect, still more decisive arguments.

The mere fact that the plays, even those reputed to be the most ancient, employ at the same time, dialects which have reached very different stages of phonetic decay, will not allow us to admit that these dialects have been really and simply conveyed from real life into literature. The way in which they are employed and their allotment amongst the characters of the play are regulated, not according to the birth-place of the speakers (who in general are supposed to belong to the same country), but in conformity with a comparative scale which assigns each dialect, according to its degree of corruption, to each character according to his social rank. It is needless to shew how arbitrary is such a state of affairs, and how it cannot have been a direct imitation of the truth. If the Mahārāṣṭrī dialect is exclusively reserved for poetic use, it is so because it has been adapted to the purpose by special manipulations, so that it no longer really and exactly represents the language of Mahārāṣṭra. On this point, opinion is, I believe, unanimous, and no one doubts that literary custom and convention are in great part responsible for the emasculation of this language, which appears unable to bear a single strong articulation, and which is resolved into a confused murmur of vowels following one after the other. Even those dialects, which, like the Saurasēṇī, have not been deliberately reduced to this degree of weakness, have certainly not escaped a certain amount of retouching. Languages do not, by their organic movement, go again up the stream, down which they have been carried by the natural action of phonetic decay. If the languages spoken in India at the present day possess articulations which have disappeared in the Prākṛits, the grammatical constitution of which is infinitely more archaic, the use in literature of which is anterior by twelve or fifteen centuries, it is evidently so because the orthography of these Prākṛits does not absolutely represent the condition of the language at the time at which they were employed or fixed. In this respect the Prākṛit grammarians themselves supply significant indications. It is exactly those disdained dialects, which were considered as inferior, that have had their forms least altered, and that are nearest to their etymological origin. The Paisācī preserves the medial consonants which the superior dialects elide (Hemachandra, IV, 324), and the Apabhraṃśa retains the articulation of *r* after a consonant (*ibid.* IV. 398), which is everywhere else suppressed in the uniform level of assimilation.

The names of the dialects, too, contribute their testimony. Titles, such as Apabhraṃśa, i. e. 'corruption,' or perhaps, 'corrupted dialect,' Paisācī, 'the dialect of demons,' are not names of definite languages, really existing in a precise region. When we found further distinguished, the Chūlikā-Paisācī, or 'Little Paisācī,' the Ardha-Māgadhi, or 'Semi-Māgadhi,' we can scarcely doubt, *a priori*, that we have to do with dialects which are something quite different from simple provincial idioms. I know that my learned fellow-worker and



friend, Dr. Hoernle,<sup>2</sup> has, with reference to Apabhrāṃśa and Ardha-Māgadhi, put forward propositions which would make them local dialects with exact boundaries. I do not think that these theories could be positively maintained. To tell the truth, his views regarding the first would appear to have varied. Recently, in the provisional introduction to the excellent Bihārī Dictionary, he puts forward the Apabhrāṃśa as the peculiar dialect of the north-west of India. We see from the preface to his edition of the *Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa* of Chaṇḍa (p. xx) that this opinion is chiefly based on one fact, viz., that the edicts of Kapur di Giri agree with the Apabhrāṃśa in optionally retaining an *r* following another consonant. Such a basis of classification is insufficient. We have nothing in any tradition to authorise the localisation of the Apabhrāṃśa in the north-west. Do not we also find the sporadic retention of this *r* at Girnar, at Nānāghāt, and in other inscriptions of the west? If the Apabhrāṃśa thus combines apparently ancient forms with the most advanced instances of decay, this happens, not owing to a dialectic peculiarity, but to the habit, common to all the usual dialects, of drawing freely on the tradition of the learned language, orthography and pronunciation. The Apabhrāṃśa of Hēmachandra (IV. 398, cf. 414, &c.), still retains the *r* in composition. Would any one dare to draw chronological deductions from this fact? It employs on occasions the vowel *ri* (IV. 394); are we to see in this use the local survival of a sound lost for so many centuries? Dr. Hoernle was, in my opinion, much nearer the truth, when, in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar* (pp. xix — xxi) he came into accord with the proposition so learnedly put forward by Prof. Pischel,<sup>3</sup> who considers the Apabhrāṃśa as the popular dialect, as really spoken, in opposition to the Literary Prākṛit.<sup>4</sup>

He considers that there are as many Apabhrāṃśas as Prākṛits, and I think that, in this, he has gone too far; for a great deal is still wanted to prove that each Prākṛit could be viewed as regularly corresponding to a definite local dialect (as we shall see at once in the case of Ardhamāgadhi). But the main fact to be drawn from the passages which he has quoted, or to which he has referred, and from the authoritative statements of the grammarians themselves, is that the Apabhrāṃśa is like a general category, into which the grammar throws pell-mell, without attempting to classify them into dialectic groups, a number of peculiarities probably borrowed from current usage and eliminated from the literary idioms. In this way we can explain how the Apabhrāṃśa could appear sometimes more archaic, though usually more degenerated, than the learned Prākṛits, in which the affectation of orthographic uniformity, has made the proscription of *tatsamas*, or at least of such as were too apparent, as large as possible.

<sup>2</sup> [Note by translator. — It is almost unnecessary to state that the fact of his being the translator of M. Senart's luminous arguments, in no way binds Mr. Grierson to either accepting or denying their cogency.]

<sup>3</sup> *Academy*, October 1870.

<sup>4</sup> At the same time I am unable to understand on what arguments the idea, expressed by Dr. Hoernle, that the Apabhrāṃśa would appear to represent the popular language spoken by the Aryans, and the Paisācī the same language as spoken by the aboriginal tribes, is founded. Such an arrangement looks really too systematic, nor is it sufficiently justified by the few divergencies which distinguish the Paisācī from the Apabhrāṃśa. Some of these, such as the hardening of soft consonants, are found now and then at all epochs, from that of Piyadasi to the Prākṛit of the monuments. Dr. Hoernle has himself remarked that, in the more modern grammarians, the confusion between the Paisācī and the Apabhrāṃśa is perpetual (*Comp. Gram.* p. xx, note). I believe, indeed, that they are only two names to distinguish two things which, if not identical, are extremely analogous. It is perhaps for this reason that Vararuchi does not mention the Apabhrāṃśa. It is probable that, at the period when his grammar was written, pedants had not yet pushed their taste for arbitrary differentiations so far as to distinguish between an Apabhrāṃśa and a Paisācī. It is certain that, when the distinction first comes to our notice, in the *Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa* (III. 37-38), the two alleged dialects are characterised by traits, — use of the consecutive *r* in Apabhrāṃśa, substitution of *l* and *n* for *r* and *ṇ* — which could, in no way, be held sufficient to constitute a difference of dialect. They alone suffice to show the secondary, theoretical, origin of the separation. When we are told that in Paisācī the spelling *sofa* (= *sfa*) for Sanskrit *śha* occurs, are we to believe that this debased dialect has naturally perpetuated the etymological spelling? We cannot do so, any more than we can believe that the Apabhrāṃśa preserved the consecutive *r*. It simply takes up in *tatsamas*, written with a liberty tolerated by its rudeness, and the borrowing of which this rudeness itself supports, the tradition which we have already found at work at Girnar, several centuries earlier, in spellings like *śśś*, &c.



Dr. Hoernle's opinion regarding Ardhamāgadhī rests, unless I am mistaken, on but a weak basis. He has endeavoured to establish from the inscriptions of Piyadasi a geographical partition of the ancient dialects, which I have already, I believe, shewn to have little foundation. We have, as a fact, no indication of the existence, at that ancient period, of a dialect intermediate between the Māgadhī and the Mahārāshṭrī. I would add that, by its name of *Ārsha*, the Ardhamāgadhī is at once classed as a literary language. It would be a strange phenomenon that we should have to take it as denoting a real idiom, — this dialect, whose sole peculiarity is the formation of the nominative singular in *ē*, and which, in other respects, save a few insignificant exceptions, is just the same as Mahārāshṭrī. It bears clearly on its face the mark of its artificial origin. I shall indicate, later on, what we may conjecture as to its formation; and certainly, the first impression awakened by its name, the notion which that name gives of a scholastic idiom, is not one that will mislead us.

It is true that, beside these instructive names, other dialects received local titles which connected each with a definite tract of country. I do not even wish to insist on the fact that the principal dialect, the one which serves as the basis for the teaching of the grammarians, instead of habitually receiving its name of Mahārāshṭrī, is called Prākṛita, the Prākṛit *par excellence*, which manifestly contrasts it, as an artificial language, with that other learned and literary language, which is Saṃskṛita, the Sanskrit. This detail can well have only a secondary importance, and it remains certain that several Prākṛits are designated by geographical names; Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasēnī, Māgadhī. It is natural to conclude that they are connected respectively with the countries of the Mahārāshṭra, of the Surasēnas, and of Magadha. But to what degree, and in what sense are they connected?

That each borrows certain characteristic peculiarities from the popular dialect of the country of which it bears the name, is a thought which will at once occur to the mind. Several facts confirm it. Some of the phenomena attributed to Māgadhī by the grammarians — the formation of the nominative of *a*-bases in *ē*, the substitution of *l* for *r* — are also found in the official dialect of Piyadasi, and the situation of the royal residence entitles us to consider that as approximately representing the idiom of Magadha. Whatever we may be led to think of the work of regularisation and of the cutting down to measure by the grammarians, it is certain that they have taken their materials for foundation, their constituent elements, from the vulgar dialects, and the names which have remained attached to the literary idioms, when they have a definite geographical meaning, deserve to be taken into serious consideration. Till the contrary is proved, they supply us with an historic basis, which we cannot abandon without committing a serious imprudence. So far as concerns the Mahārāshṭrī, the comparisons which the inscriptions of the western coast, in the land of Mahārāshṭra, permit us to institute, shew that no incompatibility exists between what we can identify as belonging to the popular language, and the rules of the grammatical idiom. The only thing is that we must clearly understand under what conditions these comparisons present themselves. Mahārāshṭra, where we find at once both a long series of monuments, and, in the verses of Hāla, an ancient, probably the most ancient, instance of the application of Prākṛit to literature, is the tract most favourably circumstanced for us to form a clear idea, on actual evidence, of the manner in which the reform of the Prākṛit grammarians was accomplished.

On a consideration of the Prākṛit inscriptions of the West we have been convinced that, although they are necessarily based on the popular language of the locality, they do not give us a rigorously faithful picture of it. Their orthography is not strictly representative; but, without having that stability which can only be assured by a complete grammatical culture, it tends to get as near as it can to etymology, that is to say to the orthography preserved by the learned language. It takes as the typical ideals of its writing those instances in which the pronunciation has departed least from the primitive form. The parallel use of Mixed Sanskrit is there to prove that this conclusion does not arbitrarily attribute to the authors of the monumental orthography a predisposition which was not theirs.



What about the literary Mahārāṣṭrī? We know, in the first place, that the grammarians distinguish two varieties, — the ordinary Mahārāṣṭrī, which is that of Hāla and of a portion of the poetry of the plays, and the Mahārāṣṭrī of the Jains.<sup>5</sup> We can for the moment neglect the shades which distinguish these two groups; taken as a whole, they closely resemble each other, as we should expect in the case of dialects which, bearing the same name, must have sprung up in the same soil. Between this literary idiom, and that of the monuments, numerous points of difference leap to the front the moment we examine them. We must consider these differences more closely.

The literary orthography ordinarily weakens into the corresponding sonant the hard *f*; I have quoted above, from the inscriptions, the spellings *mukūḍa*, *vādaka*, *dhēnukakāḍa*, *kudumbini*, *sālakaṇi*, *sādagāṭa*, *paḍidātava*, *paḍiḥāpita*, &c., by the side of the more usual writing which retains the consonant as in the standard Sanskrit. The literary language readily weakens *p* into *b* or *v*, and it completely elides the medial *t*; I have quoted above the sporadic spellings *thūba* for *thūpa* (*stūpa*), *gōyamā* for *gautamā* (*°mī*). The grammarians teach that a soft consonant between two vowels is elided; in the monuments, we have met words like *bhayaṣṭa*, *bhaṣṭa*, beside *bhāṣṭa*, *viaguta* for *ivagupta*, *pavāṭa* and *pavayita* for *pavajita*, *bhōḍi* and *bhōa* for *bhōjiki* and *bhōja*, *pāyuna* and *pāūna* for *pādōna*, *uyaraka* beside *ōvaraka*, *chiarika*, beside the usual *chivarika*, *paūḥāna* for *paḍiḥāna*, representing *pratiṣṭhāna*. The locative singular of bases in *a* is formed in the Prākṛit of literature in *ḍ*, and more usually in *aṇṇi*; if in the monuments it is almost always formed in *ḍ*, we, nevertheless, find examples like *jaṇḍudīpamhi* (Karli No. 10, *Arch. Surv.* IV. 91); and, beside the locative *tiraṇḥumhi*, the spelling *tiraṇḥumi* (i. e., *tiraṇḥuṇṇi*) (*Arch. Surv.* p. 106, No. 14). So, also, *baṇṇmani* beside *baṇṇhana* in the same dedication. These instances prove that the termination *mhi* was altered, in a manner more or less constant, into *aṇṇi* in the vulgar pronunciation.

The *y* is constantly changed into *j* in the regular writing, and, consequently, *yy* into *jj*, and the group *rya* into *jja*, through an intermediate *yja*. Cases like *sihadhayānaḥ*, (C. T. I., p. 31), No. 7; for *°dhajānaḥ*, *vāṇiyiyasa*, p. 16, No. 20, *puyatham*, Kaṇh. No. 98, *rāyāmacha*, *Arch. Surv.* IV. p. 99, No. 4 (perhaps we might add *bhōya* beside *bhōja*), prove that in real pronunciation there was no distinction between *y* and *j*. Elsewhere, beside learned spellings like *āchariya* (C. T. I., p. 100), *ācharia*, Kaṇh. No. 17, we meet the forms *āyyaka*, Kaṇh. No. 19, C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2; *bhayayā*, C. T. I., p. 43, No. 6, &c., *payavasāṇe*, *Arch. Surv.* p. 114, No. 22; and the sporadic spellings, *bhājāya*, Kaṇh. 19, 27; *bharījāyē*, Nās. 22; *bhādrajanijja*, Kaṇh. 27, beside *pāṇiyya*, do not permit us to doubt that, between the grammars and the inscriptions, the difference was purely apparent, and simply graphic. I could quote other details, and, compared with the sūtras I. 29; III. 129, of Hēmachandra, point out, in the monuments, the spellings *ātēvāsini*, Kaṇh. 28, Kuḍa 22, *iddāgni*, *Arch. Surv.* IV. 114, No. 3, &c., *dō*, Kaṇh. No. 3, beside *bō* (Mahad. 1), or *vō* (Junnar, 14).

These comparisons suffice to put in its true light the character of the grammatical dialect. It is founded on the same local basis as the idiom of the monuments: both represent the same language but at slightly different periods of its history: both modify its appearance by an orthography which is in part arbitrary, but dominated in each case by divergent predilections. The one, when it is inspired with learned recollections, ordinarily chooses as its standard the least altered etymological form: the other goes, so to speak, to the extreme limit of existing corruptions; it prefers to take the most advanced facts of phonetic deterioration, as the level which grammatical elaboration imposes with a more or less absolute regularity on the system which it has consecrated.

The arbitrary constructions of the school can, of course, work in more than one direction. We must expect not only to find different tendencies, but also to meet both partial instances of unfaithfulness to the regulative tendency, — and also elements and distinc-

<sup>5</sup> Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra*, Introd. p. xvii.



tions which are purely artificial, mingled in a variable proportion with the elements which have been directly supplied by the popular speech. A comparison of the various literary Mahārāshṭrī, the parallel employment of which I have already mentioned, throws a striking light upon this point of view.

As Professor Jacobi (*loc. cit.*) points out, the Mahārāshṭrī of Varanuchi and the poets differs from that of Hēmachandra and the Jains in two main peculiarities. The former does not use the *ya-śruti*, and everywhere substitutes the cerebral *ṇ* for the dental *n*: the latter retains the dental *n* at the commencement of words, and when it is doubled. It is quite natural that the origin of these divergencies has first been sought for,<sup>6</sup> either in diversities of dialect, or in differences of time; but I should be surprised if anyone, with the knowledge which we are now beginning to acquire of Indian epigraphy, could persevere in this view.

So far as concerns the first point, the introduction of a *y* between vowels — or, according to Hēmachandra, more exactly, between two *a*'s — which form an hiatus, I lay no stress on several circumstances, disagreement between the grammarians, disagreement between the rules of the grammar and the manuscript tradition,<sup>7</sup> which *à priori*, appear to indicate that this rule is susceptible of arbitrary extensions and restrictions. I content myself with calling the texts of the inscriptions as witnesses. The ordinary orthography is too ready to adopt the methods of the learned language to allow many hiatus to exist. I have, however, quoted many examples, and I could quote more; *bhōa*, *bhōgi*, *pāūna*, *chiarika*, *paīṭhāna*, *bhaamta*, *pulumāi*, *phutua*; the spellings *chētīasa* (Kaph. 5), *paīasiya* (Kaph. 4), the terminations *pavāṭikāā*, *pōnakiasanāā*, (Kaph. 21), *bhayāa* (Kaph. 27). It follows that from an epoch earlier than that of our literary authorities, the local pronunciation supported the existence of the hiatus in Mahārāshṭra, as well as in the other provinces of India. It must be assumed that, there as elsewhere, but not more than elsewhere, the hiatus implied a light utterance-break analogous to the soft breathing. If this has been denoted by means of the *y*, whether in all, or in special cases, the choice can be explained on the one hand by the imitation of a certain number of terminations of the learned declension, and on the other by the fact that the change in every case of an original *y* to *j*, left the sign for *y* available for a special function. Sometimes the inscriptions apply *v* for this purpose, as in *pulumāvisa* (Nās. 15), *bhayāva vāḷidatāva* (Kudā, No. 23), and the parallel employment in this last inscription of the spelling *nyaraka*, for *uvaraka*, clearly shews that neither the *v* in the one case nor the *y* in the other represented any actual pronunciation. They are merely equivalent expedients for concealing from the eyes a hiatus which the recollections of the cultivated language caused to be considered as clumsy and barbarous. It was a similar idea, and not a chimerical peculiarity of a local dialect, which has caused the employment of the *ya-śruti* by one school, and which has subsequently caused it to pass into the rules of its grammars and into the usages of its books.

As for the use of the dental *n* and the cerebral *ṇ*, the case is, if possible, still more striking. At first sight, a dialect which invariably pronounces an initial *n* in one way and a medial *n* in another, should surprise us and put us on our guard. But the question is more general, and the case is susceptible of being argued with greater precision.

I must confess that I cannot sufficiently express my surprise to see nowadays the distinction between the cerebral and the dental nasal taken as a basis of classification when dealing with the ancient Prākṛits. It will be remembered how the form of the cerebral **Ṇ** is known to none of the inscriptions of Piyadasi which are conched in the Māgadhi orthography. The dental **Ṇ** is alone used. If this is a peculiarity of the dialect, it is very curious that, in the literary Māgadhi, the dental *n* should, on the contrary, completely disappear, and that the cerebral *ṇ* alone should be admitted. At Bharhut, the ordinary inscriptions know only one **Ṇ**, the dental *n*; but there is, nevertheless, one exception, and it is characteristic. The royal inscrip-

<sup>6</sup> Jacobi, p. 16. — E. Müller, *Beitr. zur. Gramm. des Jainaprākṛit*, pp. 3 and ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fischel, *Hemach.* I. 180.



tion of the eastern porch, dated in the reign of the Suṅgas, uses concurrently both forms **𑀧** and **𑀨**; but in what way? It has *pōṭṭṇa*, *putṭṇa*, *putṭṇa*, probably *tōṛanaḥ* and certainly *upañṇa*. If both forms are here known, it is quite clear that the distinction between them is, not popular, but arbitrary and learned. This is proved not merely by its inconsistencies and by its irregularities, but by the application of the cerebral *ṇ* to terminations in which its presence is explicable in Sanskrit, but in Sanskrit only, by the proximity of an *r* which has disappeared in the vulgar idiom. At Girnar, at the time of the edicts of Aśoka, where the distinction between *ṇ* and *n* is marked, the pedantic imitation does not go so far, — the cerebral *ṇ* never appearing in terminations. At Sāñchi, the state of affairs is very analogous to that which is presented at Bharhut. In all the ancient dedications the **𑀨** is unknown. It only makes its appearance in an inscription of the reign of Sātakaṇi (No. 190), the introducer of Sanskrit into the epigraphy of the Andhras. At the other extremity of India, in the monuments of Ceylon, the signs **𑀧** and **𑀨** are evidently employed without distinction, and it is natural to conclude that the case was the same in the region from which that great island had borrowed its alphabet. It is a curious fact that the only inscription (No. 57 of E. Müller) in which a deliberate distinction appears to have been made — we have in it *mahasaraṇṇa*, *budhasaraṇṇa*, beside *nati* (*natini*), *aṭṭṇa*, *niyaṭṭa* — appears to be directly based on a Māgadhi dialect, and yet, in its use of **𑀧** and **𑀨**, it deviates equally both from the practice of Piyadasi, and from the rules of the literary Māgadhi.

Nowhere are things more clear than in the tract which interests us more immediately, the country of Mahārāṣṭra. I have just drawn attention to the fact that in the root-portion of words, Girnar follows Sanskrit in distinguishing between the two *n*'s. At Nānāghāt, the ancient Andhras knew nothing but the dental *n*. The cerebral **𑀨** reappears in the period following, we have seen above under what conditions. The confusion is continual. No fixed rule allows us to disentangle it. Neighbouring inscriptions make exclusive use, the one of **𑀧**, the other of **𑀨**. The meaning of this hesitation, of this medley, is further accentuated by the parallel facts concerning the palatal *ṇ*. This nasal has disappeared in the literary Mahārāṣṭri, and is replaced by the cerebral or by the dental. Nevertheless, in the inscriptions, we constantly find the genitive *rāṇṇa*, and also forms such as *hēraṇṇika* (C. T. I., p. 54, No. 32). On the other hand spellings such as *haliṇṇaka* (C. T. I., p. 53, Nos. 28, 30) are of a nature to lead us to conclude that the *ṇ* is no longer a living letter. We have, indeed, already quoted *āraṇṇa*, *anṇa*, *andṇi*, *hēraṇṇika*, *pāṇṇa*, *nāṭi*, &c., which shew that the use of the sign *ṇ* is only a mere pedantic affectation.<sup>8</sup> It is certainly not otherwise with the signs **𑀧** and **𑀨**. In the inscriptions they represent a value which is in both cases absolutely identical; and if the grammatical reform of the literary dialects has assigned to them special rôles, it is owing to an arbitrary differentiation which has no connexion with the actual variations of the current pronunciation.

Although summary, these remarks are, unless I am mistaken, sufficient to mark the peculiar characteristics of Monumental Prākṛit, and also, more especially, of the Literary Prākṛits, and to present them under their true aspect. This is an indispensable preparation for elucidating the problem with which we are concerned. It resolves itself into two terms; when and how were the Literary Prākṛits constituted? These two points embrace all the secondary questions.

It is a trite observation that languages, in the normal course of their history, are invariably subject to a gradual decay of their phonetic elements. This is a current down which all float. None can, of itself, go up the stream by its natural movement. This has ordinarily, and very naturally, been made the basis of the relative chronology of the dialects of India. The

<sup>8</sup> It is very possible that this state of affairs was in reality much more ancient. In fact, putting aside the peculiar spelling *ṇayāra* (G. VIII. 1), the edicts of Girnar, along with the ordinary orthography of *ṇ* for *ny* have in one passage (VIII. 4) the reading *hiraṇṇa*. Inversely, while the *ṇ* appears nowhere in the edicts in the Māgadhi dialect, Dhauḥi presents an unique example in *paṭṭiṇṇa* for *paṭṭiṇṇa*, always supposing that the reading of the Corpus is exact, which I have great difficulty in believing.



preceding remarks make evident with what particular reservations we should here surround the application of this principle. In themselves, the Sanskrit forms are certainly more archaic; they are historically older than the Prākṛit forms of the time of Piyadasi. Yet that does not prevent Sanskrit, as a whole language, in the form in which we know it now, having only succeeded in conquering for itself an existence long after the rise of his Prakrit. So it is with the different Prākṛits. The general phonetic appearance of Pāli is certainly more archaic than that of Mahārāṣṭrī. Have we any right to conclude that therefore it actually existed, in its definitive form and orthography, before Mahārāṣṭrī? In no way. In short, we must carefully distinguish between the constituent elements of the dialect, considered directly, and their utilization in the shape of a particular literary dialect, adapted to a certain order of production. We cannot apply to literary idioms, in part artificial and learned, the same measure as that which we apply to purely popular languages. They, the former, can, in a sense, go up the regular stream of their linguistic development. This is the very fact which we have proved for Mixed Sanskrit. When I speak of inquiring into the age of the Literary Prākṛits I mean, not to determine the epoch to which the elements, morphological and phonetic, of which they are composed, can be traced up, but to fix the moment when they were arrested, crystallized, in a definite form for literary use. For this purpose the forms which are the most altered are those which are most instructive. They can be made to prove that such a dialect cannot be earlier than such a given epoch. The better preserved forms prove nothing. They may have been either subsequently reconstructed in the light of the learned language, or preserved for a greater or less period by tradition before receiving their place and their consecration in the special dialect of which they finally formed an integral part.

The criterion, therefore, founded exclusively on the general phonetic appearance of the dialects must be resolutely put to one side, if we wish to avoid misconceptions regarding the most certain, the most characteristic features of the history which we are endeavouring to build up.

This being settled, a two-fold object of inquiry presents itself. On the one side, the relation existing between the Prākṛits of the monuments and that of the books, and of the other, the relation existing between the literary Prākṛits and Sanskrit.

To set to deliberately, to convert, by systematic work, popular dialects into literary dialects with forms fixed for ever, is not so simple an idea that it would suggest itself of itself, and that it should not require any explanation. Such an undertaking must evidently be regulated on a prototype, on some pre-established model. India possesses a type of this description, Sanskrit. Indeed, if we pay heed to the names, *prākṛita* and *sanskṛita* are correlative terms. The actual bond which connects together the two series of facts is certainly no less close than the formal relationship of the names which designate them. Historically, the earlier term is Sanskrit. On that point there can be no possible doubt. It is the very elaboration and diffusion of Sanskrit which has served as the basis and model for the elaboration of the Prākṛits. They have been regularised in imitation of it. The recollection of this origin is perpetuated in the teaching of the grammarians. They take care to establish that Prākṛit has Sanskrit for its basis and for its source (*Hémach.* I. 1, and Dr. Pischel's notes). It would be a mistake to attribute to the Hindûs, on the strength of such a remark, the idea of a linguistic genealogy founded on comparative analysis. When Vararuchi and others (cf. *Lassen, Instit. Ling. Prākṛit*, p. 7) declare that the *prākṛiti* of Saurasēni is Sanskrit, and that of Mahārāṣṭrī and of Pāṣāchi the Saurasēni, it is quite clear that we must not take the proposition in an historical sense. It is nothing but a manner of stating that Saurasēni, in various characteristics, approaches Sanskrit orthography more nearly than the other dialects, — that it is in a fashion midway between the learned language, and the dialects with a more altered orthography. It is not a genealogical classification, but an entirely practical one. It is something like a direct recognition of the method according to which these languages have received their grammatical fixation. This working has taken for its basis the grammar of the learned language, and for its principle the gradation of each of them on a determined level below the stage of Sanskrit.



I now come to the second object of inquiry.

Monumental Prakrit and the Literary Prakrits start from the same source. Their main difference consists in this, that they have been unequally cultivated. The latter possess a character more stable, their mode of writing is more perfect. Is this to be explained by indifference to these particulars on the side of the former? Certainly not. The part which it plays as the official language of the inscriptions, the general level which it knows how to retain above the more altered local dialects, allow us to recognise in it an idiom already refined, and with an inevitable tendency, as is universal in India, to establish itself as a fixed and regular language. How could we believe, if there already existed, in the Literary Prakrits, a parallel model of better regulated and more complete orthography, that the writers could have, when using the language for inscriptions, neglected to profit by it, and to utilize its experience?

But general considerations are not sufficient. Whatever it be worth, the demonstration, to be conclusive, must be connected with precise and characteristic phenomena. The facts relating to the graphic representation of double consonants have afforded us valuable assistance for establishing certain essential points in the comparative history of Classical and Mixed Sanskrit, and the *data* of the same order are no less instructive in the new ground on which we tread at present.

The Literary Prakrits observe every doubling without exception. There does not exist a single Prakrit text which departs from this rule, or a single grammarian who does not explicitly teach it, or shew by evidence that he assumes it. The strictness with which it is uniformly introduced in all the dialects shews that we have here a rule which has from the very commencement exercised its influence on the grammatical work.\*

This mode of writing seems, in itself, to be perfectly simple; it is only the expression of the actual pronunciation. But the matter is not so easy as that. Not only does the most ancient orthography, that of the edicts of Piyadasi, abstain from observing it, but we have seen that Mixed Sanskrit, in spite of the tendency which led it to approach historically older forms, adopted it slowly, and, as I have admitted, under the influence of Classical Sanskrit. It is no less a stranger to the Prakrit of the monuments throughout the whole period with which we are now dealing. We are entitled to affirm this as a general fact, though I shall shortly point out certain exceptions, which, far from weakening the rule tend to emphasize its correctness.

This graphic usage of the literary Prakrits, which is inseparable from their very elaboration and from their grammatical establishment, was, therefore, not borrowed by them from earlier established customs. It is not met in epigraphy, nor in the current practice which epigraphy certainly reflects. It can only have been borrowed by them, as it was borrowed by Mixed Sanskrit, from the pre-existing orthography of Classical Sanskrit. I have just shewn that it was *a priori* more than probable that the very idea of refining the local dialects into literary tongues, and still more probably the principles under which the latter were elaborated, must have had their source in the existence, in the employment, and in the rule of profane Sanskrit. This orthographical peculiarity lends to this view a new and positive foundation in fact, and certain *data* borrowed from epigraphy shew it in its full light.

I have said that the Prakrit of the inscriptions does not double its consonants. It remains, in this respect, faithful to the ancient tradition. This fidelity is not invariable, and does not endure to an indefinite period. From a certain epoch, we find some examples of doubling appearing sporadically. The last inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa Pulumāyī (*A. S.*, IV. p. 113, No. 21) has *śtapharanaputtasya*. The termination *asya*, which is repeated in *śvāsakaśya*, *abulāmaśāthavasya*, clearly shews that the engraver employed this doubling in a moment of Sanskritizing imitation. In the purely Prakrit texts of Mādhariṇputa Sakasēna, we meet

\* Amongst the neo-Aryan languages, Sindhi, re-adopting in its case the primitive inexactness of the Hindī orthography, neglects to note these doublings; but it none the less faithfully observes them in pronunciation.



*āyakkēna* (A. S., V. p. 19, No. 14), *āyakkēna* and *buddha* (*ibid.* p. 82, No. 19). The maintenance of the long vowel before the double consonant is here to reveal a Sanskrit influence, and an analogous action is altogether natural in the participle *buddha*, which is identical in the learned language and in the popular tradition. Doublings (even purely Prākṛit ones) are more numerous in No. 27 of Kaṇhēri (A. S., p. 85): *pāṇiyya*°, *bhādrajaṇijjāṇaṇ*, *etta*, *ekka*, *ettō*, *puttāṇa*, *savvasēva*, *ṭṭhitāṇaṇ*, *tti*. This inscription is, generally speaking, rather couched in Mixed Sanskrit, forms like *pratigrahē*, *putrasya*, *hulasya*, bear witness to a more or less direct action on the part of classical orthography. Its linguistic level is, in other respects, very uneven, and side by side with these Sanskrit forms, appears a genitive like *dhutua*. Dr. Bühler, whose experience on this point is entitled to great respect, considers that this inscription, written in Andhra characters, contains some forms of more modern letters. It, therefore, most probably, belongs to the third century.

These facts speak clearly. It is certain that Prākṛit, as it was written on the monuments, was quite ready to accept the graphic doubling of consonants. From the moment when the diffusion of Sanskrit set the example of this doubling, this tendency shews itself in various dispersed instances, welling over from Mixed Sanskrit to introduce itself into Prākṛit. These instances form the evidence of the movement which was inevitably destined to carry on the Prākṛits in its course. They shew also that this movement had not yet resulted in the fixation of the orthography of the Prākṛits, for, in that case we should find in the Prākṛit of the monuments, instead of rare indications, a constant practice.

Later facts prove that this is not an unfounded conjecture.

It will be remembered that after the commencement of the 3rd century, the series of epigraphical monuments is interrupted by an unfortunate *lacuna*. The most ancient inscriptions which come next to carry on the chain of tradition, are, so far as is at present known, a few epigraphs of the Pallavas. The earliest is an endowment of Vijayabuddhavarman.<sup>10</sup> Messrs. Burnell and Fleet agree, on palaeographical grounds, in attributing it to the fourth century.<sup>11</sup> Of the four faces which are covered with writing, only the last is in Sanskrit. In the condition in which they have come down to us, the three first do not appear to be susceptible of a continued translation, but that is not indispensable for our present purpose. Whatever may be the difficulties and uncertainties, the general fact which concerns us leaps at once prominently into notice. Words like *sirivijayakhandavammamahārājassa*, *yuvamahārājassa*, *sirivijayabuddhavamassa*, *pāḍuttare pāsē* shew us a Prākṛit which, for the first time in the series of epigraphs, doubles its consonants like the grammatical Prākṛits. This, too, is not an accident or a caprice. The copper-plates of Hirahadagalli, which belong to the same dynasty, and to the same time, and which have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. Burgess,<sup>12</sup> use on the whole the same orthography.

The fact is of high importance. It conclusively testifies how the writing of the monuments was naturally inclined to adopt the more regular and accurate orthography used by the Literary Prākṛits. If, therefore, it had not adopted it sooner, it was because that use had not yet been established. It thus gives us a means for determining with sufficient approximation the epoch in which the final elaboration of the Prākṛits occurred.

To sum up. The reform of the Literary Prākṛits was subsequent to the diffusion of Sanskrit in profane use, and cannot therefore, be earlier than the first centuries of our era. In the 4th century it had been carried out; at least, the general system had been established. This is borne witness to by the reaction which it exercised upon the Prākṛit of the monuments; all that we do not know is to what dialects it at first extended. The few examples of doubling which we find in the epigraphs of the end of the 2nd century, or of the beginning of the 3rd, would seem to mark this epoch as the period of this grammatical work.

<sup>10</sup> Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1886, p. 100.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1876, pp. 175 and ff.

<sup>12</sup> It has since been published by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphica Indica*, Part I.



Without being in a position to state with positive accuracy, we cannot be far wrong in asserting that the second and third centuries are the earliest time at which it can have been brought forward into practice. It is clear that this work cannot have been contemporaneous for all the dialects, and that, for several, it has only been carried out at a much later period.

These conclusions compel us to accept an important consequence. This consequence is that all the Pāli-Prākṛit literature which we possess is, in the orthographical form in which we now have it, later than the grammatical reform of the Prākṛits, and later than the 2nd or 3rd century.

I must here do away with a scruple which might arise in the reader's mind, and suggest one explanation.

My last inductions are principally founded on the date of the doubling of consonants in writing. Am I not exaggerating the importance of an orthographical detail?

It will first be remarked that the argument drawn from doubling, if I have been right in insisting upon it on account of facts which allow us to treat it with a striking degree of accuracy, comes simply to confirm and to circumscribe, from the point of view of chronology, a proposition which *a priori* compelled its own acceptance. Or can any one doubt that the regularisation of the Prākṛits, such as we find it both in grammatical manuals and in literary works, was not necessarily later than the final elaboration and diffusion into common life of Sanskrit, or that it was not inspired by and modelled on it? This imitation of Sanskrit perforce carries us, after what has been said above, to at least the second century.

Moreover, we must take care not to minimize too much the importance of this graphic phenomenon. For several centuries, through minor modifications, a certain orthographical system was maintained in the Prākṛit of the monuments, without undergoing any attack, or submitting to any compromise. All at once, we find, one day, this system modified, and modified in a regular, constant manner, in one of its most characteristic traits. The incident, from a grammatical point of view, is not so petty. By its very suddenness, by the strictness with which the new principle is applied, it indicates that a revolution of some magnitude has intervened.

This doubling may pass for a detail, but it is not an isolated one. It forms an integral part of a more general reconstruction. It is one of the most apparent manifestations, but it is far from exhausting them. The fixation of the Prākṛits by the learned has also touched other points. There is no appearance or indication of its having been executed in successive stages, and, so to speak, in several acts. It can only be understood as taking place at a single blow in the first dialects which were subjected to it. It could subsequently have extended to the others by a natural process of imitation. If we prove the application of one characteristic feature of the system, we may be assured that that system in its entirety has just, for the first time, been put in practice.

A decisive fact testifies to the importance of this moment in the history of the Prākṛits. It is natural that one graphic system should disappear from use on the arrival of a system, which was more complete and more consistent to itself. That is what happened to Mixed Sanskrit in the presence of Sanskrit. Now, with the 3rd century, Monumental Prākṛit disappears without return. The Pallava inscriptions are in pure Pāli, and after that epoch, Sanskrit remains, alone amongst the tongues of Aryan stock, as the language of epigraphy.

The objection, therefore, appears to me to be divested of serious importance.

As for the explanation, I can be brief.

Of Prākṛit of earlier date than the grammatical reform, we possess no positive documents other than epigraphic evidence. All the literary works are written according to the system established by the grammarians, and they all bear evident traces of the levelling process which followed the scholastic reform. I conclude from this that all, from the Sinhalese canon and the canon of the Jains to the verses of Hāla and to the dramas, are, in the actual form in



which we now have them, of later date than the labours of the grammarians, and consequently, than the third century.

Are we, therefore, to conclude that the dialects which the schools retouched, had never, before this epoch, been applied to literature? Such is not my opinion. We shall see, on the contrary, that the use for which several have been specialized, the archaic form which several of them have preserved, can only be explained by the existence of certain traditions, either literary or religious. People composed stanzas in Mahārāṣṭrī before the collection of Hāla was written in its present form. Long before the Sinhalese *Tripitaka* was fixed in the shape in which we now read it, there existed, amongst certain sects of Buddhists, a number of formulæ, rules, and legends transmitted in a dialect in its essence closely resembling the Pāli of our books. We must, nevertheless, take care not to exaggerate the accuracy or the importance of these earlier compositions. They must have remained purely oral, or, at most, had only received a written form, which was accidental and ephemeral. A sect, Buddhist, Jaina or other, which possessed, whether written, or even living in a finally established oral tradition, a definite and consecrated canon, would certainly never have consented to alter it by submitting it to a new grammatical remodelling. Moreover, this grammatical retouching must have been at first undertaken in answer to a demand, to give for the new requirements of editing and codification, the instrument which was necessary to them. The fixation and the reform of a dialect peculiar to the sect, which was used for its fundamental texts, can only be conceived as occurring at the date when they were for the first time united in a definitive collection of traditions, which had hitherto been either imperfect or dispersed. If they had been established sooner in a canonical *corpus*, the language of that *corpus* would itself have been the law. Its authority would have rendered reform both useless and impossible. This reform would, on the other hand, under the conditions in which it was produced, have been equally inexplicable, if we did not admit previous attempts at editing. Although imperfect and fragmentary, they have, in a general way, marked for each dialect the low-water mark of its phonetic development, and furnished the characteristic traits of its morphology.

It is expressly subject to this reserve that we must understand the conclusions which I have indicated. At the present moment, I am only dealing with a special class of considerations. It is unnecessary to say that there are arguments of another nature which appear to me to confirm these inductions. I here leave them aside, and only wish to point out, *en passant*, one interesting instance of agreement. There are reasons for believing that the stanzas of Hāla represent the most ancient specimen of Prākṛit literature. In the course of his learned and ingenious labours on this valuable collection, Prof. A. Weber<sup>13</sup> has proved that the third century is the earliest date to which it is possible to refer it.

I have now replied, so far as the documents on which I depend appear to allow, to this first question; — at what epoch did the Literary Prākṛits begin to be fixed and to establish themselves? We should also like to know how and under the influence of what circumstances this blossoming forth took place.

This question has hitherto been treated as a simple problem of linguistics. Each dialect has been considered as having been, at the epoch when it received its literary form, a spoken and living idiom. Taking this principle as a foundation, a series based solely on phonetic comparisons has been converted into a chronological scale. I have protested against this confusion, and indicated why, in my opinion, we must discard a criterion which has been adopted with too ready a confidence.

The literary elaboration of the Prākṛits cannot have been earlier than the second or third century. It has been in no way proved, and, indeed, it is hardly probable, that it should

<sup>13</sup> Weber, *Das Saptasatākāṣṭha des Hāla*, p. xxiii.



have taken place for all the Prākṛits at the same time. Once given the initiatory impulse, the new comers could have followed a movement to which they were originally strangers. In each case it is a special question, less of linguistics than of literary history, which is necessarily difficult and delicate, and which demands thorough investigation for each dialect. I am not called upon to enter, nor should I have the means of entering, upon such an inquiry, even admitting — and I am very far from admitting — that each of these separate problems is at the present moment ripe for discussion. It is sufficient for me to indicate certain facts which appear as if they would throw some light on the problem as a whole.

On looking at it nearer, it resolves itself into two questions.

We must understand why some of the popular dialects were transformed into literary dialects more or less touched up by learned hands.

We must discover how and under what circumstances each received the particular form in which it has been ultimately fixed.

The previous existence of Sanskrit gives an easy reply to the first question. Learned languages have been settled in India in all parts and at all periods. The continued tradition of a religious language distinct from the current tongue, the ancient creation of a literary language fashioned on its model, a language consecrated both by its origin and by the privileged position of its authors, — all these very special conditions sufficiently explain the fact. To this must be added the influence of the social constitution. By the overruling authority which it conferred on the Brāhmins, it assured to scholastic formalism, to the preferences and undertakings of the learned, an empire altogether surer and more powerful than could otherwise have been expected.

I content myself, therefore, with merely pointing out the causes, the action of which has been so evident.

The second question is more complex: why should such and such dialects and not such and such others have been the object of this literary culture? How comes it that dialects in very different degrees of degeneration could have been fixed under parallel circumstances, and, more, at an epoch long posterior to the linguistic period represented by their respective constituent elements? What influences have determined the level at which each one has been arrested?

If the existence of a learned language, like Sanskrit, is an indispensable postulate for the very existence of the Literary Prākṛits, its influence was not confined to an initiatory impulse. It is manifest that the classical grammar has, in matters of detail, played the part of a regulator. The classical language fixed in all its parts, surrounded by so much authority and prestige, would present itself to learned labour as a type of perfection: its action could not fail to be powerful. It is the existence of it alone which can explain how such a partial reorganization, a partial levelling, could have taken place without throwing the whole into irremediable disorganisation. The model was there, at once a light and a restraint.

If we take these dialects in themselves and in their separate destinies, it is not difficult to discern several factors which have not only rendered possible, but which have prepared the way for, and which have inspired, their definitive constitution.

All the Prākṛits have their roots diving deep into the popular language. The ethnic names which several bear, may, in one or more instances, be deceptive, but, certainly, all their essential elements are originally borrowed from the living language. This peculiarity is common to all, but all the popular dialects have not been raised to the rank of grammatical Prākṛits. This learned crystallization of several of them, occurring at an epoch when Sanskrit was coming into common use and had put in the hands of all an excellent literary instrument, must have had special reason for its motive in each particular case. Several such reasons, literary or religious, local or scholastic, will readily suggest themselves.



If the definitive fixation of the Prākṛits, and, as a consequence, the drawing up into their present form of the works which have come down to us, cannot have been appreciably earlier than the third century, it is very plain that neither these languages, nor these works could have one day sprung from nothing. They must have had antecedents. There certainly existed, in a more or less rudimentary condition, long before this epoch, a popular and profane literature, hardly or not at all written, but nevertheless living. We find positive traces of it in the inscriptions. I need not refer, in the inscription of Siripulumāyi (Nās. No. 14), to the well-known allusions to the Epic legend. The religious sects could have, nay, must have, from the age of their foundation, preserved teachings and relations, and, at the same time, a more or less altered tradition of the language which had at first served for their propagation. It is from these sources that the arbiters of the literary renovation were able to draw the characteristic elements of the idioms to which they gave a definitive form. In several respects the situation of the Prākṛits is altogether analogous to that of Sāṁskṛit as I understand it, and as I have sketched it above.

If Mahārāṣṭrī has become, in preference to every other dialect, the language of song-poetry, it is because it was in Mahārāṣṭra more than elsewhere, that there had spontaneously developed a poetry which served as a model for more learned attempts. The Jainas, while using the Mahārāṣṭrī, have introduced into it the termination *ś* of nominatives masculine. The name Māgadhi preserved for their dialect well shews that this innovation is, as it were, a last echo of the recollections which they had kept of this country of Magadha, with which more than one historic tie connected them. It is evidently an analogous recollection which is expressed in the application of the same name, Māgadhi, to the language of the Sinhalese *Tripitaka*. A few rare Māgadhisms can hardly pass for a mark of origin. Several traces of Māgadhisms, however, appear in the most ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, which seem to testify that, as we might expect, it was a kind of Māgadhi which was employed in the propaganda of Piyadasi. The Sinhalese canon pretends to descend directly from it; in reality, an altogether different influence rules the language in which it is couched, — an influence probably emanating from the west of India. The Mixed Sāṁskṛit of the Buddhists of the North-West is the Prākṛit orthography which was the most closely allied to Literary Sāṁskṛit, and it was it which, in all likelihood, was the soonest fixed in a lasting tradition. It is very possible that Pāli owes something of its archaic character to this leaning towards etymological orthography of which Western India has furnished us with multiple proofs. The tradition of it must have been, to a certain degree, preserved by the sect to which we are to attribute the drawing up of the southern *Tripitaka*.

From this point of view there is one fact which seems to me to be sufficiently striking to deserve being mentioned here. Three provincial Prākṛits hold the place of honour in the grammars, the Mahārāṣṭrī, the Māgadhi, and the Saurasēni. It would give quite a false idea of the Prākṛit grammarians to imagine that they claimed, under these three names, to include all the principal families of the popular dialects. Their only aim was always practical utility, and we shall be in no danger of wronging them if we affirm that they never conceived the idea of a general and methodical classification of all the Prākṛit dialects. It is upon special conditions, local or historical, that the importance of these three dialects must be founded. Now, we learn from their origins, as indicated by their names, that they exactly correspond to the homes of the three systems of writing which the monuments allow us to descry in periods earlier than the grammatical one; the Mahārāṣṭrī to the Monumental Prākṛit of the West coast; the Māgadhi to the official orthography of Piyadasi, and the Saurasēni, the one which possesses the most archaic aspect, to the Sāṁskṛitizing Prākṛit of Mathurā and the North-West. It seems that the more or less obscured recollections, the more or less interrupted perpetuation, of a tradition, founded on early attempts at writing, set in movement in these three homes, and at least facilitated the creation of literary dialects.

Whatever may be the value of this conjecture, one conclusion is certain. It is only in



the circumstance of an earlier tradition, local, religious or literary, kept up by means and under conditions which may have varied, that the grammatical reform, from which sprang the grammatical Prakṛits in the form in which we know them, can have been possible. I am here content with pointing out the fact in its general aspect. I have not set myself to approach the thorny questions of literary history which surround the peculiar origin of each of these dialects. I have at least wished to shew, while laying before the reader the proposition to which the facts of philology appear to me irresistibly to drive us, that as a whole it presents none of those insurmountable difficulties which a mind pre-possessed by different theories might expect. In concluding, I wish to remark that this necessary allowance of a previous tradition, is an important corrective to what might seem too positive in my statements regarding the final redaction of the Pāli or Prakṛit books. This reserve is indispensable. As for laying down the limits in each particular case, for accurately distinguishing between what is the work of the last editors, and what the inheritance of earlier tradition, such a task would be infinite. Perhaps we shall never be in a position to accomplish it in its entirety.

#### PART IV.

#### CONCLUSION.

The above observations have led me to touch on most of the more general problems which the linguistic history of ancient India presents. I cannot conclude without summing up the principal conclusions to which I have been conducted. They are, in several respects, in conflict with generally received ideas; but we must consider that, hitherto, the examination of these questions is, as is admitted by all, far from having ended in categorical results.<sup>14</sup> Our knowledge on this subject is still too incomplete, too floating, to allow a little novelty to excite surprise or to justify distrust. I have dealt with one sole order of considerations, with arguments based on epigraphy and philology, the only ones which were called forth by the principal subject of this work. I consider that these arguments furnish my views with a sufficiently solid basis; and I have every confidence that proofs of other kinds will come to add themselves to mine, and to gradually confirm them. I shall not be charged, I think, with having disdained these other sources of information. I well know all their value. Even if it be not true, as I think it is, that the series of facts to which I have confined myself is the one most likely to lead us to decisive results, the other considerations would hardly come within the limits which have been laid down for me.

The principal literary dialects of ancient India are three in number; the Vedic language, Classical Sanskrit, and the group of Prakṛits. To these we must add that idiom which was in a way intermediate between Sanskrit and Prakṛit, for which I have proposed the name of Mixed Sanskrit.

1. So far as concerns the religious language of the Vēdas, the inscriptions of Piyadasi indirectly testify that it was, at the commencement of the 3rd century before our era, the object of a certain amount of culture, and that this culture was purely oral. That is a point which has been discussed in the preceding chapter.

2. As for Classical Sanskrit, its elaboration in the Brahmanical world, essentially based on the Vedic language, and on the school-language which might have formed, so to say, its prolongation, but enlivened by the first applications of writing to the popular dialects, should be placed about the 3rd century B. C., and the time following. Its public or official employment only commenced to spread abroad at the end of the first or at the commencement of the second century. No work of the classical literature can well be of earlier date than this epoch.

3. Mixed Sanskrit is only a manner of writing Prakṛit, consisting in going as near as possible to the orthography and the etymological forms known to the religious language.

<sup>14</sup> I may refer the reader to the recent preface put by Prof. M. Müller at the commencement of his *Sanskrit Grammar for beginners*, p. v., and also to the preface of Prof. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*.



Its use, born spontaneously with the first attempts at writing, continually developed, from the edicts of Kapur di Giri to the epigraphs of Mathurā. Used specially by the Buddhists, it stimulated the Brāhmins to the codification and diffusion of a more consequent, more refined language, profane Sanskrit. The coming into use of Literary Sanskrit marks its disappearance. It had, in the meantime, owing to its diffusion in the reign of Kanishka, assured its own survival, as a semi-literary dialect, in certain Buddhistic schools.

4. There remain the Prakrits. Popular in their origin, they have, in the form in which they have been employed, and which has come down to us, undergone a process of fixation, and of orthographical and grammatical reform. It is Sanskrit, and the exactly analogous process of learned labour to which Sanskrit owes its own existence, that inspired and guided this process. It cannot have taken place before the end of the 2nd century, and towards the end of the 4th we may suppose it a completed operation. None of the grammars which teach the literary Prakrits, and none of the books couched in one or other of these dialects, can, under its existing form, be of earlier date than this period. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that, far from excluding the existence of literary attempts and of a more ancient tradition, this theory supposes them as an indispensable preparation. It only excludes the idea of works having received a definitive form, of a canonically arrested tradition, the existence of which would have rendered all grammatical reform both superfluous and impossible.

It is needless to say that the correctness of the dates which I have just now mentioned depends, to a very high degree, on the correctness of the dates which we attributed to the inscriptions. The chronological series of the monuments appears to me to be well established, and if we suppose that some corrections in it are necessary, I do not imagine that they can be found to be of sufficient extent to modify the main lines which I have sketched out.

Everything, in this system, depends on, and follows, one natural and well-connected movement. The same tendencies, which we see at work in the earliest times, continue their action to the end. Throughout evolutions, each of which pre-supposes and engenders the next, the main motors remain identical. The continuation of the linguistic history during the period which we have surveyed, is the logical development of the tendencies which are revealed by the most ancient monuments. In this sense, this last chapter is closely connected with the direct object of our studies, the Inscriptions of Piyadasi.

FINIS.

#### THE DATES OF THE VAGHELA KINGS OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In my review of Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's most valuable *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1883-84, (*ante*, Vol. XVIII., p. 184ff.), I expressed strong doubts as to the correctness of the Vāghelā dates, given in his new historical Fragment, p. 12, and by the Dharmasāgara in his *Pravachanaparīkshā*, op. cit. p. 150. But I was unable to furnish strict historical proof that Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's two authorities post-date the accession of Viśaladēva and of two of his successors by two years. Lately Rāo Sāheb D. P. Khakar, who has already furnished numerous valuable contributions to the history and archæology of Kachh, has kindly sent me an eye-copy of a mutilated inscription, which settles the question. It is incised on a Pālī at Khōkhrā in Kachh, of which Rāo Sāheb Khakar gives the following account:—

"The Pālī has a figure of a cow, feeding probably on Indian corn (maize) and suckling her calf. This Pālī is stated to have been in the Fort of Bhadrēshwar. But a Thādējā daughter of the village of Khōkhrā, near Angār, having married in Bhadrēshwar, she thought that the cow might be worshipped in the Mahādēva temple in her father's village, and so she sent it there, where the inscription was all buried, and the cow was worshipped. When I learnt of it in Sam. 1939, I got with great difficulty the buried portion of the Pālī excavated,



and found that the portion of it on which the object of the inscription was written, had been broken and lost, and after a year's inquiry I got no trace of it."

The fragment of the inscription, which appears to be written in the ordinary Dēvanāgarī characters of the thirteenth century, runs as follows:—

- 1 Ōm ॥ Saṃvat 1332 varṣhē Mārga sudi 11 Saṃv=ady=ēha sri.
- 2 [ma\*]d-Aṇahillapātakē samasta-rājāvali[ya\*]-samalambkṛita-mahārā-
- 3 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-prō-[prau]dha-pratāma(pa)-Nārā-
- 4 ya[ṇ-ā]vatāra-lakshmi-svayaṃvara-mahārāja-śrī-Sāraṅgadēva-ka-
- 5 lyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrī-śrī-karaṇādō(dau) mahāmātya-śrī-Māva-
- 6 va-maham rādhi-<sup>1</sup>śrī-Kāuhē samasta-vyāpārān paripamṛi(tha)ya . . . . .

The document belongs, therefore, to the reign of the Vāghōla king Sāraṅgadēva and mentions a minister, called Kāṇha, i.e. Kṛishṇa. Its date Saṃvat, i.e., Vikrama-Saṃvat 1332, Mārga sudi 11 Saṃvat corresponds, according to Dr. Schram's Tables with Saturday, Dec. 1, 1275 A. D. The year was an expired year, both according to the northern and the southern mode of calculation.<sup>2</sup> The conflicting statements contained, the one in the *Vichārasrēṇi* and Mr. Bhāṭ Dāji's *Paṭṭāvali*, and the other in Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's fragment and the *Pravachanaparīkṣhā*, are:—

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| Viśaladēva ruled       | (I). V. S. 1300-1318; (II). V. S. 1302-1320. |
| Arjunadēva ruled until | (I). V. S. 1331; (II). V. S. 1333.           |
| Sāraṅgadēva—           | (I). V. S. 1353; (II). V. S. 1353.           |

The date of Rāo Sāheb Khakar's new inscription proves that the Fragment and the *Pravachanaparīkṣhā* place Sāraṅga's accession too late and do not deserve to be credited.

## FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

### No. 2.—The Parrot Prince and his Princess.<sup>1</sup>

Once upon a time there were two parrot kingdoms at Dehli and Hansā Vihār. The king of the former had a son and the king of the latter an only daughter. The subjects of both the kingdoms advised that the prince should take a wife and the princess a husband. So they both left their respective kingdoms in search of a partner. It so chanced that one night on their journey they alighted on the same tree, and the parrot prince hearing the leaves rattle enquired who was there. Each told the other who they were: and they were thinking of marrying together, when the prince said, "All women are faithless." "So are all men," said the princess. Thus they went on disputing and they finally agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the king of the country in which they happened to be.

So they both attended the king's court, and he said, "Produce your proofs."

Then the parrot princess said, — "Once upon a time seven sons of a king went out hunting and came upon a grand house in a jungle. Now this was the house of a demon (*dēv*), and the owner was away, leaving his six daughters and their handmaid in charge of his palace. The seven girls made friends with the seven princes, and they lived together for some time in the greatest happiness. Now the youngest prince had taken the handmaid as his partner, and one night he heard her say in her sleep, "What a misfortune has come on the wretched mother of these poor princes!" Next night she said the same words. So, when eating time came, the youngest prince refused to eat, unless the girl told him what she meant. After

<sup>1</sup> These letters cannot be correct.

<sup>2</sup> According to Professor Jacobi's new Tables, published in the *Epigraphica Indica*, the eleventh tithi ended on Saturday about 44 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise (Lāṅkā).

<sup>3</sup> A folktale told by Daurat Kharwār: the Kharwār is an aboriginal tribe in South Mirzāpur.



some hesitation she said — "The six girls, whom your brothers have taken to live with you, are the daughters of a demon, and he eats men. When he comes back he will devour all the six princes." "Is there any way of escape?" asked the prince. "Well!" she answered, "If you get hold of the horses of the demon and cross the ocean at a single jump you can escape.<sup>2</sup> To-morrow make a pretence of going out to hunt and do this. They did so, and just as they were jumping across the ocean the demon rushed up and seized hold of the hind legs of the horse, on which the youngest prince was mounted. Then the handmaid called out to her lover "Take your sword and cut off the hind legs of the horse and you will escape." The young prince did so, and the demon was left behind, and they crossed the ocean in safety. When they got over, the daughters of the demon asked, "How did you manage to escape our father?" "By doing as the maid, who was with me, told me to do," replied the Prince, who could not keep the secret. Then the demon's daughters fell on the maid and tore her to pieces.

"By this," said the parrot princess, "you may learn that a man is never to be trusted."

"Now, what have you to say?" asked the king of the parrot prince.

"Well," he replied, "there was once a Rājā, who married a Rānī, and was bringing her home in a litter. By chance he got separated from his followers, and as they were going along the Rānī was suddenly taken sick and died. The Rājā took her corpse out of the litter and laid it on a river bank. Seeing this dreadful sight the bearers all ran away. The Rājā sat down by the corpse, and began to sing *Rām nāmī*. The God Mahādēō, who generally lives in solitary places, came up and asked the Rājā why he was lamenting. He told Mahādēō of the misfortune that had fallen on him. "If I bring the Rānī to life, will you surrender half your life?" Asked Mahādēō. "I agree," said the Rājā. So Mahādēō poured a little water on the Rānī out of his jar (*kamandal*) and the Rānī came to life again. Mahādēō went away and the Rājā and Rānī lay down to rest. While the Rājā slept a merchant (*mahājan*) came up with a horse laden with gold *mohars*, and the faithless Rānī abandoned the Rājā, who had saved her life, and ran away with the merchant."

"By this," said the parrot prince, "you may learn that all women are faithless."

Then the Rājā, who was trying the cause gave his decision — "Men as well as women," said he, "have their faults<sup>3</sup> and the best thing you can do is to get married."

And so they were married and ruled their two parrot kingdoms for many a year in happiness.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT ANIMALS IN MADRAS.

It is considered one of the greatest sins that a man can commit to kill a cow or taste its flesh; and it is also laid down that to eat curds, ghee, and honey together is an equal sin.

When cattle cross your path it is considered a sin to pass through them. You must wait till the way is cleared and then go on.

When flying-foxes are flying about during the day, it is a sure sign of a shower of rain immediately.

About the Garudan or Royal Eagle or White

Kite there is a tradition among the Hindus of Southern India, that the bird serves as the *vāha-nam* (vehicle) of Vishnu, and on Sundays he is supposed to ride on it in the morning. Hence the Brahmans especially anxiously look out for it on Sunday mornings, in order to pay their respects to Vishnu, through his sacred bird. On seeing it the ordinary Brāhmaṇ recites the following *śloka*, which he supposes to be Sanskrit:—

*Kunkumamkita varnaya  
Kundhēndhu śavalayicha  
Vishṇuvāhana namasthubhyaṁ  
Pakshirdja ēthē namaha.*

<sup>2</sup> [This is a very interesting variant of the notion of the difficulties that hedge round the folktale demon and life-index.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [So sensible and moral an ending to a "tricks of women" story is well worthy of remark.—Ed.]



Some of the Brahmans believe that if a person sees this bird flying in the sky on a Sunday morning, at any time before breakfast, he will attain fulfilment of all his enterprises during the ensuing week.

Among the lower castes of the Hindus the ceremonies have a different aspect. Their priests buy a small quantity of flesh from the *bādr* and bring it home. With this they make it a point to feed the bird, and wait outside their houses for it to fly over them. When they see one they throw up bits of the meat, inviting the bird to take them. When the bits are all taken they pay obeisance to the bird and take leave. After this they bathe and take their meals, considering themselves to have received the benediction of Vishnu.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

#### MALABAR COAST.

##### Unlucky Actions.

1. Never let any one tread on the nails of your fingers or toes, lest he become your enemy.
2. Never pour water into a *chunam* pouch at night.
3. Never take off the inner coating of the areca-nut at night.

4. Never look at the fox or jackal in the morning; but note the proverb: — "Did you wake this morning with a fox in your face?"

N. SANKUNNI WARIYAR.

#### MALABAR COAST.

##### Lucky Actions.

1. Always throw the outer rind of the areca-nut into the street, so that people walk over it.
2. Turn to the right when getting up in the morning from your bed.

N. SANKUNNI WARIYAR.

#### SPIRIT HAUNTS IN MADRAS.

Evil spirits seek always for their abode that portion of a tank or a river where someone has been drowned and lost his life, or the following trees:—

1. *Ficus Religiosa*, pipal, (*Arasu* in Tamil);
2. *Asadirachtā Indica*, Nim. (*Vēmbu* in Tamil);
3. Tamarind (*Puliyam* in Tamil).

Hence virgins, or pregnant women, and children, are usually warned not to approach these places at any time during the day or night.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

*Ootacamund.*

## BOOK-NOTICE.

JOURNAL OF THE MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY. Edited by H. DHARMAPALA, Calcutta, May 1892.—No 1. Baptist Mission Press, for the Buddha Gaya Mahabodhi Society.

The Buddha-Gaya Mahabodhi Society, or the Bud-Gaya<sup>1</sup> Society, for it is a little difficult to make out its title clearly from the publication before us was, we find, established at Colombo on May 31st, 1891, under the auspices of Colonel H. S. Olcott. This is good and also bad. Good because the Colonel has already shown that he can control a Society and a Journal which can live, and bad because he has also shown that his views of the Buddhist Religion are as bold as they are delightfully visionary. The complete and unconscious misapprehension of every aspect of the subject he affects to have deeply studied is indeed the most charming part of the addresses he delivers. He is always poetical and nearly always wrong in every view to which he gives expression. He is "chief adviser" of the new Society, and in the first number of its Journal

are many echoes of his ideas. There is the same magnificent disregard of actual facts, and the same enchanting inaccuracy as to details in historical references on every page, that have always distinguished the writers on Theosophy. Here is a fine sample:—

"It is only a baseless tradition that Buddhism was destroyed by the Aryans. As yet no evidence has been forthcoming to show that the vandalism was done by them. But, on the contrary, there are facts and historical data to prove conclusively that the catastrophe was accomplished by the Muhammedan(*sic*) invaders of India. The temples of Vishnu, Siva and other devatās(*sic*) did not escape the fire and sword of the devastating Moslem. The destruction of Buddhism dates from the time of the invasion of India by Muhammad(*sic*) of Ghazni."

Could anything be more delightful than this? Just before the above passage we are told "that Buddhism was destroyed seven centuries ago in

<sup>1</sup> It is to be hoped that 'Bud-Gaya' will be dropped as hopelessly wrong etymologically.



India is beyond doubt." Muhamad (speaking under Col. Olcott's correction we understand that the conqueror's name was, however, Mahmūd) of Ghazni we thought lived nearer nine centuries than seven centuries ago. But then, two centuries of time are as nothing in the retrospect of a poet! And we are glad to hear, because it is news, that it was the wicked 'Muhammedan' (we follow the 'chiefly advising' writer in making 'Muhammedan' the correct adjectival form of 'Muhamad') who carried through the destruction of Buddhism in India from start to finish. A little lower down we learn how it was done:—

"From the tenth to the twelfth centuries a systematic vandalism of sacred shrines was carried on by the devastating hordes of Arabs under Muhammedan generals."

The armies of the Ghaznavi and Ghōri generals were, of course, all Arabs! We are learning quickly indeed:—but there is yet more to learn—much more than was ever dreamt of in our philosophy:—

"From the twelfth to the sixteenth century indigenous literature was not only not allowed to be cultivated, but every method was adopted to stamp out a national growth."

O shades of Akbar and Jahāngir and Dārā Shikōh! O Chand Bardāi! O Kabīr! O Gurā Nānak! O Tulsi Dās! O ye Mediæval Reformers! what say ye to this?

However, the 'Muhammedan' is evidently a red rag to the writers in the *Journal* of the Mahābōdhi Society, and it may be that their personal feelings have warped their sense of historical accuracy.

The *Journal* is severe on those who differ from its views. "Sciologists and superficial critics, failing to grasp the philosophy, and merely for the sake of notoriety, condemn Buddhism as atheistic." Granted for the sake of argument. Let us hear what the scientific and deep critic has to teach us—for we confess to being with the sciologists in this matter:—"The cherished gods of the Aryans, the mild Vishnu, the protecting Brahma, and the guarding Indra (the differentiation between 'protecting' and 'guarding' is distinctly good), besides most of the *devas* and *devatās* have not been relegated into the land of myths. They have a niche in the pantheon of gods in the Buddhist system."

"The pantheon of gods in the Buddhist system" exhibits a truly scientific appreciation of the Buddhist philosophy no doubt, but we shall remain 'sciologists' nevertheless.

Passing by the muddling together of '*devas* and *devatās*', as exhibited in the extracts already

quoted, we have to note a peculiarity in the *Journal*, which is typical of the theosophic variety of the scientific man. Outer sciologists, who lay claim to some knowledge of Indian languages, have a habit, when transliterating, of diacritically marking certain letters to show their form in the original. The scientific theosophist always tries to do the same, and the result is invariably startling. We have fine specimens before us now, e.g., Vaishnāva, Māgadha (the country), Kusināgara, Priyadāsi (this is most excellent, for it has the advantage of being neither Pālī nor Sanskrit), and so on. And then again, if you write Siva and Saiva (p. 3), why write Sri and Sankarāchārya.

If the Mahābōdhi Society's views of things ancient are astonishing, its ideas on contemporary movements are equally so:—

"The intellect of the educated has reached its ultimate development, and it is impossible to go back to the dualistic stage of religion, when scientific monism is gaining ground among the highest intellects of Europe and America. This scientific monism is the Advaita Philosophy of ancient India. This scientific and realistic monism in all its comprehensiveness was promulgated by Gautama Buddha twenty-five centuries ago."

This is well conceived, but the following is better from the pen of the 'chiefly advising' Colonel himself:—

"Western dogmatism cannot stand before it (the Arya Dharma of Sakya Muni, miscalled 'Buddhism'). Western men of light and learning welcome it, the weary-souled begin to hail it with enthusiasm. The two chief reviving agencies, the two channels through which it is flowing, are a book and a Society—the '*Light of Asia*' and the Theosophical Society. Ten years hence Buddhism will have gained an unshakable foothold throughout Christendom."

This is enough for us! When Western men of light and learning accept the *Light of Asia* as a true exposition of Buddhism the Christian will deserve to go down before the Buddhist.

We have thus dwelt on the errors in the *Journal* of the Mahābōdhi Society at length, because we fully sympathise with the general aims of the Society, which are apparently to protect the remains at Buddh-Gayā from further neglect, to secure the funds of the temple from further misappropriation, and to ensure the preservation of Buddhist literature. The sooner therefore the conductors of the *Journal* of the Society cease to publish downright nonsense the sooner will they secure respect towards themselves, and general sympathy with their laudable objects.



## TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

BY V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

No. 3.—AN INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.<sup>1</sup>

THE inscription, which I now publish, is on the southern wall of the Bhaktavatsalasvāmin temple at Tirukkalukkunram in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. It was copied by me on the spot, but I have not been able to make out a correct reading of the whole of the inscription, as it is much faded and in some parts illegible. It is in Tamil characters of the Eleventh Century A.D. The first part of it is a eulogy on the reigning king, and is in verse in High Tamil; the latter part is in ordinary prose and records the purchase of a piece of land by the temple authorities. The original text of the poetical portion appears to have been composed by a writer well versed in classical Tamil. It has been engraved, however, either very carelessly or by ignorant hands; even common words have been misspelt, and no distinguishing mark has been made to denote the end or commencement of each line of the verse portion. The language being High Tamil, and the characters somewhat indistinct, the deciphering of this part of the inscription would have been impossible, if I had not fortunately had with me copies of inscriptions, which I had taken from other temples in the Tamil country. Three of these, which I detail below, have been of much use to me in reading this text.

## INSCRIPTION No. 1.

An inscription on the northern side of the *Vimāna* of the temple dedicated to Pāṇḍava dūta-Perumāḷ at Kāñchipuram, which commences with the first 25 lines of the present text, and continues as follows:—

## Text.

Nan maṇi āramum tiruppuṇyattalaṅkalum pōla vīramum tiyākamum viḷaṅka pārmicha mēvalar vaṇaṅka vīra chimmāchanattu puvanamūḷutudaiyāḷodum viṇṇiruntaruḷiya Kōrāja-kēsarivarṇmarāna Uḍaiyār sri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu aṇḍāvatu . . . . .

## Translation.

In the fifth year of the lord sri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, *alias* Kō-Rājakēsarivarman, (here enter the translation of the first 25 lines) whose valour and munificence shone like the necklace of faultless gems and the garland of flowers on his shapely shoulders; who deigned to sit on the throne of heroes with the goddess Earth, while his enemies bowed down to the ground before him.

## INSCRIPTION No. 2.

An inscription in very clear characters, on the western wall of the Saiva temple at Kilpaluvūr in the Trichinopoly District, which begins with the same words as in the present text up to the end of the 62nd line, and continues as follows:—

## Text.

Nerītorum nīlaikaḷ iddaruḷi tīraḷ koḷ vīra simhāsana vēddaruḷi poṅkoḷiyāramum tiruppuṇyattalaṅkalum pōla vīramum tiyākamum viḷaṅka pārmichai mēvalar vaṇaṅka vīra simhāsanaṇṇu avanimuḷutudaiyāḷodum viṇṇiruntaruḷiya Kōrājakēsarivarṇmarāna Tiripuvanaśchakkara-varttikaḷ sri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu irupatāvatu . . . . .

## Translation.

In the twentieth year of the emperor of the three worlds, sri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, *alias* Kō-Rājakēsarivarman, (here enter the translation of the first 62 lines) who erected on all the public paths boundary-marks (of his territories) and obtained the throne of mighty heroes; whose valour and munificence shone like the resplendent necklace and the garland of flowers on his sacred shoulders; who was pleased to sit on the throne of heroes with the goddess Earth, while his enemies bowed down to the ground before him.

<sup>1</sup> [The spelling of vernacular words in the English portion of this paper has been altered in accordance with the system followed in this Journal. The Tamil texts have been left intact, as no facsimiles were to hand.—ED.]



## INSCRIPTION No. 3.

An inscription on the eastern wall of the Śaiva temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjore District, which begins with the first 66 lines of the text and proceeds as follows:—

## Text.

Chivanidattumaiyena Tinachintāmaṇi puvanamuḷutudaiyāḷodum kaṅkaiviruntena maṇ  
kaiyar tilatam Ēḷichavallapi lreḷulakamudaiyāḷ vāḷiyumalarntinitiruppa ūḷiyum tirumālakat-  
tuppiriyātena tirumakaḷ tikaḷḷena Tiyaḷavalli taruma ulakudaiyāḷiruppa \* \* \* puva-  
namuḷutudaiyāḷodum viriruntarāḷiya Kōvirājakēsarivarmanarāna Chakkaravarttikaḷ sri-  
Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēvarkku yāṇḍu 26vatu nāḷ nāḷḷepattiraṇḍinil . . . . .

## Translation.

On the 172nd day of the 26th year of the emperor sri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, *alias* Kō-Rajakēsarivarmaṇ, (here enter the translation of the first 66 lines) who, worshipped by the whole world, was pleased to sit in state with Dīnachintāmaṇi, the mistress of the whole world, like Śiva with Umā, and with Ēḷisavallabhi, the mistress of the fourteen worlds, the most beauteous amongst women, like Gaṅgā with Umā, and with Tyāgavalli, the charitable mistress of the world, like Lakshmi who is ever inseparable from Viṣṇu, and with the goddess Earth.

Comparing the above three inscriptions with that which is the subject of this paper, and which is dated "in the 42nd year of the emperor sri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva," it will be seen that it is beyond doubt that all the four refer to the same sovereign, because his name is given as Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa in all of them, and the events of his reign mentioned in the earlier inscriptions are repeated in the very same words in the later. Considering the facts that these inscriptions are found in places very distant from each other, and that the same verses have been used for describing the reigning king, it would appear that it was the custom during this period to adopt a prescribed form of preamble in drawing up any important deed; and as that form was in verse, it is most probable that it was composed by a poet of the king's court and circulated under royal sanction. This is borne out by epigraphical records of other Chōḷa kings; for instance, the inscriptions of Rājārāja-Chōḷa begin with the words "Tirumakaḷ pōla perunilacheḷviyūm"; those of Vikrama-Chōḷa commence "Pūmālai milaintu ponmālai tikaḷa"; those of Rājendra-Chōḷa open with the verse "Tiru manni vaḷara irunila-maḍantaiyūm."

The four inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga noticed in this paper furnish a short history of his life. While he was Yuvarāja, he first distinguished himself by storming Chakkarakōṭṭam. He surprised the enemy there and captured a number of elephants, but left no permanent trace of his conquest. Then he had to fight against the kings of Kuntala, that is the Western Chālukyas. About this time the Chōḷa country came to be without a king, and he marched southwards, and by right of inheritance ascended the throne of the Chōḷas. Before the end of the fifth year after his accession he vanquished the Southern or Pāṇḍya king, who was either taken prisoner, or killed in battle; for the inscriptions state that his head lay, pecked by eagles, outside the Chōḷa capital. Vikkilāṇ, who is doubtless the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI., then invaded the Chōḷa territory, but had to retreat before the superior forces of the Chōḷas, and was hotly pursued from Nāṅgali in the Mysore province to Maṇalūr on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā, where he crossed the river and sought safety within his own dominions. An expedition towards the west was next conducted by Kulōttuṅga in person, and Koṅgumaṇḍalam was subjugated. Two expeditions were also sent to Siṅghaḷam, apparently with no great results.<sup>2</sup> Then he wished to conquer the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, and equipped a large army. After the death of the Pāṇḍya king above alluded to, his kingdom evidently became dismembered, and five Pāṇḍya princes, who were in power, fled in dismay before the Chōḷa forces, and sought refuge in

<sup>2</sup> These were most probably the two Chōḷa invasions mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (chap. lviii.) as having occurred during the early part of the reign of Vijayabāhu.



inaccessible jungles. The whole of the Pāṇḍya country as far as Cape Comorin and Kōṭṭāru was annexed to the Chōḷa empire. Then the pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Manaar and the wild elephants on the Western Ghāts became the property of Kulōttuṅga before the close of the 20th year of his reign. It was, I believe, after this important event that he proclaimed himself "emperor of the three worlds;" for in the inscription No. 1 his name is given as "Uḍaiyār śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-dēva," whereas in No. 2 it is "Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva." Within six years afterwards the Kalingamaṇḍalam was conquered; but from the 26th to the 42nd year the empire seems to have enjoyed peace, no mention being made of any wars in subsequent inscriptions. Three of Kulōttuṅga's queens are named in the inscription No. 3, viz. *Dinachintāmaṇi*, *Ēḷisaivallabhi* and *Tyāgavalli*; but only the last two are mentioned in the text, which forms the subject of this paper.

No era or astronomical day is given in the inscriptions to enable us to ascertain the period of the king's reign; but from the leading events mentioned in them, it is certain that he is identical with the Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa of the Kalingattu Paraṇi. The poem speaks of his early exploits at Chakkarakkōṭṭam (canto x. stanza 23), the anarchy in the Chōḷa country (x. 26), his accession to the Chōḷa kingdom (x. 32), the defeat of the five Pāṇḍya princes (xi. 69), the battles on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra (iv. 7) and at Maṇalūr (xiii. 93), the conquest of the Kalingamaṇḍalam (xii. 68), and the queen Tyāgavalli (x. 55). All these particulars occur in the inscription also. I have in my article on the *Kalingattu Paraṇi*<sup>3</sup> identified the Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa of that poem with the first Eastern Chalukya king of the same name. And as it appears from inscriptions in the Telugu country that he bore the name of Rājendra-Chōḷa before he acceded to the Chōḷa kingdom, there is no doubt that he is also that "Rājiga, the lord of Vēṅgi," who, according to the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*,<sup>4</sup> took possession of the throne of Kāñchi on the death of the Chōḷa king. From the Chellūr grant we learn that Kulōttuṅga's third son, Vira-Chōḷadēva, was installed as viceroy of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1078, and that before him, Kulōttuṅga's second son, Rājaraḷa II., held charge of Vēṅgi for one year, and his uncle, Vijayāditya, for fifteen years. It follows, therefore, that Kulōttuṅga succeeded to the crown of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1063.<sup>5</sup> But there is no record to show when he ascended the Chōḷa throne. From Tamil inscriptions I find that a Chōḷa king named Vira-Rājendradēva, alias Kō-Parakēsarivarman, claims to have "bestowed the Vēṅgimaṇḍalam on Vijayāditya who had bowed at his feet, conquered Kaḍāram for another king who had besought his assistance, forced Sōmēśvara to give up the Kannaradēsam and drove him out of that country, and reduced Irattapaḍi for Vikramāditya who had sought refuge at his feet." The kings alluded to appear to be Vijayāditya VII., viceroy of Vēṅgi (A.D. 1063—1077), the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II. (A.D. 1069—1076), and Vikramāditya VI. (A.D. 1076—1127). That Vijayāditya was in danger of being deprived of his power by the Chōḷas, is also evident from one of the Gaṅga grants, in which it is stated that, "when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēṅgi, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḷas," Rājaraḷa of Kalinganagara (A.D. 1071—1078) "caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region."<sup>6</sup> The above records seem to indicate that Vira-Rājendra, alias Kō-Parakēsarivarman, was the immediate predecessor of Kulōttuṅga on the Chōḷa throne, was contemporary with the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II., and helped his younger brother, Vikramāditya in wresting from him a portion of the Chālukya dominions; also that Kulōttuṅga did not take possession of the Chōḷa kingdom till about A.D. 1071. This is confirmed by the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, which states that "the lord of Vēṅgi" seized the Chōḷa sovereignty some time after the death of Sōmēśvara I. which occurred in A.D. 1069, and before Sōmēśvara II. was taken prisoner by Vikramāditya VI. in A.D. 1076. If Kulōttuṅga had reckoned his regnal years from the day of his accession to the throne of Vēṅgi, the date of the following inscription, which is in the 42nd year of his reign, would fall in A.D. 1105.

<sup>3</sup> ante, Vol. XIX. p. 338.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Bühler's edition, chap. vi. verse 26.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 49-52.<sup>6</sup> See Dr. Fleet's article on the Eastern Chalukya Chronology, ante, Vol. XX. p. 276.



The concluding portion of the inscription, which is in prose, records a deed of sale, executed by the Brāhmaṇa proprietors of a village named Vāṇavanmahādēvichaturvēdimāṅgalam in Kumilīnāḍu in Āmūrkhōṭṭam in Jayāṅkondachōḷamaṇḍalam. The property sold was a portion of the village, which was intended to be used as garden land for the Maṭha of Naminandi Aḍigaḷ attached to the Saiva temple at Tirukkaḷukkunram. Naminandi is the name of one of the 63 devotees of Siva, an account of whose lives is given in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, and the Maṭha was probably founded by him or by his descendants in his memory. The fact that the proprietors of the village met together in a *Mahāsabhā* or great assembly, and executed this deed of sale, is evidence of the ancient system of land tenure peculiar to the Dravidian people, under which the residents of each village were the common proprietors of all those parts of the village, which were not appropriated to any individual. Two taxes are mentioned, the *peruvāram* (great share) and *śilavuvāri* (expenditure tax).<sup>7</sup> The first is the king's share, which is generally one-sixth of the produce; the second appears to be a local cess, levied to meet expenses incurred in the repair to tanks &c. in the village.

## TEXT.

Svasti Sri!

- Pukaḷ chūḷnta puṇari akaḷ chūḷnta puviyil  
 Ponnēmi aḷavum tannēmi nadappa  
 Viḷaṅku chaya makaḷai iḷaṅkōpparuvattu  
 Chakkarakkōddattu vikkiramattoḷilāl  
 (5) Puta maṇam puṇarntu mata varai lddam  
 Vayir ākarattu vāri ayil munai  
 Kuntaḷa arachar tantaḷam iriya  
 Vāḷ uṇai kaḷittu tōḷ vali kāddi  
 Pōrppari nadatti kirttiyai nīṇutti  
 (10) Vada tichai vākaḷ chūdi ten tichai  
 Tēmaru kamala pūmakal potumaiyum  
 Ponni ādaiyūṇṇi nannilappāvai  
 Tanimaiyum tavira vantu punitaru  
 Tiru maḷi makudam orimaiyil chūdi  
 (15) Tannadi iraṇḍum tada mudiyāka  
 Tonnala vēntar chūda munnai  
 Mann vāṇu peruka Kali yāṇu vaṇappa  
 Cheṅkōḷ tichai toṇum chella veṅkudai  
 Irunila viḷakam eṅkaṇum tanatu  
 (20) Tiru nīḷal veṅṇilā tikaḷa  
 Oru tani mēruvil puli viḷaiyāda  
 Āḷ kadai tivaṇtatarttu pūpālar  
 Tiṇai vidu kuṇcharam muṇai mūṇai nīṇpa  
 Viḷaṅkiya Tēnsvan karantalai paruntalait  
 (25) Tidattan ponnakar puṇattidai kidappa  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Cholletir kōḍirṇallatu tankai  
 Villetir kōḍā Vikkilan kallatar  
 Naṅkili todaṅki Maṇalūr nadavin  
 (30) Tuṅkapattirai puka turatti eṅkaṇum  
 Padḍa veṅkaḷiṇam kedda tan mānamum  
 Kūṇiya vīramum \* \* \*  
 Ērina malaikaḷum mutuku neḷippa  
 Iḷinta natikaḷum āṇḍaintōda

<sup>7</sup> [Compare *śil-vāri* *peru-vāri*, 'the small tax (and) the large tax,' in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 87, text line 6.]



- (35) Viñña kadalkaḷum talai virittalamara  
Kudatichai  
Tannāḷukantu tānum tānaiyūm  
• • • • •
- (40) Cheyapperuntiruvum vāḷā oṅkaṇ  
Madantaiyar iddamum miḷātu kodutta  
Veṅkari niraiyūm Koṅkumaṇḍalamum  
Sinkaḷam ennum parani iraṇḍum  
Iruvichai kaikoṇḍa iṇaiyiya pukaḷodu
- (45) Paṇḍimaṇḍalaṅ koḷa tiravuḷattadaittu  
Vempari talaṅkaḷum poru kari kulaṅkaḷum  
Tantira vāriyūm uḍaittāy vantu  
Vada kadai ten kadai padarvatu pōla  
Tan peruṇḍēnaiyai ēvi
- (50) Paṇchavar aivarum porata pōrkkalattu  
Añchi veruvi neḷittōdi  
Araṇa pukka kāḍaṇṇṭṭadaittu  
Maravar tammai vanachararākki  
Oṇṇaiveṇchuram ēṇṇikoṇṇa
- (55) Vichaiyat tampam tiehai toṇum niṇṇutti  
Muttin Chilāpamum muttamiḷ Potiyilum  
Matta veṅkari padum maiyya Chaiyyamum  
Kanniyum kaikkoṇḍ aruḷittennāḍ  
Ellaikāḍdi kudamalai nāḍḍuḷarachar
- (60) Ellām tani vichum pēra  
• • • • •  
Kaṇṇakalar kulaiya Kōttār ulpada  
Neṇitoṇum nilaikaḷiddaruḷi maripunaḷ  
Kaliṅgamaṇḍalamum kaippaduttaruḷi\*
- (65) Tiraḷ koḷāramum tiruppayattalaṅkaḷum pōla  
Vīramum tiyākamum vīlaṅkappārtoḷa  
Chivanidattumaiyena Tiyākavalli  
Avani muḷutudaiyāḷudan iruppa, avaludan  
Kankai viṇṇiruntēna maṅkaiyar tilatam
- (70) Ellichaiyallapi ēḷulakam uḍaiyāḷ  
Vāḷirum ponninitiruppa  
Āḷichūlavani muḷutudaiyāḷodum

\* I give below the different readings in the preambles of the four inscriptions of Kulōttaṅga-Chōḷadēva which I have examined. A stands for the inscription at Kāñchīparam, B for that at Kūṭṭaḷavār, C for Tiruvaiṇmaruḍūr and D for Tirukkalukkuṇṇam.

Line 2. A has nadatti for nadappa.

Line 5. A has vankaiṇṇu for matavarai. B and C have matuvarai for matavarai.

Line 12. A has ponnaiṇṇidaiyūm for ponnidaiyūm.

Line 13. A and D have tavirtu for tavira vantu.

Line 16. A has ponnai for munnai.

Line 20. B has tiruṇṇilal reṅkudai for tiruṇṇilal.

Line 23. A has kalaṅchēr kaṇṇu for kuṅcharam. B has kalaṅcheṇṇiraḷu for kuṅcharam. C has kalaṅcheri kaṇṇu for kuṅcharam.

Line 42. B & C. have kōṅka for koṅku.

Line 57. B has teyya for choyya.

Line 59. B has ēval for ellai.

Lines 63 & 64. D has appulattalaṅkaḷum koṅkumandalamum for maripunaḷ kaḷiṅka mandalamum.



Virachimmāchanattu viṭṭiruntaruḷiya Chakkaravarttikal sri-Kulōttuṅka-Chōḷadēvar-  
 kku yāndu 42vatu Jayanḱonḱachōḷamanḱalattu Āmūrḱōddattu Kumilīnādu Vāna-  
 vanmahādēvichaturvēdamāṅkalattu makāchapaiyōm nilavilai āvaṅakkaiyeḷuttu. **Kaḷattūr-  
 Kumilīnādu Ulakalānta-Chōḷapuramāna Chembian-Tirukkaḷukkunṛattu** udaiyār  
 tirukkaḷukkunṛamudaiya Mahādēvar kōvil Chantiā Chandēvaradēvarkku nāṅkal mada puṛa-  
 māka vittukkudutta nilamāvatu: eṅkaḷūr mēlmidāni<sup>9</sup> Kiraippākkam kādukaḷ veddi kaddai  
 paṛittu tiruttikkōḷvataka kudutta nilattukku kīḷpārkellai Urōmāttellai uṇavum, tenpār-  
 kellai Tāḷaivēddellai uṇavum, mēlpārkellai Vikāmbattellai uṇavum, vadapārkellai Tanḱu-  
 raiellai uṇavum, innāṅkellaikkudpadda nīnilamum punchai nilamum mēnōkkina maramum  
 kīḷ nōkkinakiṇṇam ivvūr madaiviḷḷakattirokkum **Naminanti Adikaḷ Madattukkum** madap-  
 puramāka nāṅkaḷ iṇai ilicheḱi vittakkudutta vilaiyāka nāṅkaḷ kaikkōṇḱa aobai neṇkāchu pattum  
 kaivilai ara vittu poruḷaṅkaikkōṇḱu vilai āvaṅam cheytu kuduttōm. Mahā sapai ōm innila-  
 ttukku vanta chilavu vari peruvāram eppērpaddatum nāṅkaḷ iṇukkakkadavōmāḱavum. Iṇai  
 ilicheḱi vittukkuduttōm. Chapaikku chamainta tārūmavar Edduvamavan Ādittan Paṇapāla-  
 paddanum, Mappirāraka Kumārachuvāmikkirāmalittanum, Uṇuppuḱuttālāḷappaddanum, Padma-  
 purattu Sri Ranganātapaddanum, Appaḱḱūr Chaṅkaranaṇṇāṇapaddanum, Kāvicharikkilḱai  
 Tantikāṁavittanum, Kiraṇḱhikōṇ Tākkiramavittanum, ivvanaiṇarōm chanṛātitta varaikkum  
 chilālēkai paṇṇikoduttōm. Mahāsabbaiōm. Ippaḱḱu ivai **Vānavanmahādēvi-udaiyān**  
**Chelvan Kumāran** eḷuttu **Āmūrḱōddattu**.

#### TRANSLATION.

Health and Wealth! In the 42nd year of the emperor **sri-Kulōttuṅka-Chōḷadēva**,  
 who, in his youth, first embraced the goddess of victory by his heroic deeds at **Chakka-  
 rāḱṭam**, so that his empire on this earth, which is girt by the glorious ocean, may extend up  
 to the golden mountain (*Mēru*); who, by his prowess, captured a multitude of rutting  
 elephants, and routed the forces of the kings of **Kuntala** at the point of his lance; who  
 leading his troops of horse and unsheathing his sword, displayed the power of his arm and  
 established his fame by his victories in the northern countries, and, coming southwards, espoused  
 the goddess of the honeyed lotus flower (*Lakṣmī*), and **Ponni** (*Kāviri*), and the good lady  
 Earth, who was without a consort, and by right of inheritance assumed the sacred and illustrious  
 diadem (of the *Chōḷas*); whose pair of feet served as a broad crown to the ancient kings of  
 this earth; who wielded his sceptre with such justice in all directions (in his dominions) that  
 the rules of the ancient *Manu* prevailed and the river *Kali* (evil) was dried up; whose white  
 umbrella shone like the moon over all the wide world; whose tiger (banner) played (in the  
 breeze) on *Mēru*, without a rival; the elephants given in tribute to whom, by the kings of  
 remote islands in the deep ocean, stood in many a row; outside whose golden town, the black  
 head of the **Tēnnavan** (Southern or *Pāṇḱya* king) lay pecked by eagles; \* \* \* \* \*  
 who drove from **Nāṅgili** of rocky roads **Vikkilaṇ**, that never bent his bow except on a foe who  
 had failed in paying him due respect, and forced him to enter the **Tuṅgabhadra** at **Maṇalūr**,  
 abandoning his elephants which lay wounded on all sides, and bringing disgrace on his fair  
 fame and boasted valour; who, with his army, commencing his march towards the west, on  
 an auspicious day, caused the mountains to bend their backs, the rivers to forsake their beds,  
 and the **Vilḱiṇa** seas to be stirred and agitated \* \* \* \* \*  
 and seized the great goddess of victory, beavies of bright-eyed women, and whole columns of  
 fierce elephants, which the enemy were unable to save, and the **Kōṅgumanḱalam**; whose fame  
 was augmented by two campaigns in **Sīṅghaḱam**; who, desirous of conquering the **Pāṇḱiraṇḱa-  
 lam**, directed his vast armies, which, with hosts of generals, squadrons of fleet horses and battle-  
 elephants, resembled the northern sea rushing to join the southern ocean, and when the **five**  
**Pāṇḱyas** fled in terror from the battle-field and sought refuge in the jungles, cleared those  
 jungles and converted them into villages and made them (the *Pāṇḱyas*) lead the life of woodmen  
 in a dreary wilderness, and planted pillars of victory on every side; who took possession of the

\* [Read *mēl-piḱḱai*.]

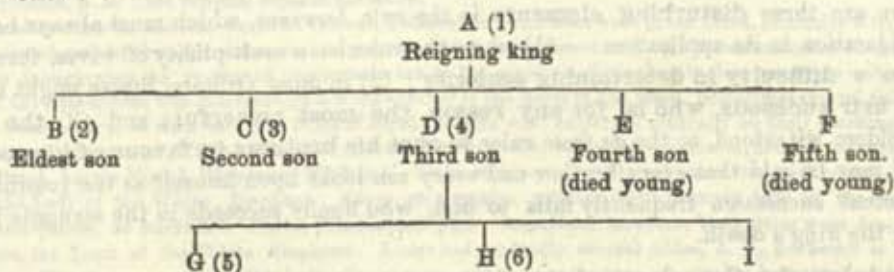


pearl fisheries, and Podiyam, where flourished the three kinds of Tamil (literature), and the mid Sahya hills (Western Ghāts), where huge wild elephants are captured, and Kappi (Cape Comorin), and fixed the limits of the Southern (Pāṇḍya) land; who sent to the upper world all the kings of the western hilly country \* \* \* and, scattering his enemies, erected on all the public paths boundary-marks (of his territories) including Kōṭṭaru; who conquered the Kalingamaṇḍalam of embanked floods; whose valour and munificence shone like the gorgeous necklace and the garland of flowers on his shapely shoulders; who, worshipped by the whole world, deigned to sit on the throne of heroes with Tyāgavallī, the mistress of the whole world, like Siva with Umā, and with Elisaivallabhi, the mistress of the seven worlds, the most beauteous amongst women, like Gaṅgā with Umā, and with the goddess Earth, — the deed in writing of a sale of land by the great assembly of Vāṇavaṇmahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam in Kumilinaḍu in Āmūr-kōṭṭam in Jayankonḍachōlamanḍalam. The land that we have sold and given, to be used as a garden for a Maṭha, to Chantī<sup>10</sup> Chaṇḍēśvaradēva of the temple of our lord Mahādēva of Tirukkaḷukkupram in Sēmbiyaṇ-Tirukkaḷukkupram, otherwise known as Ulagaḷanda-Chōlapuram, in Kaḷattar-Kumilinaḍu, is as follows: Of the land which we have given in Kiraippākkam [?] [a western hamlet] of our village, to be improved by cutting down the jungle and by removing the stumps of trees, the eastern boundary is Urōmāttu [?], the southern boundary is Tājai-vāṭṭu [?], the western boundary is Vigāmbam [?], the northern boundary is Taṇḍurai [?]. Within these four limits, the wet land and dry land, the trees overground and the wells underground, we have sold to be used as a garden land for the Naminandi-Aḍigaḷ-Maṭha in the maḍai-vilāgam of this town, exempt from taxes, and we have received as the price *achai nel*<sup>11</sup> *kāṇ* ten. We have sold (the land and all our rights thereto) completely, and, having received the whole of the price, we have executed this deed of sale. We, the great assembly are bound to pay the *peruvāram*, the *śilavuvāri*, and all other taxes that may be imposed on this land. Exempt from all taxes we have given it. The representatives of this assembly are:<sup>12</sup> . . . . . We all have had this deed of sale engraved, so that it may last as long as the sun and moon exist. We, the great assembly. This is the writing of Vāṇavaṇmahādēvi-udaiyaṇ Selvaṇ Kumāraṇ of Āmūr-kōṭṭam.

#### THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION IN THE ALOMPRA DYNASTY OF BURMA.

BY MAJOR E. C. TEMPLE.

In Vol. XX. pp. 422-423, *ante*, reference was made to a statement that the rule of succession in the Manipur State was, that all the brothers of the reigning king succeeded by seniority before his sons; failing brothers the king's sons succeeded in turn. The line of succession would therefore run thus:—The living brothers in order of seniority, then the sons of the last brother in order of seniority. The tree of succession might in fact be as follows:—

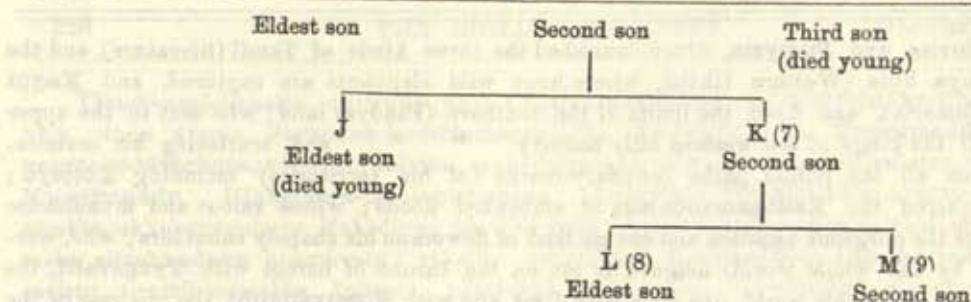


<sup>10</sup> [Read *Āditta* ?.]

<sup>11</sup> [Should the two preceding words be a misreading of *kāṇ* 10 ?.]

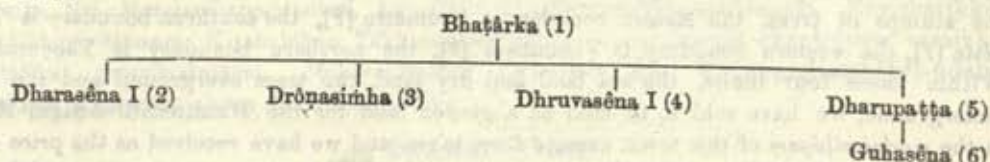
<sup>12</sup> [The names of these people are omitted in the translation, as their spelling is very uncertain. Each of them has either the attribute *śhaṭṭa* or *kramavid*.]





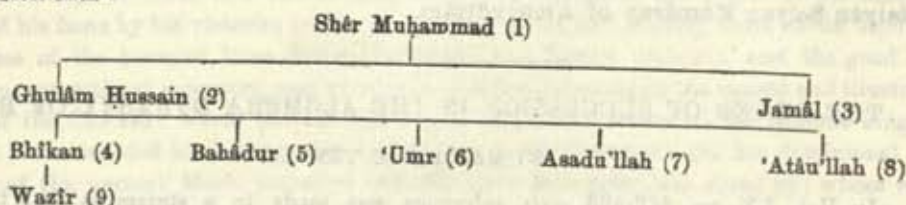
The points to note in the succession are: — (1) the father must, if possible, actually have been king; (2) brothers must succeed before sons. The next heir by analogy, failing brothers and sons, would be the eldest surviving son of the king before the deceased. *E.g.*, in the above tree, if king M had no sons or brothers, then the sons of king L would succeed in turn.

This custom is evidently widely spread over India and Burma, for (*loc. cit.* and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 273) it has been already shown in this *Journal* that a part of the Valabhi succession ran thus: —



The Genealogies of the Eastern and Western Chalukya Dynasties (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 283, also p. 422, and Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 18-19) give the succession of brothers before sons in several instances; notably in the years between 633 and 663 A.D., and between 696 and 709 A.D. and between Saka 930 and 964.

The Genealogy of the Malār-Kōṭṭa State (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 328—330) gives parts of the succession thus: —



Properly speaking 'Atān'llah's son should have succeeded, and when Wazīr's line failed a successor was found in Ibrāhīm 'Alī, (the present ruler), the great-grandson of 'Atān'llah.

Throughout the Shān States (*ante*, pp. 119—120) the rule of succession is brothers before sons in order of seniority.

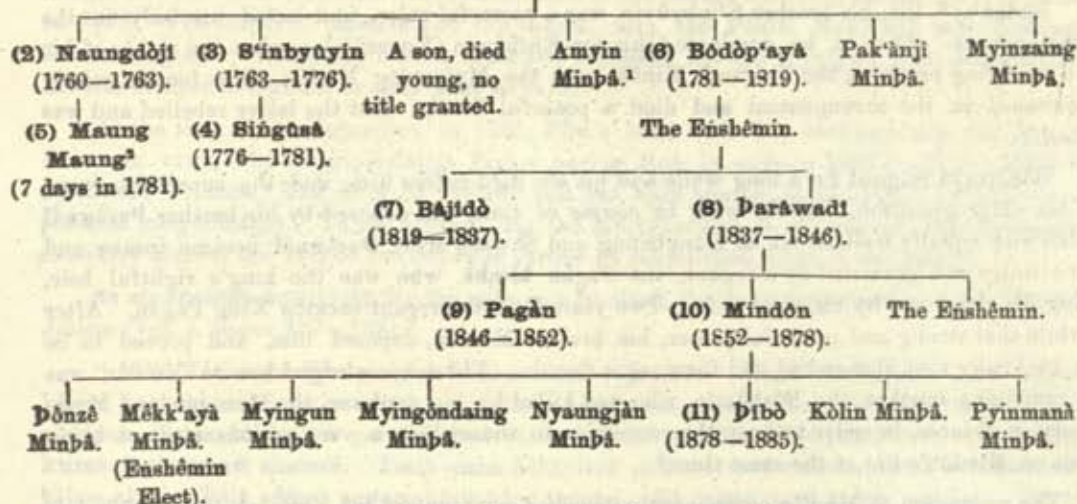
There are three disturbing elements in the rule, however, which must always be taken into consideration in its application: — (1) where the ruler has a multiplicity of wives, there must always be a difficulty in determining seniority; (2) in most Oriental States might is right and that heir succeeds, who is, for any reason, the most powerful; and (3) the temptation, seldom withstood, to the *de facto* ruler to oust his brothers in favour of his sons. As a rule, it may be said that every brother and every son looks upon himself as the possible heir, and the actual succession frequently falls to him, who finally succeeds in the struggle for the throne on the king's death.

I give below the Genealogy of the Alompra (Alaungp'ayā) Dynasty of Burma, as illustrating the persistency of this peculiar law of succession and also the vicissitudes to which it is liable in practical application.



## THE ALOMPRA DYNASTY OF BURMA (1753—1885 A. D.)

## (1) Alaungp'ayā (1753—1760).



With reference to the above table the following remarks are applicable in the present connection. It is commonly said in Burmese *Yāzawins* (*Rājavamsās*), or Histories, that the reason why Alaungp'ayā's sons succeeded him in turn is, that he expressed a dying wish to that effect.<sup>3</sup> I believe, however, that, whether he did so or not, the dynasty really followed what was felt to be the ancient and appropriate rule, and that the succession was accepted by the Court and people as the customary one.

Alaungp'ayā left seven sons, one of whom died as a child before the time came to give him a title,<sup>4</sup> but all the rest grew to manhood and to be political forces in the country. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Naungdōjī, in the regular course, and then by his second son, S'inbyūyīn. The disturbing elements in the rule of succession then began to work. S'inbyūyīn nominated Siṅgūṣā, one of his sons, as his successor, and the succession was secured to him by a palace intrigue.

This caused a rebellion on the part of the next heir by right of succession, *vis.*, the Amyin Minpā, who was killed in the course of it, and so put out of the way. Maung Maung, the son of Naungdōjī, afterwards raised a sudden palace revolt and deposed Siṅgūṣā. This did not fall

<sup>1</sup> The word Minpā means 'king's son,' i.e. 'prince.' Reading between the lines of Sangermano, pp. 50ff of the 1885 reprint, it would seem that the Minpā of the earlier Alompra kings held much the position of the Ætheling of the early English; i.e., he was a local chief of the blood royal.

<sup>2</sup> The Paungāṣā of Sangermano, see pp. 53ff of the 1885 reprint.

<sup>3</sup> Sangermano, p. 50 (1885 reprint) repeats the story.

<sup>4</sup> Much after our own fashion, Burmese Queens, Princes and Princesses were given titles, generally after estates that were handed over to them for sustenance, a practice which, however, ceased with the accession of King Mindōn in 1852, who inaugurated the system of paying salaries to the members of his family, his ministers and officials. The rank of the title-holder was indicated by a word suffixed to the name of the place. Sometimes several titles were held by the same person, as with us. The titles of royal children were conferred generally on their reaching an age to be of political importance. Thus, *mībayā* = queen, *minpā* = prince, *minpāmī* = princess, and the titles ran thus: Līmān Mībayā, Amyin Minpā, Sānpēnagō Minpāmī. Titles were occasionally not connected with places, as S'inbyūyīn, the Lady of the White Elephant. Kings on accession retained their princely title in the same way, generally from places, as Pārāwadi, Paḡān, Mindōn and Dībbō. Sometimes, however, their titles were descriptive, as S'inbyūyīn, the Lord of the White Elephant. Kings had generally several titles, e.g., Pārāwadi is equally well-known as Kōngbaung and Shwēbō, both place names, which is confusing. Confusion is further made worse confounded by the private names of these royal personages having come down to history; e.g., Mindōn is still also known as Maung Lwin. Maung Maung, the fifth king of the Dynasty, had apparently no title (unless we grant Sangermano's name of Paungāṣā was a title), and was killed before he could give himself one to go down to history. The private name of the Myinzaing Minpā, drowned by order of Bōdōp'ayā in 1147 B. E. (= 1785 A. D.), was Maung P'ō Shin.



in with the Court and general views at all, and, after a seven days' reign, he was put to death by the Court in favour of the rightful heir, Bôdôp'ayâ, who, to settle himself on the throne, put an end to Siŋgûsâ.

Bôdôp'ayâ, like his brother S'inbyâyin, was a powerful ruler, and acted precisely in the same manner. That is, he nominated his son Eñshêmin (Yuvarāja), against the rights of his two surviving brothers, the Pak'anjī Minbâ, and the Myinzaing Minbâ. The former wisely acquiesced in the arrangement and died a peaceful death. But the latter rebelled and was killed.

Bôdôp'ayâ reigned for a long while and his son died before him, and the succession went to his elder grandson, Bājiddô, who, in course of time, was deposed by his brother Parāwadi (otherwise equally well-known as Kōngbaung and Shwêbô Min). Parāwadi became insane and the country was governed by a regent, the Pagān Minbâ, who was the king's rightful heir, being his eldest son by his chief wife. Two years later the regent became King Pagān. After a while that strong and powerful prince, his brother Mindôn, deposed him, and proved to be the best ruler that Burma had had for many a decade. The acknowledged heir to Mindôn was his remaining brother, the Eñshêmin, who was killed by his nephews, the Myingun and Myingōndaing Princes, in order to keep the succession to themselves, a very serious attempt being made on Mindôn's life at the same time.<sup>5</sup>

The succession to Mindôn consequently devolved upon one of his sons, as the Eñshêmin's family was by rule and custom ousted from it. Another of the disturbing elements in the application of the rule of succession now became apparent. Who was to be considered Mindôn's eldest son and rightful heir? He had a great number of wives and concubines, the wives were of superior and inferior rank, and he had sons of all ages likely to survive him. As a matter of fact every son looked upon himself as the possible heir, only the Myingun and Myingōndaing Princes being out of the way, as outlaws after the murder of their uncle and their attempt to seize their father's throne. Also, it being practically impossible to decide rival claims as to seniority, Mindôn settled on that prince as Eñshêmin, who had done him the best service; viz., the Mekk'ayâ Prince who had accompanied him on his expedition to dethrone Pagān.

However, on Mindôn's death, Dībô,<sup>6</sup> a junior and inferior son, was placed on the throne, owing to the intrigues of a princess, Sûp'ayâlât<sup>7</sup> and her mother, the S'inbyâmâyin, one of

<sup>5</sup> This Eñshêmin was generally known to Europeans as the "War Prince"; and though the dignity of "Heir Apparent (= Eñshêmin)" was ostensibly conferred on him by his brother in recognition of his distinguished services in the rebellion which raised the latter to the throne, it is to be observed that in doing so Mindôn followed the rule of succession.

<sup>6</sup> This king's name is that known as Thibaw, Thebaw and Theebaw, corrupted to Theobald by the British soldiers at the time of the annexation of Upper Burma in 1835-36. "Theobald and Sophia" were the King and Queen of Burma according to the British Soldier, (see next note). Thibaw, (pībô) is one of the principal Shân States tributary to the Burmese King, its ruler, the pībô Sôbwâ, being quite as well known to the English in Burma as the king himself. It is curious to note that his predecessor, Mindôn, took his title from a valley in the payetmyô District in British Territory. This was due to the fact that when Mindôn was a prince, the country that afterwards became the British Province of Pegu and consists now of the Irrawaddy and Pegu Divisions of Lower Burma, was still under the rule of the Burmese King.

<sup>7</sup> Both Sûp'ayâlât (corrupted by the way into Sophia by the British soldier in Mandalay, like the Persian Sophy of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries out of Safavî) and S'inbyâmâyin are titles. S'inbyâmâyin, as already explained, means 'the Lady of the White Elephant.' Sûp'ayâ means a 'princess of the line': a woman whose father was a *de facto* king and whose mother was herself a sûp'ayâ, i.e., not a woman whose descent was otherwise than directly royal on both sides. Lât means 'the middle of three.' So the title indicates that the bearer had an elder and a younger sister. She was in fact the daughter of Mindôn by a royal half-sister, and she married Dībô, his half-brother. Sûp'ayâlât and her elder sister, Sûp'ayâjī, were installed as co-queens on Dībô's coronation, but the younger sister was strong enough to oust the elder from her conjugal rights. Subsequently Sûp'ayâgalê, the youngest sister, became junior queen to Sûp'ayâlât. It is a general belief among Europeans in Burma that Dībô's mother was not 'royal' in any sense. This is a mistake. Her title was Laungahê Mibayâ, and she was of high royal descent, though not a sûp'ayâ, as above described. Her mother was a daughter of the Eñshêmin of Bôdôp'ayâ (see ante, p. 289) by the daughter of the then pībô Sôbwâ. Hence she was first cousin to her husband Mindôn. Hence also no doubt the choice of title for her son.



Mindôn's superior queens. The efforts of these ladies, the younger of whom became subsequently famous as the chief queen of Dîbò, were successful in consequence of the aid of two Ministers, the Kànpāt Minjī and the Kinwun Minjī, given for political reasons, which need not be here recounted, because of the recent date of the events following on the death of Mindôn in 1878. The superior claimants to the throne, viz., the Dônzē, Mēkk'ayā and Nyaungjān Princes, together with many others, were put to death, but the Myingun and Miyngōndaing Princes escaped slaughter, as they were in exile.

At the time of his deposition, in 1885, Dîbò's heirs were his half-brothers, the Myingun Prince in exile, (the Miyngōndaing Prince having died in exile in 1884), and the Kōlin and Pyinmanā Princes. The lives of the two last had been spared on account of their youth and political insignificance. To the present day the Myingun Prince, still exiled from the country, considers himself the heir to the Burmese throne by established right of succession.

As an ancient authority for the rule may be cited, the following passage from Fausboll's *Jātaka* (Vol. I. pages 127—133).<sup>a</sup>

"Atitē Kāsiraṭṭhē Bārāṇasiyāṃ Brahmāḍattō rājā ahōsi. Taddā Bōdhisattō tassa aggama-hēsiyā kuechchhisimim patisandhiṃ gayhi, tassa nāmagahaṇadivase Mahimsāsakumārō ti nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Tassa ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā vicharaṇakālē raññō aññō pi puttō jāto, tassa Chanda-kumārō ti nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Tassa pana ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā vicharaṇakālē Bōdhisattamātā kalam akāsi. Rājā aññāṃ aggamahēsiṭṭhānē ṭhapēsi. Sā raññō piyā ahōsi manāpā. Sā piya-saṃvāsam anvāya ēkaṃ puttāṃ vijāyi, Suriyakumārō ti tassa nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Rājā puttāṃ disvā tuṭṭhachittō, 'bhaddē puttassa tē varaṃ dammīti' āha. Dēvi varaṃ icchēbhita-kālē gahētabbāṃ katvā ṭhapēsi. Sā puttē vayappattē rājānaṃ āha: 'dēvēna mayhaṃ puttassa jātakālē varō dinnō; puttassa mē rajjaṃ dēhīti.' Rājā, 'mayhaṃ dvē puttā aggik-khanda viya jalamānā vicharanti, na sakkā tava puttassa rajjaṃ dātun' ti paṭik-hipitvā, taṃ punappuna yāchamānaṃ ēva disvā: 'ayaṃ mayhaṃ puttānaṃ pāpakam pi chintēyyā' ti, puttē pakkēsaṇṇēti āha: 'tāta, ahaṃ Suriyakumārassa jātakālē varaṃ adāsim, idāni'ssa mātā rajjaṃ yāchati, ahaṃ tassa na dātukāmo, mātagāmo nāma pāpō, tumhākaṃ pāpakam pi chintēyya, tumhē araṇṇāṃ pavisitvā mam' accheyēna kulasantakē nagarē rajjaṃ karēyyātha' ti, kanditvā rōditvā sisē chumbitvā uyyōjēsi. \* \* \* \* \* Sō taṃ Yakkhaṃ damētvā tēna saṃvihitārakkhō tatth' ēva vasantō ēkadivasaṃ nakkhattaṃ olōkētvā pitu kālaka-tabhāvaṃ natvā Yakkhaṃ ādāya Bārāṇasiṃ gantvā rajjaṃ gahētvā Chandakumārassa opa-rajjaṃ Suriyakumārassa senāpatiṭṭhānaṃ datvā."

"In times past Brahmādatta was king of Bārāṇasi in the country of Kāsi. At that time the Bōdhisatta was incarnated in the womb of his chief queen, and on the naming-day was named Mahimsāsakumāra. When the young prince could walk and run about, another son was born to the king, and was named Chandakumāra. When the second child could walk and run about, the Bōdhisatta's mother died. The king installed another wife as chief queen. She became his darling and delight. Owing to the bond of love subsisting between the king and the queen, a son was born and was named Suriyakumāra. On the birth of this son the king was delighted and said: 'My dear, I shall grant a boon to thy son.' The queen accepted the boon and bided her time to announce its nature. When her son had come of age, she said thus to the king: 'A boon was granted by my Lord to my son at the time of his birth; bestow the crown upon him.' The king replied:—'My two sons are as brilliant as two masses of fire; it is impossible for me to accede to thy prayer.' Though thus refused the queen renewed her request over and over again, and the king thinking: 'This queen might, perhaps, harbour evil designs against my sons,' sent for them and addressed them thus: 'My dear sons, when Suriyakumāra was born, I granted him a boon. Now his mother asks for the kingdom; but I do not wish to give it to him. Womankind is wicked, and the queen might

<sup>a</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Taw Sein Ko for pointing out this passage. This story is the sixth in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, Vol. I. pp 180-184, and is entitled *Dēvadhamma-Jātaka*.

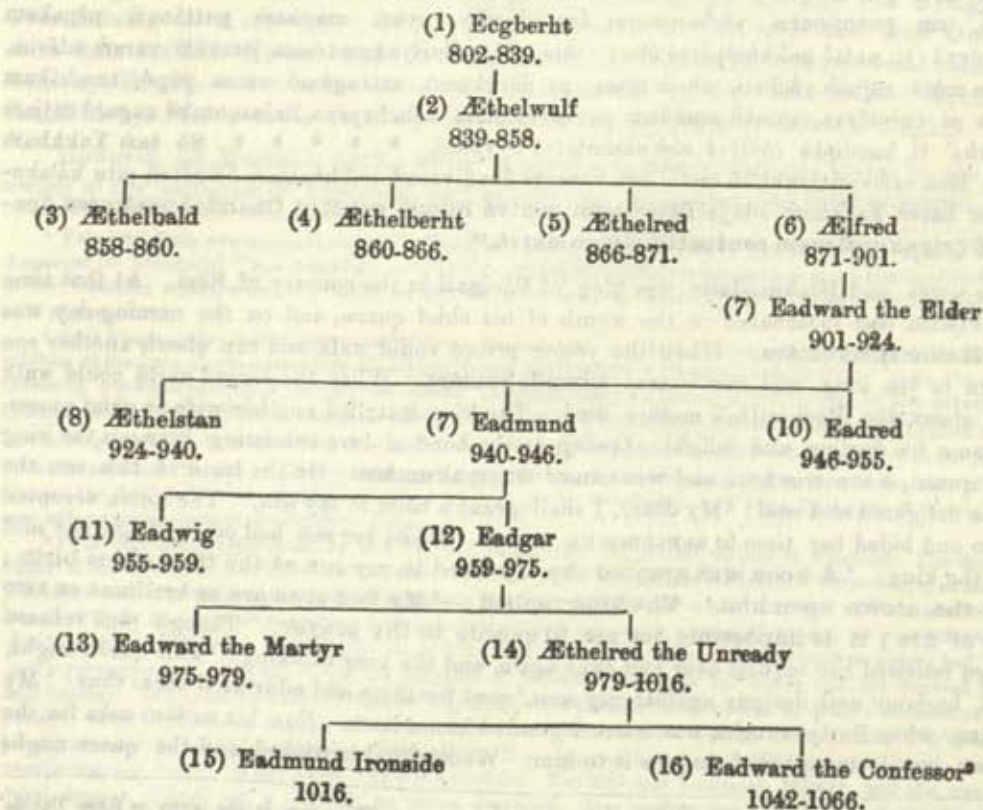


harbour evil designs against you. Retreat therefore to the forest, and on my death return and assume the reins of government in the city of your fathers.' Weeping and crying, the king kissed his sons on the forehead and sent them away. \* \* \* \* \* He (Mahimāsakumāra) converted the Yakkha, and lived under his protection. One day, looking up at the stars, the prince became aware of the death of his father, and taking the Yakkha with him, went to Bārāṇasi and assumed possession of the kingdom. He bestowed the dignity of Uparāja on Chandakumāra and that of Sēnāpati on Suriyakumāra."

No doubt a large number of interesting instances exist in the history of India and the surrounding countries, both of the rule quoted in this article and its application, the collection of which would prove of great use to the proper understanding of Oriental dynastic succession, and in determining approximately, where dates are wanting, the probable duration in years of a line consisting of a given number of Oriental rulers. For it must be borne in mind that, when a rule of such a description as that alluded to in this paper may be presumed to have existed, the number of the kings belonging to a certain family that actually ruled by no means coincides with the number of generations in that family.

In connection with the subject of this paper I wish to draw attention to the genealogies of the early English and Scottish Kings, as possibly showing a feeling, if not a custom, similar to that pointed out above. The similarity in the order of succession is at least remarkable, even if it turn out to be due to a different set of causes.

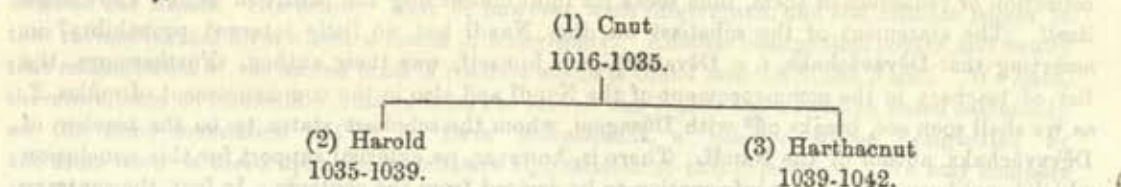
As I understand the matter, these kings were elected by the people out of the grown men, capable of leading, who belonged to the royal family. But what we are now concerned with is the actual succession, to which this custom gave rise. Let us take first the successors of Egberht, the first general king or overlord of the English tribes.



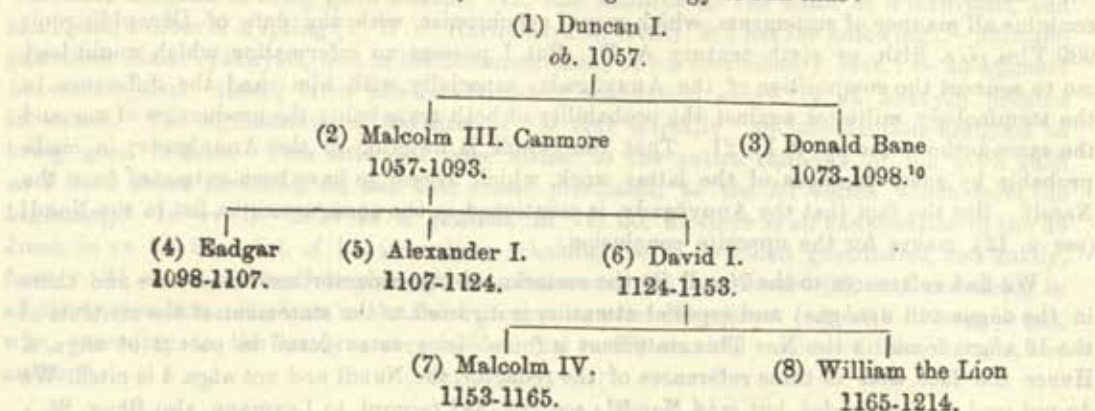
\* Canut and his sons having intervened from 1016 to 1042.



Now between Eadmund Ironside and Eadward the Confessor there intervened Cnut the Dane and his successors. Cnut had married Emma, the widow of Æthelred and mother of Eadward, and by her and a former wife had two sons, who succeeded in turn according to seniority, thus :—



Turning to the Scottish kings, we find the genealogy to run thus :—



The practical result then of the English custom of popular election was the succession of brothers before sons, and it will be observed that the succession was carried out in every case cited, for generation after generation, almost exactly in the manner in which it would naturally fall under a rule, such as that enunciated at the commencement of this paper. The interest of these phenomena is in the question :—Were these elections governed by a feeling that the appropriate order of succession is that the brothers of the reigning king should succeed before his sons ?

#### WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from p. 215.)

[Vol. XVII. p. 1].

In Bühler's list there follow :—

E. Nandisūtram and F. Anuyōgadvārasūtram, without any name to connect them. In Rājendra Lāla Mitra, *Notices of Sak. MSS.* 3, *et* (Calc. 1874) and in the *Ratnasāgara*, p. 508 (Calc. 1880) both texts are mentioned in conjunction, but at the close of the Siddhānta after the mūlasūtras. In the Ratnas. the Anuyōgadv. precedes. On the other hand we have already seen (p. 427 fg.) that, at the time of the three *Sāmāyāris*, and indeed at that of the *Vichāramritasamgraha*, both texts were placed in a much earlier place of the Siddh., at the head of the paṇṇa group; though in the *Vidhiprapā* at least, their connection with this group is represented as uncertain (see 429<sup>n</sup>).

In bearing the stamp of individuality and having a systematic arrangement, both texts have a claim to a free and independent position. This shews that their author attempted to give an encyclopædic, but systematic, review of everything that appeared necessary to him as a means

<sup>10</sup> Duncan II. connected by birth, usurped for a year, 1004-1006.



of information in reference to the sources and forms of a correct knowledge and understanding of the sacred texts. In this way [2] he could present his readers with a hermeneutical introduction.<sup>1</sup> These two works are admirably adapted to the use of any one who, having completed a collection or redaction of them, then seeks for light concerning the nature of sacred knowledge itself. The statement of the scholiast on the Nandī has no little internal probability<sup>2</sup> in asserting that Dēvavāchaka, i. e. Dēvarddhigaṇi himself, was their author. Furthermore, the list of teachers in the commencement of the Nandī and also in the commencement of mūlas. 2, as we shall soon see, breaks off<sup>3</sup> with Dūsagaṇi, whom the scholiast states to be the teacher of Dēvavāchaka, author of the Nandī. There is, however, no external support for this conclusion which is not borne out by any information to be derived from the contents. In fact, the contrary view seems to result from these sources of our knowledge; see p. 17 ff. The Anuyōgadv. contains all manner of statements, which would synchronize with the date of Dēvarddhigaṇi, 980 Vira, i. e. fifth, or sixth century A. D. But I possess no information which would lead me to connect the composition of the Anuyōgadv. especially with him; and the difference in the terminology militates against the probability of both texts being the production of one and the same author; see pp. 9, 11, 21. That the Nandī is anterior to the Anuyōgadv. is made probable by some passages of the latter work, which appear to have been extracted from the Nandī. But the fact that the Anuyōgadv. is mentioned in the aṇṇāpavivṛṭṭha list in the Nandī (see p. 12), makes for the opposite conclusion.

We find references to the Nandī in the remarks of the redactor scattered here and there in the aṅgas and upaṅgas; and especial attention is directed to the statement of the contents of the 12 aṅgas found in the N. This statement is found in greater detail in part 2 of aṅga 4. Hence the fact that in these references of the redactor, the Nandī and not aṅga 4 is cited. We do not read *jahā samavāyē*, but *jahā Nandī*; see 284, 352 (accord. to Leumann, also Bhag. 25, 3 Rājapr. p. 243): — which must be regarded as a proof that the Nandī was the authority on which these references were based. The treatment of the subject in aṅga 4 is, then, merely an appropriation to itself and extension of the contents of this part of the Nandī. Other arguments, notably that many of the readings in the Nandī are older in special cases (see 349, 363) incline us to the same conclusion.

If now the nominal redactor of the entire Siddhānta or at least of the aṅgas and upaṅgas, Dēvarddhigaṇi, was also author of the Nandī, it becomes at once apparent why he referred to his own work in reference to so special a subject as the statement of the contents of the 12 aṅgas; and the account in aṅga 4 is to be regarded as an insertion made after D.'s time. See p. 19.

I find in the Siddhānta no remarks of a redactor in reference to the Anuyōgadvāras, though Leumann thinks to have discovered one (Bhag. 5, 4). In the text of Āvaśy. 10, 1 the Anuyōgadvāras. is mentioned together with, or rather after, the Nandī as a preliminary stage of advancement for the study of the sūtra. [Both texts are in fact thought to introduce the study of each sūtra that has been treated by a Nirukti. L.]

Both sūtras are composed in prose, though occasionally [4] gāthās are inserted; that is to say if we except the 50 verses in the commencement of the Nandī. These gāthās, in which the Nom. Sgl. Masc. 1 Decl. always ends in *o* and not in *e*, are manifestly the genuine productions of their authors. In the prose part, the preservation of the nom. in *e* shews that there is an attempt to reproduce the language and form of the sacred texts. The Nandī embraces only 719 granthas, the Anuyōgadv. about twice as many.

XLI. The Nandī, Nandī, or the Nandīsūtram. The three sāmāyārī texts understand by nandī, or nandikaḍḍhāvaṇi (Āvi.), nandirayaṇavihi (Vi.), an introductory ceremony, in long or

<sup>1</sup> "A glossary of the above-named sūtras and a description of five Jñānas" is the somewhat peculiar description of the contents of the Nandīsūtra by Kāshināth (p. 227).

<sup>2</sup> See also Bhāṭ Dāji in the *Journal Bombay Branch R. As. S. 9*, 151.

<sup>3</sup> See Jacobi, *Kalpaz.* p. 15, note 2.



short form as the case may be, for the sāvayakachchāṇi (śrāvakakṛityāni), especially for the didactic exposition or the recitation of the āṅgas, etc. It is almost probable that by this the recitation of our text is referred to. We read in Āvi: taḥ gurū namokkāratigapuvvaṃ naṃdīm kaḍḍhai, sà chē 'yaṃ: nāṇaṃ paṃchavihaṃ . . , and then follows the real commencement of the Nandi. See below. This is, however, soon interrupted, and the citation passes to that variant textual form which is found in Annyōgadv. Another change then occurs, and finally that enumeration of the sacred texts is reached which is found later on in the Nandi. We have, therefore, here no immediate citation from the text of the Nandi but a relation based essentially on the same foundation but in its form independent, a relation whose designation by the same word is based upon the appellative signification of this expression. We may compare the [5] similar use of the word nāndī in Skt. for those introductory strophes of a drama, which are designed to bring good fortune. Cf. also nāndika as the name of a door-post, and nāndipaṭa, a cover of a spring (P. W.). Haribhadra on Āvaśy. 9, 1 has the following: — ādimāṅgalārthaṃ nāndī vyākhyātā, and in the commencement of his commentary, *ibid.*: — nō-āgamatō bhāvamaṅgalaṃ nāndī, tatra nāṇaṃ nāndī, nāṇaṃ anayē 'ty vā bhavyāḥ prāṇina iti nāndī. The signification of the title of our text is really: an introduction designed to bring good fortune. This title can refer either to the entire contents of the work such as I have above sketched, or, and this seems preferable, to the 50 verses which form the beginning.<sup>4</sup> In vv. 1—19 Vira is praised, in vv. 20, 21 there is an enumeration of the 24 Jinas, in vv. 22, 23 a list of his immediate scholars, the 11 so-called gaṇadharas, and finally, from v. 24 on, a thêrāvālī beginning with Suhamma (1) and Jambū (2), and embracing in all thirty members; it closes in the third generation after Nāgajjuṇa (25) with Dūsagaṇi (30), who, according to the anonymous scholiast (on v. 27) was the teacher of Dēvavāchaka, the author.<sup>5</sup>

As we have already seen on page 471, this thêrāvālī varies, from the ninth member on, from the statements in the list contained in the *Kalpasūtra*. [6] The reason for this is apparent from a consideration of the remarks of the scholiast (avachūri) on v. 27: Suhastinaḥ śiṣyāvalikāyāḥ śrīkalpē uktatvāt na ta(s)ya ihā 'dhikārah, tasyāṃ Nāndikrid-Dēvavāchaka-gurvanutpattēḥ. From this it is clear that the author of the avachūri considers Dēvavāchaka to be the author of the Nandi, and that this account does not emanate, like that of the śrīkalpa, from Suhastin (10). The evidence proves that it is rather to be referred to his immediate predecessor, or brother,<sup>6</sup> Mahāgiri (9), whose intellectual descent it makes known.

In reference to each of its members there exists great uncertainty,<sup>7</sup> according to the statements of the scholiast, who says of verses 31, 32: kshēpakatvād vṛttau nō 'ktaṃ,<sup>8</sup> and remarks on vv. 33, 34: ētadgāthādvayārtha āvaśyakadipikātō likhitō 'sti, avachūrvāpī nā 'sti, vv. 41, 42 is: vṛttāv avyākhyātātāt prakshiptam, and of Gōvindhārya he says, on v. 43: śiṣyakramābhāvād vṛttau nō 'ktaḥ, āvaśyakatīkāto likhitaḥ.

<sup>4</sup> These recur, as has already been mentioned, in the commencement of the Āvaśy. nijj. in identically the same form.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the name of the nāndimukhāḥ pitaras or of the nāndīrāddham. In the case of the latter was there any recitation of a list of ancestors?

<sup>6</sup> ? gurubhrātaraṃ in Klatt, *Indian Antiqu.* 11, 251<sup>a</sup>, or ubhāv apī bhrātaraṃ in Dharmaghosha's *Gurvāvali* itself. Suhastin is characterized as the laghugurubhrātara of Mahāgiri, also in the peṭṭāvalī of the Kharataragaccha, Klatt, 246b. Klatt in accordance with other traditions (cf. *Kalpasūtra*) refers both to different gotras: and Mahāgiri to Elāpatyagotra (so here v. 27, Elāvachasagotta), Suhastin to Vāsīṭṭha. Have they different mothers?

<sup>7</sup> On this cf. Jacobi in *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.* 34, 333, 3, especially in reference to verses 27, 23, 36, 37, and Leumann's remarks, *ibid.* 37, 497 fg. In v. 27 we must read in Jacobi: Bahulassa sarivvayam (vayam for vayasam) vaṃdē instead of bahulassa Sirivayam vaṃdē (see Klatt, l. c. 251<sup>b</sup>); in the scholiast we read ihā Mahāgīrē dvau śiṣyau abhūtām: Vahulō Valissahā (cf. *Kalpā. Thêrāv.* § 6) cha; tatō Mahāgīrē anantaram Vahulasya yamalabhrātṛitvāt sadṛśavayasam, prāvāchanīkatvāna pradhānatvāt, Valissaham ēv 'ty arthah.

<sup>8</sup> Āryanandila (21) v. 33 becomes then Ārya-Maṅgu(16)śiṣya v. 30. But even verse 33, in which Āryanandila is mentioned, is doubtful: see above.



[7] The list reads<sup>9</sup>: 1. Suhamma, — 2. Jambu, — 3. Pabhava, — 4. Sijjambhava, — 5. Jasabhadda, — 6. Saṃbhūa, — 7. Bhaddavāhu, — 8. Thūlabhadda, — 9. Mahāgiri (and Suhatthi, — 10. (Valissaha) the twin-brother of Vahula (see note <sup>7</sup> on p. 6), — 11. Sāi,<sup>10</sup> — 12. Sāmajja, 'Syāmārya,<sup>11</sup> — 13. Saṃḍilla, — 14. Ajja<sup>12</sup> Jjadhara, Jita<sup>o</sup>, — 15. Samudda, — 16. Maṃgu<sup>13</sup> v. 30, — 17. Dhamma v. 31, — 18. Bhaddagutta v. 31, — 19. Vaara,<sup>14</sup> Vajra v. 31, — 20. Rakkhīa v. 32, — 21. Ajjānamdila, i. e. perhaps Ajja Ānamdila (Ajja N° Schol.) v. 33, — 22. Nāgahatthi v. 34, — 23. Rēvaṇakkhatta v. 35, — 24. Khaṃdila vv. 36, 37,<sup>15</sup> — 25. Himavanta vv. 38, 39, — 26. Nāgajjuṇa<sup>16</sup> vv. 39, 40, 45, — 27. Gōvinda v. 41, — 28. Bhūadinna vv. 42—45, scholar of Nāgajjuṇa, — 29. Lōhichcha v. 46, — 30. Dūsagaṇi vv. 47—49.

That this list actually reaches as far as the author or his teacher is rendered the more probable by the fact that in the last verse of the list (v. 50) the nāpassa parūvaṇaṃ is stated to be the purpose of the account which is to follow — and this purpose reproduces correctly the contents of N. Next follow two secondary insertions, first a gāthā, [8] which cites 14 examples or titles of stories in reference to capable and incapable scholars (the avachūri contains a more detailed account) and secondly a short polemical notice of the three kinds of parisā, parshad, viz.: — jāṇiā, ajāṇiā and duvviadḍhiā — each of which is illustrated by a gāthā.

At this point the investigation of the jñānam begins, in which a principal part is played by the enumeration of the different categories and sub-categories of both the principal classes into which the jñānam is divided<sup>17</sup> — the pachchakkhanānam and the parokkhanānam. The latter contains much that is interesting. It in turn is twofold, ābhiniṇvōhiya<sup>o</sup> ('bodhika) and sua<sup>o</sup> (śruta).

In the account of one of the two groups into which the ābhiniṇvōhiyaparokkhanānam is divided, are inserted eight gāthās, which contain the titles of stories which belong in this connection, and which are intended to serve as examples. The avachūri goes into detail on this point.

The suanānaparokkham is divided into 14 groups among which Nos. 5, 6, 13, 14 are of special importance: — The sammasuam 5, samyakśrutam, is explained as jaṃ imāṃ arihaṃtēhiṃ bhagavaṃtēhiṃ uppannānāpadaṃsaṇadharēhiṃ . . . paṇiyāṃ duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipidagaṃ, taṃ jahā: āyārō . . . diṭṭhivāḍ,<sup>18</sup> ichch-ēyaṃ du'gaṃ ga'gaṃ choddasapuvvissa sammasuam abhinna<sup>19</sup> dasa[9]puvvissa sammasuam. The posteriority of its composition to Vajra at least is clearly brought out in this passage.

In michchhasuam; we find that enumeration of some 20 works, or classes of works, of Brahminical literature which I cited from the *Annyōgadeśasūtra*<sup>20</sup> and discussed on Bhagav. 2, 248. This list is here more detailed and offers several variants: — Bhārabatō Rāmāyaṇaṃ Bhīmā-

<sup>9</sup> See Mērutuṅga's *Th'vāsalī* in *Bhāu Dāji, Journ. Bombay Br. E. As. S. 9*, 151 (1867). Nos. 17—20 are not found therein (see p. 6). No. 21 is called Mandilla ('dila), No. 23 Rēvaṇiṇha, and the list gives one name more in mentioning Dēvar(d)hi himself after Dūsagaṇi.

<sup>10</sup> Valissahāsihyam Hārītagotrāṇ Svātīm.

<sup>11</sup> Nominally author of up. 4, see p. 392.

<sup>12</sup> This epithet explained by Āryagotra is found also in Nos. 15—17, 19—22.

<sup>13</sup> ke 'pi Maṃgōr Āryadharmē 'ti nāmāntaram āhuḥ, No. 17 then falls out.

<sup>14</sup> According to the scholiast the daśapūrvīpaḥ (see Hem. v. 34) Āryaśakhiṭas tachhiṣkyo Durvalikāpushpaḥ cha navapūrvīpaḥ, reach from Mahāgiri to Vajra. See page 348.

<sup>15</sup> Bāmbhādīvaṇaṭhē, Vrahmadīpikāśākhāpalakṣhitān Simhān Simhāchēryān.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the Nāgārjunīyās in the Scholiast on aṅga 2, 2, 2, and see p. 265.

<sup>17</sup> nāpam pañchavihaṃ; ābhiniṇvōhiyanāpam sua<sup>o</sup> ōhi<sup>o</sup> maṇapaṇḍava<sup>o</sup> kēvala<sup>o</sup>. Or duvīham: pachchakkham and parokkham, and the latter is then: ābhiniṇvōhiyaparokkhanānam cha suanānaparokkham cha; the ābhi<sup>o</sup> is suanasiyam cha asuanasiyam cha; both are fourfold, and the latter is divided into: uppattiyā, vēpaṭā, kammiā, paṇipāmiā buddhi (see p. 140).

<sup>18</sup> In the scholiast sāmāyikādi viṇḍusāraparyāyāntam, see pages 244, 245, 343.

<sup>19</sup> tatō 'dhōmukhaparibhānyā yāvat saṃpūrpadaśapūrvadharmāya; see p. 16n.

<sup>20</sup> Where it is characterized as nō-āgamaś bhāvasuṇam and as annāpīṇm michhādīṭṭhiṇm sachchhamadabud-dhamāvigappiyam; — cf. the 29vihaṃ pāvasuṇam Āvaṇy., Ind. Stud. 16, pp. 115, 116. I denote the four MSS., to which I have had access as A B C E. The citations from Nzd. are by Leumann.



surakkham<sup>21</sup> Kōḍillayam<sup>22</sup> sagabhaddiyāḍ<sup>23</sup> kappāsiyam<sup>24</sup> nāgasubhumam kapagasattari<sup>25</sup> vaisēsiyam<sup>26</sup> Vuddhavyayam<sup>27</sup> vēsiyam<sup>28</sup> Lōgiyatam saṭṭhitam<sup>29</sup> Mādharam<sup>30</sup> purānam vāgarānam Bhāgavayam<sup>31</sup> Pāmjaḷi Pussadēvayam lēham (hēlam MS.) gaṇiam saṅgarūyam<sup>32</sup> nāḍayāḷ<sup>33</sup> ahavā [10] bāvattari kalāḍ chattāri ya vēyā saṅgōvamgā. The commentary offers nothing in explanation :<sup>34</sup> tē cha lōkprasiddhāḥ, tatō lōkata ēva tēshām svarūpam avagantavyam.

Under anāṅgapaviṭṭham (No. 14 is, however, treated of before No. 13) are enumerated the titles of all the texts belonging to the Siddhānta at the time of the composition of the Nandī, but not included in the āṅgas. This enumeration is extremely interesting. It must have been retained as a stereotyped list for a long period after the composition of the Nandī, since it is to be found *verbatim et litteratim* not only in the *Pāṇḍikāsūtra* (P),<sup>35</sup> but also in the 3 sāmāchāris (see pp. 369, 370) in a form that is but slightly different.<sup>36</sup> The great interest which attaches to this list is caused by the fact that the largest portion of the texts similar to these and now belonging to the Siddhānta is mentioned here, and that a different arrangement is observed. They are not enumerated in the special groups into which they are now divided. The names of these groups are partly wanting, e.g., uvamga, painna chhēasutta, mūlasutta are not mentioned at all, and painna occurs, but in a different meaning. A large number of titles or texts are mentioned which at present are either not found in the [11] Siddhānta, or, if found at all, are merely titles of subdivisions and not of independent texts; and in some cases these titles appear to have arisen from their connection with the subject-matter itself.

The anāṅgapaviṭṭham is divided into two groups: āvassayam and āvassayavāṛittam. The āvassayam is called chhavviham and six names for it are enumerated: sāmāiyam chaūvisathaḍ etc. Cf. my remarks on page 433 and on anuyōgadv. and mūlasutta 2. The āvassayavāṛittam is double: kāliyam cha ukkāliyam cha. Then follows the enumeration of the texts counted as belonging to the ukkāliyam:<sup>37</sup> 1. dasavēyāliyam<sup>38</sup> 2. kappiyākappiyam<sup>39</sup> 3. chulla-

<sup>21</sup> \*ktañ A, \*shkañ R.

<sup>22</sup> Kōḍa° An., where ghōḍamuham (A, °ḍayamu° C, °ḍayasuham B, ḍayasuyam R) follows. Nrd. too has khōḍamuham, but after sayabha°.

<sup>23</sup> sagadabha° B C R, sētamha° A.

<sup>24</sup> kappākappiam A.

<sup>25</sup> \*sattari vēsiyam B C R, vēsiyam omitted in A.

<sup>26</sup> so An. Nrd. vēsiyam the Berlin MS. of N. (= MS.)

<sup>27</sup> \*vapayam MS., Vuddhaśāsanam B C R, ruḥḥa(i)vayayam A; in An. we find also Kāvilam; also in Nrd. Kāvilam comes before Lōga°.

<sup>28</sup> tēsiyam Nrd., B C R omit.

<sup>29</sup> Already mentioned in the āṅgas, see Bhag. 2, 246, page 304 (cf. Kalpas. pp. 35, 101) and Max Müller: *India, What can it teach us?* p. 362.

<sup>30</sup> See *Ind. Stud.* 13, 357, 38, 431 and *Agnimāthara Vishnupur.* 3, 4, 18 (pp. 44, 45 Wilson-Hall).

<sup>31</sup> Bhāgavayam to saṅgarūvam omitted in An.

<sup>32</sup> saṅgarūvam MS.; perhaps \*ruyam, otherwise the last of the 72 kalās; see above p. 283. In the scholiast on *Āvaśy.* 12, 36: saṅgipārō vi garahiḍ hōi we find the following peculiar statement: — śakuntābaddēna chaturdaśa vidyāsthānāni parigrihyaṁte: aṅgāni chaturō vēdā mīmāṃsā nyāyavistarāḥ | purāṇam, dharmasāstram cha athānāny āhuḥ chaturdaśa || tatā 'rīgāni śat, tad yathā: śikṣā vyākaraṇam kalpaḥ chhandō niruktam jyōtiṣam iti. The position of the āṅgas in the front of the list is one of the remarkable things in this statement.

<sup>33</sup> Mādhara purāṇa vāyarāṇa B R; nāḍagāḍl A.

<sup>34</sup> Hēmachandrasūri on the Anuyōgadv. has likewise only: ētach cha Bhāratādīkam nāṭakādi-paryāntam śrutam lōkprasiddhigamyam.

<sup>35</sup> In the *Pāṇḍikāsūtra* this is introduced by the words namō tēsam khamāsamapāpam jēhim imam vēsiyam aṅgabāhiram ukkāliyam (or kāliyam) bhagavantaḥ, tam jahā: dasavēyāliyam . . . The *Pāṇḍikāsūtra* is enumerated by Rāj. L. M., see above p. 327, as the fourth mūlasūtram after the *Siddhāntadharmasūtra*. It sings the praises of each part of the Siddhānta (aṅgabāhira and dūvālasaṅga) and contains especially an acknowledgment of belief in the five mahavvayas.

<sup>36</sup> The enumeration of the names in S. contains a different grammatical construction, i. e. the names are in the genitive.

<sup>37</sup> The avachūri gives explanations (occasionally in detail) of at least some of the names. A large number of the names is, however, passed over in silence. [Explanations may however be found at the end of the *Vyavahāra-bhāṣya*, as the corresponding part of the sūtra mentions most of the names.—L.]

<sup>38</sup> These numbers represent the arrangement which I have observed here in essential agreement with Bühler's list in the enumeration of the parts of the Siddhānta.

<sup>39</sup> The texts which are no longer found as separate texts in the Siddhānta, are printed in italics. On kappiyāk, (cf. kappākappiam p. 9 n. <sup>24</sup>), chullak. and mahāk., see the scholiast's remarks, p. 479 above.



kappasuan 4. mahākappasuan,<sup>40</sup> 5. ōvāiyam<sup>41</sup> 13, 6. rāyapaseṇiyam<sup>42</sup> 14, 7. jlvābhigamō 15, 8. paṇṇavaṇā 16, 9. mahāpaṇṇavaṇā,<sup>43</sup> 10. pamāyappamāyam,<sup>44</sup> [12] 11. namdi<sup>45</sup> 41, 12. dēvim-dattā<sup>46</sup> 31, 13. aṇuḡgadārām 42, 14. tamdulavēyāliyam 29, 15. chaṇḍāvijjhayam<sup>47</sup> 30, 16. sūrapaṇṇatti<sup>48</sup> 17, 17. pōrisimaṇḍalam,<sup>49</sup> 18. maṇḍalappavēso,<sup>50</sup> 19. vijjācharaṇavinichchhā<sup>51</sup> 20, gaṇivijjā<sup>52</sup> 32, 21. jhāṇavibhatti,<sup>53</sup> 22. maraṇavibhatti,<sup>54</sup> 23. āyavisohi,<sup>55</sup> 24. viyārāyasuan,<sup>56</sup> 25. saṇḍēhaṇāsuan,<sup>57</sup> 26. viharākappō,<sup>58</sup> 27. charaṇavīhā,<sup>59</sup> 28. āura[13]pachchakkhāṇam<sup>60</sup> 29, 29. mahāpachchakkhāṇam,<sup>61</sup> 30. ēvam-āi,<sup>62</sup> — To the kāliyam the following texts are ascribed :— 30. uttarajjhayaṇām<sup>63</sup> 43, 31. dasā<sup>64</sup> 38, 32. kappō 39, 33. vavahārō 37, 34. nishām<sup>65</sup> 35, 35. mahānishām 36, 36. isibhāsiyā<sup>66</sup>, 37. Jāmuvuddivapaṇṇatti 18, 38. divasāgarapaṇṇatti<sup>67</sup>, 39. chaṇḍapaṇṇatti 19, 40. khuddiyā vimāṇapavibhatti<sup>68</sup>, 41. mahalliyā vimāṇapavibhatti<sup>69</sup>,

<sup>40</sup> Name of the first chhēdasūtra according to Āśāyaka 8, 55, see pages 446, 479.

<sup>41</sup> So V., uvavā P, uvā N. Āvi. Svi.; in S before No. 5 we find: pamāyappamāyam; pamāy. here is No. 10.

<sup>42</sup> So also P Āvi., a form which suits rāyaprasānyam better than the usual pasēpaṇiyam; Svi. V. have pasēpaṇiyassa but with one y; see p. 382.

<sup>43</sup> For explanation of the scholiast on Nos. 8, 9, see p. 392.

<sup>44</sup> In S before No. 5, in P after No. 15; pramāḍapramāḍasavarūpabhēdaphalavipākapatipādakam adhyayanam (cf. Uttarajjh. Cap. 4), Avach.

<sup>45</sup> The Nandi itself: nachdityādi sugamam.

<sup>46</sup> \*thuf P; in Nkd. P.S. transposed with No. 13 (\*dārā<sup>60</sup> P).

<sup>47</sup> \*vijjiyam P, \*vijjayam Nkd.

<sup>48</sup> Is omitted here in P S and comes after No. 37; sūryacharyāprajñānam yanyām graṇthapaddhatau sūryaprajñapti.

<sup>49</sup> pōrasam P; paurushmaṇḍalam iti, purushaḥ saṁkuḥ, purushaśarīraṁ vā, tasmān niḥpannāpaurushī, sarvasyā 'pi vastunō yathā avapramāṇā chhāyā jāyatē tadā paurushī syāt, ētach cha paurushīpramāṇam uttarāyanasyā 'ntē dakṣiṇāyanasyā "dau cha ēkaṁ dīnam syāt, tataḥ param aṅgulyā 'stāv ēkashaṣṭibhāgā (4/1) dakṣiṇāyanē vardhamāntē, uttarāyanē cha hrāsamti, ēvam maṇḍalē-maṇḍalē paurushī yatrā 'dhyayanē varjyatē tat paurushmaṇḍalam, Avach. Cf. book 9 in up. 5 (and Bhag. 11, 11, L.)

<sup>50</sup> sūryachandramasōr yatra dakṣiṇeshū 'ttareṣu cha maṇḍalēṣu saṁcharatōr yathā maṇḍalān maṇḍalē pravēśē(śō) vyāvaryatē san(tan)maṇḍalapravēśah, Avach.; cf. the first book in up. 5.

<sup>51</sup> vijjā P S; in P S transposed with No. 20; vidyā samyag-jñānam charaṇam chāritram, ētēśān phalavinīchaya pratipādakō graṇthah, Avach. [= Bhag. 20, 9 Leumann.]

<sup>52</sup> See p. 443.

<sup>53</sup> yatrā "rtadhyānādīnām vibhajanam proktaṁ tat, Avach.; appears in the Vidhiprapā among the paṇnas in the eighth place. See p. 428.

<sup>54</sup> Omitted in Āvi. pr. m., maraṇāni prasaṣtāprasaṣtarūpāni teshān pārthakyēna yatra vibhajanam uktam-Avach.; see p. 428n.

<sup>55</sup> yatrā (!) "tmanō jlvayā "lochanā-prāyāschitta-pratipattiprabhṛtikarapēna viśuddhir yatra vyāvaryatē tat, Avach. In Svi. V maraṇavisohi in addition follows here.

<sup>56</sup> In P S after No. 25; sarāgavyapōhēna vitarāgasavarūpam vyāvaryatē yatra tat, Avach.

<sup>57</sup> yatra dravyabhāvasaṁlekhanāśavarūpam pratipādyatē, Avach.; three verses are added in attestation thereof: yathā, chattāri vichittāni vigānījūhiyā chattāri | saṁvachohharō u dūnni u ēgāntariyam cha āyāmaḥ || 1 || pāvijitthō atavō chhammāṣe parimāṁ cha āyāmaḥ | annē vi ya chhammāṣe bōi vikiṭṭham tavōkammaḥ || 2 || vāṣē kōḍḍasāhiyam āyāmaḥ kaṭṭu āpupuvvī | girikaṇḍarammi gaṇṭum pānvagamaṇam aha karōi || 3 || bhāvasaṁ, lekhanā tu krodhādi pratipakṣabhāṣābhiḥ (!). [The three verses are taken from the Āchāra-niryukti (237-239).—L.]

<sup>58</sup> viharāḥ sthāvirakalpādirūpō yatra varjyatē, Avach.

<sup>59</sup> visohi P, \*vibhatti Svi.; chāritrasya vidhiḥ, Avach.

<sup>60</sup> The scholiast appears to have had before him another text than the usual one. See p. 437.

<sup>61</sup> mahat pratyākhyānam yatrō 'ktaṁ, Avach.

<sup>62</sup> Instead of ēvamā P has: savvēhiṇi pi ēyammi aṅgabāhirē ukkāliḥ bhagavāntē sasuttē sa-atthē saggaṇṭhē sanijjittē saasāṅgahapāḍē jē guṇā va bhāvā va . . tē bhāvē saddahāmi . .

<sup>63</sup> ētāny adhyayanāni nigamanam sarveshām adhyayanānām pradhānatvē 'pi rūḍhyā 'mūny ēvō 'ttarādhyayanaśabdavāśhyatvēna prasiddhāni, Avach.

<sup>64</sup> Without any explanation. See p. 460 for No. 35.

<sup>65</sup> In P S before No. 34; without explanation. See pages 259, 272, 280-81, 402, 429, 432, 442.

<sup>66</sup> In P S No. 16 is inserted here. The order in P is sūrap., chaṇḍap., divasāg., in S: chaṇḍap., sūrap., divas.; on divasāgarap. see pp. 263, 339, 429.

<sup>67</sup> khuddiyā and mahalliyā also in S (i. e., \*yāvī), not \*yāḍ as we should expect; āvalikāpravishṭānām itareśhān vā vimānānām prabhajanam yatrō 'ktaṁ, sā vimānapravibhaktir dvīdhā, 'lpākharāthā "dyā, drvīyā mahāgrāntāthā. See the kārikās above pp. 223, 224 in reference to Nos. 40—44, 45—49 as the object of study for the eleventh and twelfth years. In aṅga 3 Nos. 40—49 appear together as forming the saṁkṛhēyadasā, or as the 16 ajjhayasas that belong in this connection. See pp. 273, 274.



42. *aṅgachūliā*<sup>62</sup>, 43. *vaṅgachūliā*<sup>63</sup>, 44. *vivāhachūliā*<sup>70</sup>, 45. *Aruṇāvavā*<sup>71</sup>, 46. *Garuḍāvavā*<sup>72</sup>, [14] 47. *Dharaṇavavā*<sup>73</sup>, 48. *Vesamaṇavavā*<sup>74</sup>, 49. *Velamdharovavā*, 50. *deviṇḍoravā*, 51. *utthāṇasue*<sup>75</sup>, 52. *saṃutthāṇasue*<sup>76</sup>, 53. *nāgapariyāvaliyā*<sup>77</sup>, 54. *nirayāvaliyā*<sup>78</sup> 20, 55. *kappiyā*<sup>79</sup> 20, 56. *kappavaḍimsayā*<sup>79</sup> 21, 57. *pupphiyā* 21, 58. *pupphachūliyā* 21, 59. *Vaṇhidasā* 24, *evam-āiyā*<sup>80</sup> *chaūrasī* *paṇṇagasayasahasā* *bhagava* *Vaḍḍhamāna-sāmissa*; *ahavā jassa jattiyā sisā uppattiyā*<sup>81</sup> *veṇāiyā* *kammiyā* *pārisāmiyā* *chaūvviḥā* *buddhī* *veṇeyā* *tassa tattiyā* *paṇṇagasahasā*, *paṭṭegabuddhā* *vi tattiyā* *cheva*; *se 'taṃ* *kāliam* *suam*. This is the conclusion in the Berlin MS. of N. Dr. Leumann, [15] however, says that this conclusion contains a large lacuna. We find in the edition of N.<sup>82</sup> *evamāiyā* *chaūrasī* *paṇṇagasahasā* *bhagava* [Usahasāmissa *Ātitthagarassa*, *taha saṃkhijjā* *paṇṇagasahasā* *majjhamagāṇam* *Jiṇavarāṇam*, *chaūddasa* *paṇṇagasahasā* *bhagava*] *Vaḍḍhamānasāmissa*, etc.

From this we may draw the conclusion that the 59 titles<sup>83</sup>, according to the opinion of the author of the Nandi, represent merely a portion of the 84,000 *paṇṇas* (our MS. has 184,000 in the text!), which belonged to the first *tīrthakara* *Rishabhasvāmin* and to the 22 *Jiṇavaras* following him; but that at the time of *Vardhamānasvāmin* their number was reduced to 14,000. Or according to another view, each of the 24 *tīrthakaras* had just so many thousand

<sup>62</sup> *aṅgasyā* "chārādēs chūlikā uktānuktārthasamgrahātmikā grāṇthapaddhatī; see pp. 255, 274.

<sup>63</sup> so MS. P. *Āvi.*, but *vagga* N. ed., *aṅga* 3 (see p. 274), *Svi.*, V. and *Avach.*: *vargō 'dhyayanānāṃ saṃuḥō yathā 'mākriddasāvar aṣṭau vargēs* (see p. 320), *teshām kalikā (chūl) ?*.

<sup>70</sup> *bhagavatichūlikā*, see pp. 274, 296.

<sup>71</sup> *Aruṇō nāma dēvas, tadvaktavyatāyāḥ pratipādikō grāṇthah, parāvartyamānās cha tadupapātahētuḥ sō 'rupōpapātah; evam garuḍōpapātādayō 'pi vāchyāḥ*; see pp. 224, 274, 316; cf. *Aruṇa* as name of the dawn or as that of the charioteer of the sun. Up to this point the nominatives end in *o*, from this point on in *e*; so also in P.

<sup>72</sup> *Garuḍō* P. In P after 47.

<sup>73</sup> So also S, but *Varu* in P and scholiast on *aṅga* 3, *Vara* in the text there (see p. 274). The king of the *Nāgas* is probably referred to.

<sup>74</sup> In N after No. 49 we find *vēsamaṇa* = *vaiśravaṇa*.

<sup>75</sup> *utthāṇasrutam, udvasanabhētukam* *śrutam*, *Avach.* See page 234, where mention is made of four *ajjh.*, which begin with *utth.*, and which are the subject of the study of the thirteenth year. In this place, however, we find only Nos. 52–55 devoted to this year; but does No. 50, too, belong in this connection? In Sv. No. 50 stands between 52 and 53.

<sup>76</sup> *saṃupasthāpanasrutam, bhūyas tatrai 'vā 'vāsana(?)hētukam* *śrutam*; *vakāral'paḥ prakṛitatvāt*, *Avach.*

<sup>77</sup> so P, *'yāvapiyā* MS.; *'yāvaliyāṇam* *Svi.* V., *'pāriavēliāṇam* *Āvi.*; *nāgakumārās, tēhām pariṇā yatro 'ktā*, *Avach.*

<sup>78</sup> so MS.<sup>2</sup> P, *'llo MS.*<sup>1</sup>; *'liyāṇam* S; No. 54 in the existing *Siddhānta* is the collective name of up. 8 to 12 and at the same time the specific title of up. 8; No. 55 is there merely another name for No. 54. See p. 418; and p. 420 for the explanation of 54–59. On page 430 we must read *'gōcharā grām*.

<sup>79</sup> *ḍamsi* P, *ḍimsi* V.

<sup>80</sup> Instead of *evam-āiyā* . . . P has 60 *śaṅgisabhaṇapā*, 61 *diṭṭhisabhaṇapā*, 62 *chārāpasamaṇabhaṇapā*, 63 *mahāsuṇipabhaṇapā*, 64 *tēgānisaggā* *paṇ* *savvēhiṃ* *pi* *ēyammī aṅgabāhirē kālī* *bhagavantē* . . (as above, p. 13, note 7). These five names are cited in S. too with the following variations: *chārāpasabhaṇapāṇam* (omitted in *Āvi.*), *mahāsuṇipagabhāṇ*. (V., also omitted in *Āvi.*), *tēyaga(tēyga)* *Āvi.*) *nisaggapāṇam*. — These five texts are found in the same order in the *kārikās* mentioned in p. 224 as designed for the fourteenth to the eighteenth year of study. *Tēyānisaggā* is the special name of the fifteenth book in *aṅga* 5. See p. 301n.

<sup>81</sup> See above p. 8, note 1; *antpattiki*, *vainayiki* *karmasamutthā* *pāriṇāmi*.

<sup>82</sup> The *Avach.* agrees with the account in our MSS.: — *evam ādini chaturāśtisahasrāṇi prakṛpakasahasrāṇi Rishabhasvāminas, tāvatpramāṇānāṃ* *śramaṇasahasrāṇāṃ* *saṃbhavāt*, *prakṛpakānāṃ* *cha* *tadrachitatvāt*; *madhyama* *tīrthakṛitāṃ* *api* *saṃkhyēyāni* *prakṛpakasahasrāṇi* *vāchyāni*; *Vardhamānasvāminas* *chaturdasasahasrāṇi*. — *anyē* *punar āhuḥ*: *idam Rishabhādīnāṃ* *chaturāśtisahasrāḍikāṃ* *śramaṇamānāṃ* *pradhānē* *ōtrarachanāsāmadhyam* (or merely *'chanām*?) *adhikṛitō* *'ktam*, *anyathā* *sāmānyasramaṇāḥ* *prabhūtatarā* *api* *tadā Rishabhādīkālē* *śētran*. — *anyē* *punar* *evam āhuḥ*: *Rishabhādīnāṃ* *jīvatām* *idam* *chaturāśtisahasrāḍikāṃ* *śramaṇamānāṃ*, *pravāhataḥ* *punar* *ēkaikasmin* *tīrthē* *bhūyāmsō* *'py* *śētran*, *tatra yē* *pradhānasōtrarachanāsaktisamanvitāḥ* *suprasiddhatatvamdhāya* (?) *tatkālīkā* *api* *tīrtham* *pravartamānās* *tatrā* *'dhikṛitāḥ* (b; *ētaḍ* *ēva* *darśayann āha*: *ahavē* *'ty-ādi* *sugamam*.

<sup>83</sup> Or 60 including *marāṇavāsōhi* (*Svi.* V. between 23 and 24) and 65 with the addition of the five names in PS.



pañnas, or pratyēkabuddhas<sup>24</sup> [16] as he possessed scholars endowed with the correct fourfold knowledge. Estimating these exaggerated figures at their true value, let us consider the 59 titles.<sup>25</sup> Of the texts now enumerated as parts of the Siddhānta the titles of the four pañnas 25, 27, 23, 34, of the sixth chhēdasūtra 40 and of two of the mūlasūtras, 31 and 46 are omitted. Of these the four pañnas are to be regarded as modern productions and later than the N; the titles of the sixth chhēdasūtra 40 and of the fourth mūlasūtra 46 are not certain; and, finally, the title of the fourth mūlasūtra 46, āvaśyaka, has been already mentioned. See on p. 11. The remaining 27 titles of texts of the present Siddhānta not belonging to the aṅgas (13 fg.) are one and all contained in the above list, though in a different order of arrangement and without any statement in reference to the names of their groups. Some, however, belong together as groups — the first four and the last five upāṅgas (Nos. 5—8 and 55—59) and the five chhēdasūtras (Nos. 31—35). Besides these the list contains 32<sup>26</sup> additional names which are not directly represented by texts in the existing Siddhānta. Among these there are five for which corresponding sections in the S. can be shown, thus: — 10 pamāyappamāyam, 17 pōrisi-maṇḍalaṁ, 18 maṇḍalappavēṣō, 38 divasāgarapannatti [, 64 tēyaganisagga]. [17] In the Siddhānta there are references to 12 others; thus for 4, 36 (and 38), 40—49; 8 others are mentioned elsewhere 9, 21, 51, [60—64]; and finally there is a whole list of titles (12 or 13), which cannot be attested from any source whatsoever, thus 2, 3, 19, 22, 23, 24 (a. b., including maraṇavisōhī — 27, 50, 52, 53). It is of special interest that we find statements concerning a whole series of texts held to belong to the kāliam suam in old kārīkā verses. The source of these statements is not further attested. These texts were a special object of riper study at the time of the composition of these verses. Of Nos. 40—49, 51 (50—53 ?), 60—64 it is said that they were designed for the eleventh to the eighteenth year of study: 40—44 for the eleventh, 45—49 for the twelfth, 51 (50—53 ?) for the thirteenth, 60—64 for the fourteenth to the eighteenth year; the nineteenth year forming the conclusion with the study of the ditthivāda. Cf. my remarks on pp. 225, 344, 345.

This list at least opens up to us a wide perspective for the literature existing at the time of the composition of N. It is certainly very remarkable that N is itself cited in this list (as No. 11). Is this the only work of the author inserted by him in the list? Or did he avail himself of this capital opportunity to procure a resting place for other of his productions? If in reality Dēvaddhigaṇi, the nominal redactor of the Siddhānta, is to be regarded as the author of N, then the discrepancy between this list and the existing Siddh., is especially remarkable. [18] Did all these differences arise after his time? And is the division into the groups uvaṅga, pañna, etc., or the names uvaṅga, pañna themselves, etc., to be ascribed to a period subsequent to his? In the case of the pañna this is evidently very probable.

Next follows the aṅgapaviṭṭham 13, the thirteenth group of the suanānaparokkham, which strictly belongs before the anaṅgapaviṭṭham. It is called duvālasavibham and then the 12 aṅgas, āyārō to ditthivāḍ (aṅga 5 as vivāhapannatti) are enumerated in order. This in turn is followed by the detailed statement of contents and extent of the 12 aṅgas, which (see p. 284 ff.) recurs in identical form but in greater detail in aṅga 4. This entire statement has been given on p. 257. We have already seen (pp. 284 ff. 349, 352, 361, 363, and 3) that its appearance in aṅga 4 was secondary, and that here we frequently meet with the older readings. When in the insertions in the aṅgas made by the redactor (even in aṅga 4) any reference is paid to his enumeration,

<sup>24</sup> pratyēkabuddhā api tāvaṇṭa ēva ayuh; — aṭṭai 'kē vyāchakṣatē: ēkaikasyā 'pi tīrthakṛitas tīrthē parimāṇāni prakīrṇakāni, tatkāripām aparimāṇatvāt; kṛvāṇaṁ pratyēkabuddharachitāny ēva prakīrṇakāni draṣṭavyāni tatparimāṇena pratyēkabuddhaparimāṇasya pratipādanāt. This explanation of *kē* is designed to effect a perfectly comprehensible limitation, but cannot be brought in agreement with the context. The title pratyēkabuddha is of great interest. It occurs also in the aṅgas, see pp. 265, 334. Similar statements to the above are found in the scholiast on the first pañna. See p. 435. In the Viśvārambhasaṅgraha is quoted the following interesting citation from the pīṭha of a kalpabhāṣya: suttam gaṇaharariyam tabēva pattēyabuddharariyam cha | suyakēvalipā rariyam abhinna daasapuvvīpā rariyam ||

<sup>25</sup> Or 60 and 65, see p. 15, note 1.

<sup>26</sup> Or 33 and 38.



the citation is from the Nandī and not from aṅga 4. The Nandī and not aṅga 4 is therefore indisputably the source whence these citations are drawn. But whether or no the account here is really to be regarded as the source whence came the account in aṅga 4, appears to me to be still *in dubiis*. This assumption is rendered improbable by the fact there are very great differences in these accounts, not to mention that that of aṅga 4 is much more detailed. If, however, we regard the account in the N. as the source, then that in aṅga 4 is secondary and enlarged after it had effected a lodgment in that aṅga. [19] But on the other hand it is a perfectly legitimate conclusion that the account in N. and in aṅga 4 were drawn from a common source now no longer extant. Finally, it must be stated that the entire section in N. almost gives me the impression of being a secondary insertion. The fact that it too contains the most wonderful statements, called into existence by the effort of pure fancy (cf. especially the statements concerning aṅga 6 and aṅga 12), cannot readily be reconciled with that tradition which regards the Nandī as the work of Dēvarddhigaṇi, the nominal redactor of the whole Siddhānta. Dēvarddhigaṇi would have expressed himself in a more sober, definite way, and would not have given rein to such monstrous figments of the imagination. We must not, however, suppress the fact that the Pākshikasūtram takes no notice of this detailed statement of contents and extent<sup>87</sup> of the 12 aṅgas, but limits itself merely to the enumeration of the twelve names.<sup>88</sup>

Then, too, the general observations in reference to the *duvālasaṅgaṃ gaṇipidagaṃ*, which are joined on to the account of each of the twelve aṅgas, are found here in just the same form as in aṅga 4; cf. pp. 368, 369. The five kārīkās form the conclusion. They contain statements in reference to the correct [20] attainment of the *suanāgaṃ*; the last one reads: *suttatthō khalu paḍhamō, blō nijjutti(1)-māsiō bhāpiō ; taīō niravasēsō, ēsa vihi hōi aṇuōē || 5 ||* According to Leumann, the reference in Bhag. 25, a cites this verse as the conclusion of this entire account (*jāsa suttatthō . . . aṇuōē*). The *nijjutti* is also mentioned.

Next follow some statements which are not noticed by the author of the *avachūri*, from which we may conclude that they were inserted at a later period, though they may in reality be of great age. They comprise a section in prose in reference to the *aṇunnā*, *anujnā*, and a renewed repetition of the titles of the 12 aṅgas and a reference to *Usabhasēṇa*, as the original source of the *aṇunnā*. See p. 15.

The commentary, which I have before me (*avachūri*), the work of an anonymous author, is very short. The Calcutta edition contains the commentary of Malayagiri, according to Leumann. We have already seen that a *Nandivṛitti* is frequently cited — see pp. 353, 354 (*Vichārāmrītasamgraha*), 360 (*Abhayadēva*), — the citations from it being partly in *Prākṛit* (*gāthā*), partly in *Sanskṛit*. In the scholium on the *Gaṇadharasārdhaśāta* (see pp. 371, 458) Sarvarājagaṇi ascribes a *nandivṛitti* to the old Haribhadra, who is said to have died 75 years after Dēvarddhigaṇi. The author of the *Vichārāmrītasamgraha* appears to ascribe such a *nandivṛitti* to Umāsvāmivāchaka who was about 50 years older (see pp. 371, 372). He says (fol. 3<sup>a</sup> of the Berlin MS.) *tathā chā 'ha bhagavān Umāsvāmivāchakaḥ : samyagdarśanaajnāna-chārītrāṇi mokṣamārga itī Nandivṛittau, vāchakaśabdaś chā pūrvagataśrutadharē rūḍhō, yathā : pūrvagataṃ sūtram anyach chā vinēyān vāchayānti 'ti vāchakāḥ, Nandivṛittau : [21] vādī ya . .* (see p. 353<sup>a</sup>). Such statements as these in reference to commentaries of so great an age are of great importance as regards the age of the Nandī.

XLII. The *Anuyōgadvārasūtram* is an encyclopædic review of everything worth knowing,<sup>89</sup> composed in *anūogas*, questions and answers. It is composed in prose though there is

<sup>87</sup> I call attention here to the mention of the name Bhaddabāhu on aṅga 12, pp. 360, 367. It is noteworthy that he appears in the same gradation (though last in order) as the names Daśra, Baladēva, Vāsudēva, Harivaṇsa, and consequently as a mythological personage.

<sup>88</sup> This is introduced in just the same manner as the previous one. See pp. 10, 13: — *namō tēsiṃ khamāsama-pāpāṇi jēhiṃ imāṇi vāiyāṇi dūvālasaṅgaṇi gaṇipidagaṇi, taṃ jāhā . .* and concludes in the same way: *sarvāhiṃ pi ēyammi dūvālasaṅgē gaṇipidagē bhagavāntē saeutthē . .*

<sup>89</sup> An account of the method of defining and explaining the *Sastras*, Kash.



a frequent admixture of gāthās. There are no subdivisions though a systemic arrangement prevails throughout.

As in the Nandī, the nāṇam is especially treated of here. The text commences forthwith with an enumeration of the same five forms of the nāṇa, which we find also in N. ābhiniḍōhiya°, suya°, ōhi°, maṇapayyava°, kēvala°. The second form, the suyanāṇam, śrutajñānam, is the one *par excellence* which is discussed further on in the Anuy. The subdivisions of the suyan. are indicated by means of the same names which we find in N, though the gradations are somewhat different; see p. 11. It is divided into aṅgapaviṭṭham and into aṅgabāhiram,<sup>90</sup> the latter into kāliyam and ukkāliyam; the latter of which again into āvassayam and āvassayavārittam.

Here in the An., the āvassayam alone is discussed. The author states that he desires to explain his work according to the following four points of view, though the real reason for this statement is not clear: āvassayam nikkhivissāmi, suam (śrutam) ni°, khamdham ni° ajjhayaṇam ni°. After a kārīkā inserted here the author proceeds to a discussion of the āvassayam *per se*, [22] which is chaūvviham, viz.: — nāmā°, ṭhavaṇā°, dāvva°, bhāvā°, respectively, the latter two being distinguished from the others as āgamaō and nō-āgamaō. At the end the synonyms (ēgaṭṭhiyā nāpāghōsā nāpāvaṇṇa nāmadiyyā) are stated as follows: — āvassayam, avassakaraṇiyya, dhuvaniggahō, visōhi ya | ajjhayaṇachhakkavaggō nāō ārāhaṇa maggō || samaṇēṇa sāvaṇṇa ya avassakāyavvayaṇṇa havi jamhā | aṇṭō aḥō-nisassa ya tamhā āvassayam nāma ||<sup>91</sup> This designation as ajjhayaṇachhakkavagga points unequivocally to a definite text, divided into 6 adhyāyanas. By the 6 adhyāyanas we may understand the six kinds of āvassayam enumerated in the Nandī, above p. 11, and occurring below (see pp. 23, 24). These names as well as all the other synonyms of āvassaya belong to the domain of ethical, ritualistic or disciplinary matters. Our text, however, touches upon these subjects only occasionally.

Next to the enumeration of the synonyms of the āvassayam come the **suyam** and the **khamdha**, two of the four sections. To these we find that the same groups and sub-groups are ascribed as to the āvassayam; and an enumeration of the synonyms of each forms the conclusion. The verse containing the synonyms of the suyam is as follows: — [23] sua-sutta-gaṇṭha-siddhamta-sāsaṇē āṇa vayaṇa uvaṇṇē | pannaṇa āgamē a ēgaṭṭhā payyavā suttē<sup>92</sup> ||, that containing the synonyms of khamdha: — gapakāē a nikaē khamdhē vaggē taḥēva rasi a | pumjē piṇḍē niarē saṅghāō āṇa samūhē || The first names for "sacred text" refer then to the contents, the second to the extent. In one subdivision of khamdha, the nō-āgamaō bhāvakkhamdhē, the following explanation is found (sē kiṃ tam nō-ā°): — āsēsiṃ<sup>93</sup> chēva sāmāiya-m-āiyāṇam chhaṇham ajjhayaṇāṇam samudāyasamitisamāgamēṇam āvassayasabhāvakkhamdhē labbhatē, sē tam nō-āgamaō bhāvakkhamdhē. By this is meant in all probability the connection of the totality of all the above cited six adhyāyanas of the āvaśyaka, sāmāyika, etc.

The last of these four sections designed to explain the āvassayam, refers *ex professo* to the ajjhayaṇam, and begins with an enumeration of these six ajjhayaṇas. A kārīkā is first introduced,<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> There is unfortunately no enumeration of the aṅgabāhira texts in An.

<sup>91</sup> -- Viśeṣh. I, 871 f. I call attention to the following from the scholiast: — sāmāyikādi-śhaḍadhyāyanakalāpātunakatrāḍ adhyāyanasahajvargah; tathā abhiprēṭṭārthasiddhah samyag-upāyatvān nyāyō, mokshārādhana-hēttutvāḍ ārādhana, tathā mokshapuraprāpakatrāḍ ēva mārgah; — ahōrātrasya madhyē.

<sup>92</sup> Between āṇa, ājñā and vayaṇa one MS. has ūtti which, however, throws the metre out of order; uktri vachanani vāgyōgaḥ scholiast; instead of suttē, sūtravishayē, we expect suē, śrutē, which, however, does not suit the metre.

<sup>93</sup> sāmāyamādīṇam (!) A; eṣām ēva prastutāvaśyakabhēdānām sāmāyikādīnām śhaṭṭām adhyāyanānām samudāyah, samudāyasya samiti(r) nairantaryēṇa, milanā, . . samāgamas, tēna nishpannō ya āvaśyakaśrutakam-dhah sa bhāvaśamdhā iti labhyatē.

<sup>94</sup> āvassayassa paṇi imē atthāhigārā bhavanti, tam: sāvajjajōgaviratī ukkittapā gupavatō a paḍivattī | khaliassa nimdapa vāpa-tigichchhā gupadhārapā chēva || āvassayassa ēso piṇḍatthō vanniō samāseṇam | ettō ekkekkan pupa ajjhayaṇam kittasāmi || tam: sāmāyam, chaūvisatthā, vandapayam, padikkamapaṇam, kāussaggaṇam pachcha kkhāpaṇam; tathā paḍhamajjhayaṇam sāmāyam, tassa paṇi imē chattiā apuōgadārā, tam: uvakkamē, nikkhēvē, apugamē, nayē.



which may have found its way from here to *pañña* 1 [24] — (see p. 433a), — , though both places may have drawn this verse from a common source. This verse states in brief compass the contents of each of the six *ajjh*. Then follow again the six names as in the *Nandī*. Next the first one, the *sāmāyam*, is designated expressly as the one which is treated of in the *An*. To it are allotted four *aññogadārās*, sections for questions related to the subject-matter. These sections are *uvakkamē*, *nikkhēvē*, *aṇṇamē*, *naṇṇē*, and under this division the rest of the text is divided, the *uvakkamē* taking the lion's share. In a MS. which I have before me, ms. or. fol. 762, = A, which contains 56 foll., the *uvak.* embraces foll. 5<sup>a</sup> to 53<sup>b</sup>. That which preceded was on foll. 1<sup>b</sup> to 5<sup>a</sup>; *nikkhēva* is on three leaves, to 56<sup>b</sup>; *aṇṇamē* is despatched in ten lines on 56<sup>b</sup> and *naṇṇē* in six.

On p. 22 I called attention to the lack of harmony between the names of the six *āvaśyaka* groups and the actual contents of our text which purports to discuss them. This lack of harmony, which is increased by the table of contents adduced for each one in particular, is so great, that I have in vain attempted a solution of the mystery as to how our text can have the face to assert that it discusses the first of these, the *sāmāyam*, or the *sāvajjajōgavirati*.<sup>96</sup> A genuine discussion is hardly touched upon, the real subject-matter being special topics pertaining to [25] matters of dogma and speculation, or to general matters of cosmological, anthropological, linguistic or literary interest.

Aside from this lack of harmony, another fact is in itself likely to excite the hostility of surprise: the word *sāmāya* is used as the title of the first *āvaśyaka*, but in reference to the *aṅgas* we had learned to employ it in quite a different signification, viz.: — as the title of *aṅga* 1, whose contents it is true, might be characterized as *sāvajjajōgavirati*. The double use of one and the same word to designate two different *termini technici* is truly a matter to be wondered at. See 243 fg., 342 fg.

The contents of the sections *uvakkama*, etc., is very varied and in part extremely interesting; and the form, in which it is encased so to speak, is highly remarkable. The statements are heterogeneously arranged, and the connecting thread being purely external, there is no logical consecution. Everything is divided according to the fashion prevailing in the *Siddhānta*, into groups, species, sub-species, etc. The *uvakkama* e. g. is divided into *āṇupuvvī* (in A on fol. 5<sup>a</sup> to 15<sup>b</sup>), *nāmaṇ* (to 27<sup>a</sup>), *paṇṇaṇ* (to 51<sup>b</sup>), *vattavvayā* (to 52<sup>a</sup>), *atthāhigāra* (ib.), *samavayāra* (to 53<sup>b</sup>). And the *āṇupuvvī* is in turn divided into *nāmaṇupuvvī*, *ṭhavaṇā*, *davvā*, *khettā*, *kālā*, *ukkittā*, *gaṇā*, *saṁṭhā*, *sāmāyārī*, *bhāvāṇupuvvī*.

Without paying any greater attention to the stereotyped expressions of the text [26] than is necessary to mark the different passages where the statement in question occurs, I give here, according to the arrangement of the text, some of the most important data contained in it and at the end, a *resumé* of the results of interest for the history of literature. It may be prefaced that the nom. sing. masc. I decl. ends now in *o*, now in *e*, and that in the verses, the nominative and case forms in general are frequently represented by the theme. In the case of feminine nouns thematic *ā* *i* *ū* are shortened.

A species of *davvāvassayam* (A 2<sup>b</sup>) is divided into *lōiyam*, *kuppāvayaṇiyam* and *lōutta-riyam*. The first is referred to the usages of the *proceres*, who appear in the usual enumeration that we have met with in the *aṅgas*: *jē imē rāṭ* "sara-talavara-kōḍambiya"<sup>96</sup> *māḍambiya-ibha-setṭhi-sēṇāvai-satthavāhapabhiṭ*.<sup>97</sup> The *kuppāvayaṇiyam* describes in the following enumeration

<sup>96</sup> In the *atthāhigāra* section of the *uvakkama* in one MS. ! the contents of all the six *ajjhayaṇas* is seemingly ascribed to the *sāmāyam* alone. The actual facts of the case are different, see p. 37a.

<sup>97</sup> On *talavara*, see p. 38 fg. 313; *kōḍambiya* from *kuṭamba*, the older form of *kuṭumba*, see *Ind. Streifen* 1, 394. *Pañchadandabh.* p. 41; *yasya pārvata āsannam aparaṁ grāmanagarādīkaṁ nā 'sti tat sarvataśchinnajānāśraya-viśeṣharūpaṁ māḍambam uchyatē tasyā 'dhipatir māḍambikā*.

<sup>98</sup> . . . *muhadhōyaṇa-dantapakkhāṇa-tella-phañña-siddhatthaya-hariyāliya-addāga-dhūva-puppha-mallagā-dhatambōlavattha-māyāṇiṇi davvāvassayāṇiṇi karenti taḍ pachchha rāyakulaṁ vā dēvakulaṁ vā sabham vā pavani (prapāṁ) vā ārāmaṁ vā uyyāpaṁ vā niggaḥṇanti*.



the character of those sects which do not share the Jaina belief: — jê imê<sup>98</sup> charaga-chhriya-chammakhamdiya-bhichchhamdaga-pamduramga - Gôyama-govvaya - gihidhamma-dhammachim-[27]taga-aviruddha-viruddha-vuddhasavagapabhiyaô pásamdatthâ, and states that these: Indassa vâ Khamdassa vâ Ruddassa vâ Sivassa vâ Vêsamassa vâ dēvassa vâ nāgassa vâ jakkhassa vâ bhāyassa vâ Mugumdassa vâ Ayyā vâ Kottakiriya vâ<sup>99</sup> uvalēvāna-sammayyānā-<sup>100</sup>varisāna-dhūvapupphagamdhamallāyāim dāvavassayāim karēnti. The lōguttariyam finally is referred to the merely external Jaina-yōgin: jê imê samānagunamukka-jōgi chakkāyanirapukampā hayā iva uddamā gayā iva niramkusa ghatthā matthā tuppottā<sup>100</sup> pamdurapaḍapāraṇā<sup>1</sup> jīṇāṇam apāṇā<sup>1</sup>(anāṇayā) sachchhaṇḍam vihariṇam ubhayō-kālam āvassagassa uvattānti.

[28] In the bhāvavassayam (intellectual exercise) we read in the passage attributing a similar division to the lōiyam: puvvaṇhē Bhārahā, avaraṇhē Rāmāyaṇam,<sup>2</sup> and as regards the kuppāvayaniyam, it is said of the same sects as above (charagachhriya<sup>9</sup>) i. e. that they iija-'mjali hōma-japa-umdurukka-namukkāra-m-āiyāim bhāvavassayāim karēnti.<sup>3</sup> The dāvvasuyam is characterized<sup>4</sup> as pattaya-potthayalihiyam and as amḍayam, voṇḍayam, kiḍayam, vālayam, vakkayam.

The works of the Brahminical literature cited by me *ad* Bhag. 2, 24; are quoted in the case of the lōiyam nō-āgamaô bhāvasuyam (see above, p. 9), where the same list is adduced from the Nandī, though in somewhat greater detail.

<sup>98</sup> dhātī(?)vāhakāḥ saṁtō yē bhikṣhām charānti tē charakāḥ; rathāpatitachiraparidhānāḥ chhrikāḥ; charma-paridhānāḥ charmakhapikāḥ; yē bhikṣhām ēva bhujjātē na tu svaparigrihītam gōdugdhēdikam tē bhikṣhātāḥ, Sugataśāsanasthā ity anyē; pāmḍurāṅgā bhasmoddhūlitagātrāḥ; vichitrapāḍapatanāḍīkshākāḥkalāpayukta-varātakamōlikūḍicharchitavṛishabhakōpāyataḥ (?) kapabhikṣhāgrāhiṇō Gautamāḥ; cf. Kapabhuj, Kapāda(!); gocharyānukāripō gōvratikāḥ, tē hi "vayam apī kila tiryakhu vāsma" iti bhāvanām bhāvayāntō gobhir nirgachhantibhiḥ saha nirgachhanti sthitābhis tishthanti āśnābhir upaviśanti bhujjānābhis tathai 'va tripapat-trpaushpaphalādi bhujjātē, tad uktam: gāvhi samān niggamapavvethāpāsāpāi pakarinti | bhujjanti jāh gāv tiriḥhāvāsam vibhāvantā ||; grihasthadharma ēva śrēyān iti . . grihidharmāḥ, tathā cha tadanusāripaṇ vachāḥ: grihāśramasamō dharmō na bhūtō na bhaviṣyati | tām pālayānti yē dhīrāḥ, klīvāḥ pāhamāḥ āsītā iti ||; Yājñavalkyaprabhritirishiprapitadharmaśāhītāḥ chintayānti . . dharmachintakāḥ; dēvatā-kehitā-mātāpitri-tiryagādīnām avirodhena vinayakāritvād aviruddhā vainayikāḥ; puṇyapāpāparalōkādyanabhyupagama-parā akriyāśāśinō viruddhā(h), sarvapāshamjibhiḥ saha viruddhachāritvāt; prathamam ēvā "dyatīrthakarakālē samutpannatvāt, prāyo vridhdhākālē dīkṣhāpratipattē cha vriddhāḥ tāpasāḥ; śrāvakāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ . . anyē tu vridhdhāśrāvaka ity ēkam ēva padam vrāhmaṇavāchakavēna vyāchakṣatē (Buddha is therefore not referred to here! (see Bhag. 2, 214); and AC<sup>2</sup> R read vuddha, BC<sup>1</sup> alone having vuddha); pāhamāḥ vrataḥ, tatra tishthanti 'ti pāhamāḥasthāḥ; — on Gôyama fg. see Anup. § 73. See chap. 15 in Varāhamihira's Brihajjātaka (pravrajyā-yōgādhyāya), or Laghujāt. 9, 13), *Ind. Stud.* 2, 237, where also vridhdhāśrāvaka.

<sup>99</sup> Mukundō Baladēvāḥ; Ārya prasāntarūpā Durgā; sai 'va mahishārōḍhā tatkuṭṭanaparā Kottakriyā; strō 'pachārōḍ indrādisabdhēna tad-āyatanam apy uchyatē; the same arrangement of the gods, except Mukunda, occurs also in the Bhagavati 3, 1, 69; see my treatise 2, 113. 1, 429.

<sup>100</sup> See p. 161 on Hīla 459 Bhuv.

<sup>1</sup> According to all appearance this speaks against the connection of the text with the Śvētāmbaras and refers it to the Digāmbaras (cf. Bhag. 2, 187n. 321, where I have partially misunderstood the passage).

<sup>2</sup> See Bhag. 2, 248n, my treatise on the Rāmāy. p. 34; lōkē hi Bharata-Rāmāyapayōr vāchanam āravapaṇ vā pūrvāparāḥpayōr ēva rōḍham.

<sup>3</sup> iija yāḡaḥ, athavā dēśibhāshāyām iijē 'ti (ishēti B) mātā (!), tasyā namaśkāravidhau . . umdurukka tti dēśivāchanāṣa umdu mukham, rukkam vṛishabhādisabdakarapaṇ, dēvatādisapuratō vṛishabhagarjitādikarapaṇ. — B has also i(ṭhamb)ali in the text; this is manifestly caused by a misunderstanding of the ligatures shṭ, shv and jī. See Vol. XVI. *Ind. Stud.* 2n; iija, mātā is to be referred either to root yaj or to ārya.

<sup>4</sup> pat(t)rakāpi talatālyādisambamdhni, tatsaṅghātaniṣpannāḥ tu pustakāḥ, tātāḥ cha patrakāni cha pustakāḥ cha, tesu likhitam; athavā pōtam vastram (see I. S. Vol. 16, p. 153) pa(t)trakāpi cha tesu likhitam; — amḍayam hamagabbhādi; hamasāḥ patamgaḥ, garbhas tu tannivartitakōśikārō . . tadutpannam sūtram amḍayam uchyatē: ādisabdāḥ avabhēdaprakhyāpanaparāḥ; — voṇḍayam (bo<sup>9</sup> R, po<sup>9</sup> A) karpāsa-m-ādi, *Ind. Stud.* XVI. 111; vōṇḍam vamanphalam tasmā jētām voṇḍayam; phalahī vaman, tasyāḥ phalam phalaḥ karpāsāśrayakōśakarūpaḥ; — kiḍj jētām kiḍjām sūtram; is fivefold: patṭē patṭasūtram (detailed citation from the vridhdhavyākhyā), Malaś Malayaviśahyotpannam, amśuē, Chīpamśuē Chīnaviśahyē, kimirāgē; — lōmabhyō jētām vālayam; is fivefold: unniē aurīkam, utthiē aushtrīkam, miyalōmaē, kutavē (kō<sup>9</sup>) umdururēmanishpannam, kiṭṭiē ūrpādīnām yad uddhari tam; — vakkayam (vāḡayam A) sana-m-ādi valkajam, tatrā 'tasīsūtram Mālavakādisiddham. There is no direct statement in reference to the relations of these stuffs, consisting of down, cotton, silk (from Malaya and China), hair (wool, skin), plants (hemp, flax) to the śrutam. Their use as paper, etc. for MSS. is doubtless here referred to as in the case of pattaya<sup>9</sup>.



[29] In the enumeration of the names from āyāra to diṭṭhivāa (aṅga 5 as vivāhapannatti) the duvālasaṅgaṃ gaṇipidagam takes the place of the lōuttariyam, etc.

In the case of the *khettānupuvvī*, the groups of the *ahôlô* (*Rayasappabhā* to *Tamatappabhā*), *tiriyalô* (*Jambuddivē* to *Sayāmbhuramaṇē*), *uḍḍhalô* (*Sôhammē* to *Īsipabhārā*) are enumerated, and in the case of the *kālāṇu°*, the gradations of the divisions of time from *samā* to *savvaddhā*. As we learn from a second discussion of the subject in a passage later on (see pp. 34, 37), we have to deal here with a progression by 84's and not by 10's. Cf. *Bhagav.* 1, 427, above, pp. 268, 411, 412. In the case of the *ukkittāṇu°* we find an enumeration of the 24 *Jinas*.

Under *nāmaṁ* we find all manner of linguistic, grammatical and other statements. Immediate dependence upon Sanskrit literature is here very clear; thus *e. g.* as examples of monosyllables are cited the following four—*hrīḥ śrīḥ dhīḥ strī* (*sic*) in the Sanskrit form, manifestly because they (*cf.* Piṅgala's *chhandas* 1, 12. *Ind. Stud.* VIII, 217, 218) are used in Sanskrit grammar as customary (*mūrdhābhishikṭa*) examples. The same fondness for Sanskrit may be observed in the metrical rules concerning gender, statements in reference to the finals of nouns, (*ā, i, ū, o* and *aṁ, iṁ, uṁ*), *saṁdhi* (*āgama, lova, pagadi* *i. e.* *prākṛiti*, and *vikāra*) and the five classes of words. For some of the names of these classes (*e. g.* *nāmikam, naipātikam, ākhyātikam aupasargikam, miśram*) and the examples<sup>5</sup> of others, the Sanskrit is used. The sacred author makes, ludicrously enough, [30] a wilful error of a slight character. He cites, besides, other examples of *saṁdhi*; *vadhū ūhatē vadhūhatē*, but Sanskrit has no nominative or rather no form *vadhū*. The *nomin.* is *vadhūs*.

In mentioning a subspecies of *chhanāmā* (*shan*<sup>o</sup>) the twelve *aṅgas* are again enumerated in detail (*aṅga* 5 again as *vivāhapannatti*), and the *navapuvvadhara jāva choddasapuvvadhara* mentioned (see Bhag. 2, 318). Under the head of all manner of aerial and heavenly phenomena the eclipses of the moon and sun are referred to.<sup>6</sup>

Under the head of *sattanāmē* we find a very thoroughgoing account of the seven *svara*'s<sup>7</sup> interwoven with all sorts of *gāthās*; under *aṭṭhanāmē* a similar account of the eight cases (*vibhatti*), under *navanāmē* of the nine poetical (*kavva*)-*rasas*. Each of the latter is illustrated by a corresponding *gāthā*. See *Ind. Stud.* XVI, 154-58.

The following countries are enumerated under the head of a subspecies of *dasanāmā*, the *khettasamjōga* : — *Māgabaē*, *Malavaē*, *Sōraṭṭhaē*, *Marahaṭṭhaē*, *Kumkaṇaē*, *Kōsalaē*. If the first two of these names recall [31] the pre-eminent position occupied by *Magadha* and *Mālava* at one time in India — see *Ind. Streifen* 1, 309, 344, — the two following names<sup>3</sup> refer *par excellence* to Jainism. That the list is limited to these six names, whereas in *aṅga* 5 it embraced 16 and 25½ in *upāṅga* 4, is a feature of significance which is probably based upon genuine knowledge of the facts. The list in *aṅga* 5 and in *upāṅga* 4 has no securer a foundation than that of a stereotyped literary tradition.

In another of these subdivisions, the *thavanāpamaṇā*, which contains a discussion of the seven kinds of formation of names, we find an enumeration of the 28 *nakkhattas*, still begin-

\* Thus sandhi: āgamāpam . . padmāni payāmsi, lōvēpam . . tē atra tē 'tra, patō atra patō 'tra, payatī . . agni ētau, paṭu imau, śālē ētē, mālē imē, vikārēpam . . dandāśya agram dandāgram, nā āgatā sgaṭā, dadhi idham dadhidham, nadi thātē nadīthātē, madhu udakam madhūdakam, vadhū (1) thātē vadhūthātē — then, after mentioning the five classes of words, the examples to illustrate them are given in Sanskrit: — aśva iti nāmikam, khalya iti naip., dhāvati 'ty akhy., pari 'ty aup., sahyata iti mīśram.

\* *abdhā ya abbharaṅkhaṁ sanjhaṁ gandhavanagarā ya ukkā vāyā disādsghā vijjū gajjam nigghāya jūvā, jakkhālitā (yakakāḍḍṭakanni, nabhodriyamānāgnipisācchā) dhūmā mahā (dhūmikā mahikā) saṅghayā (raja-udghātā, rajasvalā disā) chaṇḍovārā sūrovārā chaṇḍaparivāsā sūrapā pañcāhaṇḍayā pañjasarā, imda-udghātā, padamācchā (māteyā, indradhanuḅhaṇḍāni) kavasiā (capihasiṭṭāy akasmā nabhasi jvaladbhīma-udghātā, udagācchā) amoghā (amoghā sūryabimbā adhā kadācid upalabhyamānāśaktoḍḍhimasthitāsyāmādirekhā) sabbārūpāni* The same enumeration is found also Bhagav. Ed. p. 224 and in sūtra 3, 10, according to Leumann.

<sup>1</sup> See my treatise on the *Pratijñasūtram*, pp. 109, 110.

\* On Sôrajhât cf. Kalpas. Therâv. 9.



ing with *kṛittikā*, though with their secondary titles (*pussa*, *jeṭṭhā*, *mūla*, *savaṇa*, *dhaṇiṭṭhā*, *bhaddavayā*). Cf. *Ind. Stud.* X 235, 16, 263, 415. The patronymic formation of eight different names, one for each born under a definite *nakshatra*, is here specially treated of and also the names in: *diṇṇa*, *dhamma*, *samma*, (*śarman*), *dēva*, *dāsa*, *sēna*, *rakkhā*,<sup>9</sup> thus, *e. g.*, *kattia*, *kattidinna* (*kitti*°), *kattidhamma*, *kattisamma* etc. Furthermore the patronymics from the names of each of their 28 divinities;<sup>10</sup> thus *aggi*, *aggidinnē*, *aggidhammē* etc. All this proves *eo ipso* that this kind of names was very popular at the date of the composition of the text itself, or rather at the date of its sources.

This is for the latter a [32] factor of synchronistical importance (see p. 40) since these *nakshatra* names appear to have been exceedingly popular at the period of the *grihyasūtra*, and even of Pāṇini. See my treatise on the *nakshatra* 2, 317 fg. As examples of patronymic *kula*-names *Ikkhāgē* (*Aikshvāka*), *Nāyē* (the *kulam* of *Mahāvira*) and *Kōravvē* are cited. The following appear as *pāsaṇḍa* in the same connection: — *samaṇē paṇḍaramgē*, *bhikkū kāvāliē*, *tāvase* and *parivvāyāē*, s. *Bhag.* 2, 213°. The scholiast explains *bhikkhū* by *Buddhadāsaṇāsritā* and on the other hand asserts that there is a five-fold division of *samaṇa*: *niggaṇṭha*-*Sakka* (*Sikya*)-*tāvasa*-*gēruya* *ājivā* with which *Abhayadēva* too is acquainted (see p. 281<sup>n</sup>). He connects the *pāṇḍaramga* with the *naiyāyika*. (But cf. above, p. 26.)

Under the head of *bhāvapamāṇa*, as a species of *pamāṇanāma*, the composition of words is first treated of. There are seven forms of this, the examples of the first form being given (see pp. 29, 30) in Sanskrit, viz.: — 1. *daṇḍa*, examples: *daṇṭās cha oshṭham cha daṇṭoshṭhau*, *stanau cha udaram cha stanōdaram*, .. *vastrapātram*, .. *āsvamahishau*, .. *ahinakulam*, 2. *bahuvrīhi*, 3. *kammadhāraya*, 4. *digu*, 5. *tappurisa*, 6. *avvayibhāva*, and — 7. *ēkasēsa*, the plural as a collection of several units (there is no dual). The eight-fold *taddhitas* follow the compounds: — *kammaṃ 1 sippa 2 silō 3 saṃjōya 4 samivā 5 a saṃjūhē 6 i issariā 7 vachchēṇa 8 ya taddhitānamā tu atthaviham* ||

It is peculiar that among these examples there are almost as many of primary as of secondary formation and in fact [33] even compounds.<sup>11</sup> The commentary explains this peculiarity, which is to be ascribed to actual ignorance (cf. the wilful blunder, p. 30) as follows: — *iha taddhitaśabdēna taddhitapraṭihētibhūtō 'rthō grihyatē, tatō yatrā 'pi tannāē taṃtuvāē ity-ādau taddhitapratyayō na dṛśyatē tatrā 'pi taddhētubhūtārthasya vidyamānatvāt taddhitajātvaṃ* (perhaps merely *taddhitatvaṃ*) *siddham bhavati*.

It is especially interesting that here *saṃjūha*, *saṃyūtha* are explained by the scholiast as *grāṇṭharachanā*, so that the examples cited in the text are to be regarded as titles of literary compositions: — *Taraṅgavatī*, *Malayavatī*, *Sattānusaṭṭhi* (*attā*°) and *Bimbu* are such names! *dhātūē* is said by the text to be the third group of *bhāvapamāṇa*. It is explained in Sanskrit in the following most singular fashion: — *bhū sattāyām parasmaibhāshā, edha vṛiddhau, spardha saṃharshē, gādhri pratishṭhālipsayōr grāṇṭhē cha, bādhrī lōḍanē, sē'ttām dhātūē*. This is nothing more than the beginning of Pāṇini's *dhātupāṭha*; see Westergaard *Radices*, p. 344. The fourth group, *niruttiē*, enumerates in Sanskrit a large number of very peculiar etymologies: *mahyām sētē mahishaḥ, bhramati cha rauti cha bhramarah*, [34] *muhur mahur lasati musalam, kapiṛ iva laṃvate thach* (v. l. are *ghatti*, *bēti*, *sheti*) *cha karōti* (*patati cha* is added by BC) *kapiṭṭham, chid iti karōti khallam cha bhavati chikkallam, ūrdhvakaṛṇa*<sup>12</sup> *ulūkaḥ, khasya mālā mekhalā*.

<sup>9</sup> The names in "bhūti, cf. *libda*°, *Aggi*°, *Vāyu*°, are omitted strangely enough.

<sup>10</sup> *ahi* *budhnya* appears here as *vivaddhi* (!), cf. *vividhī* in *sūga* 3 (p. 26°); both are forms which are much more corrupted than the *abhivaddhi* (°*vuddhi*) of the *Sāryaprajñapti*, see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 295.

<sup>11</sup> On 1 *taṇhāraē* etc., — on 2 *vatthiē*, *tunnāē taṃtuvāē* etc., — on 3 *samaṇē*, *māhaṇē*, — on 4 *raṇṇō sasuraē* *sālaē*, — on 5 *girissa saṃvā nagaram girinagaram, Vidisāē s. n. Vēdisma*, — on 6 *Taraṅgavaṅkāre* (in BE invariably *kāraē*), *Malayavatti* (vā BE) *kāre*, *sattā* (attā BE) *pusaṭṭhikāre*, *bimdukāre* (cf. *dharmabimbu lōkabimbu*, p. 457), — on 7 *karē talavare māḍaṃbiē* . . . — on 8 *arahaṇṭamāyā*, *chakkavattimāyā*, *Baladēvamāyā*, *Vāṇudēvamāyā*.

<sup>12</sup> *ūrdhvakaṛṇa* . . . omitted in E.



Under the head of *paṃaṇa*, that is divided into *daṃva*°, *khetta*°, *kāla*° and *bhāva*°, the measures of space, length of liquids, time and dry measures are treated of *in extenso*. There are frequent citations of lengthy passages of antique colouring, which deal in the form of a dialogue with the instruction of Gōyama (by Mahāvira) on this point. A very minute doctrine of atoms is also found here, see *Bhagav.* 2, 236.<sup>13</sup> The enumeration of the measures of time is similar to that in the *kālāpūrvvī*, above page 29, the progression by 84's beginning three gradations after the quinquennial yuga. In the discussion on *paliḍvamē* (*palyōpama*) we find inserted a lengthy passage from the *Paunavaṇā* (*thiipaa*) in reference to the duration of the continuance of creatures in their different gradations. This insertion is given in full in some MSS., in others the beginning and conclusion above are given, it being stated that it is a citation from the *Paun.* Not much farther on a question is introduced in the following fashion which does not seem original<sup>14</sup>: — *tattha paṃ chōdaṣ* (*chōdakab*, *prērakab*, *prichhakab*) *pannavayam* (*āchāryam*) *ēvaṃ vayāsi*, and then follow questions and answers in the usual way introduced by *atthi paṃ . . .* and *haṃtā! atthi*. Later on [35] comes the dialogue between Gōyama (and Mahāvira), clad in an old form which is probably caused by citations.

Under the head of *gunappamāṇa*, the first group of the *bhāvappam.*, the *nāṇagunap.* is said to be four-fold: — *pachchakkhē*, *aṇumāṇē*, *uvamāṇē*, and *āgamē*. The last is divided into *lōiyē* and *lōuttariē*. To the *lōiya* is ascribed everything that is *annūḷhiṃ micchhādiṭṭhiḷhiṃ sachchāṃdabuddhimativigappiyam*: — *taṃ jāhā*: *Bhārahaṃ Rāmāyaṇaṃ jāva* (BCR, *ēvaṃ A*) *chattāri a vēdā saṃgōvaṃgā*. Here we have a reference to an earlier enumeration. See above, pp. 9, 28. We find that *jam imāṃ arahantēhiṃ bhagavāntēhiṃ savvadarisīhiṃ paṇiāṃ duvāla-saṃgaṃ gaṇipidagaṃ*, *taṃ*: *āyārē jāva diṭṭhivāṣ* is considered to be *lōguttariē*. There are, however, other divisions of the *āgama*; thus, those into *suttā*°, *atthā*° and *tadubhayā*°, or into *attā*°, *apaṇṭarā*° and *paraṃparā*° original doctrine, doctrine that has been directly received, and traditional doctrine (see p. 216). The *charittagunapamāṇē* is said to be five-fold, *sāmāiāchar.*, *chhēdōvatthāvaṇiāchar* (AC, merely °*thāva* BR) etc., and the *sāmāiā-char.* two-fold: *ittariē* and *āvakahiē*; s. *Aupap.* pp. 38, 41, and *Leumann* in the Gloss. According to *Leumann*'s communication this division goes back as far as *Bhagav.* 8, 2, 25, 7. Is this the reason of the name of the *chhēdasuttas*? Under *nayapamāṇē* three *diṭṭhamātas*, examples, are discussed in detail; in these an "avisuddhō nēgamō" is carried on from the general to the particular, or to the *visuddhatarō* etc., and finally an advance made to the *visuddhō*. In this section *Pāḍaliputta* appears as the residence of the person who is questioned (*Dēvadatta*, Skr., not °*dinna*!), [36] and as situated in the *dāhiṇaḍḍha* of the *Bharaha khetta*.<sup>15</sup> Under the head of *parimāṇasaṃkh(y)ā* the *kāliasaṃparim.*, i. e. manifestly the first 11 *aṅgas*,<sup>16</sup> is contrasted with the *diṭṭhivāsa*. The point treated of is their mutual division into,<sup>17</sup> and enumeration of

<sup>13</sup> Where *uddharēṇa* is to be translated by *ūrdhvarēṇa*, *sapha*°, *ussapha*° by *ślakṣhaślakṣhnikā*, *ucchhla-kṣha*°; *sapha* can be also for *sūkṣma*; see *Hem.* 1, 118, where, however, we have *ārahē suhamaṃ*. Cf. 2, 75? *Hāla* 732.

<sup>14</sup> While correcting the proof *Leumann* informs me of its occurrence in the *Nandī*, Ned. p. 335. It is also found in the *Av.* *nijj.* see p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> I notice in passing that the example given on *Hem.* 2, 150, i. e. *Mahura vva Pāḍalutte pāṣā* is in agreement with the examples in question found in the *Mahāvīraśāstra*. See *Ind.* 13, 330. Is this a case of direct borrowing? See above p. 35. *Mathurā* does not play any great part among the Jains, but see the special statements in the beginning of the *Vicārāmrītasāṃgraha* in reference to a *Māthurī vāchanā* (*Skandilāchāryānām abhimatā*).

<sup>16</sup> Likewise in *Āvaśy.* 8, 40 (below p. 61); i. e. quite another terminology than that in *N.* (p. 11) and in the beginning of the *An.* itself (p. 21), where *kāliya* is a subdivision of *anaṅgapavīṭṭha*, or *aṅgabāhira*.

<sup>17</sup> *vejha*, *vesha*, perhaps a group of verses? *nijjuttī* an explanatory section? *anuḍḍāra* a paragraph *tatra paryavāḥ paryāyā dharmā itī yāvāt*, *tadrūpā saṃkhyā paryavasāṃkhyā* (the meaning of *paryava* here as a preliminary stage of *akkhara* is obscure; per se it doubtless denotes the different groups of the alphabet), *sā cha kālikāśrute anantaparyāyātmikā dṛashtavyā*, *ekaikaśyā 'py akārādyakṣharasya tadabhidhēyasya cha jīvādiva-stunah pratyēkam anantaparyāyatvāt*; *ēvaṃ anyatrā 'pi bhāvanā kāryā*; *navaraṃ (!) saṃkhyēyāny akārādyakṣharāṇi*; *dvyādyakṣharasahyōgāḥ saṃkhyēyāḥ saṃghātāḥ*; *suptināntāni samaya(ḥ) praeiddhāni vā saṃkhyēyāni padāni*; *gāthādiāchaturthāṇsarūpāḥ saṃkhyēyāḥ pādāḥ*; . . . *saṃkhyēyā veshakāḥ*; *nikṣhepaniryukty-upodghāta-niryukti-sūtrasparśikaniryuktikalapaṇā trividhā niryuktir* (see p. 38); *vyākhyōpāyabhūtāni tatpadaprārūpaṇa-tādīny (?) upakramādīni vā saṃkhyēyāny anuyōgadvārāṇi*. — The division into *granthas*, or at least this name for the division is not mentioned here. It is really identical with *ślōga*.



payyava, akkhara, saṅghāya, pada, pāda, gāthā, silōga, veḍha, nijjutti, aṇḍagādāra, and from here on the enumeration of the uddēsa, ajjhayaṇa, suakkhamdha, aṅga in the kāliasua, and of the pāhuḍa pāhuḍiā, pāhuḍapāhuḍiā, vatthu in the diṭṭhivāa.

According to the fourth aṅga and Nandī (see p. 354 fg. 631), the latter method of division does not belong to the entire diṭṭhivāa, but merely to the puvvas contained in it; [37] and the evidence of occasional citations made from the puvvas (and found in other works) prove that they were actually so divided. See *ibid.*

vattavvayā is then divided into sasamayav. (sva°), parasamayav. and sasamayaparasamayav. The scholiast cites as an example of the second a passage from aṅga 2; the source of the one for the third is not stated.<sup>18</sup> Thus the nēgamavavahārō, but the ujjusua, explained by rīju-sūtra (°sruta!), i. e. the orthodox believer, recognizes only the first two vatt., and of these two the first alone as entitled to authoritativeness.

The atthāhigāra section consists<sup>19</sup> merely of the gāthā: sāvajjajōga°, which states the contents (attha) of each of the 6 ajjhayaṇas of the āvassaya. See p. 24.

Under the head of samōyārē, samavatāra we find for the third time an enumeration of periods of time from āvaliyā to savvaddhā. See pp. 29, 34. In the second dāra, nikkhēva,<sup>20</sup> the author returns to the sāmāiam and describes in several verses the nature of the samāṇa [38] who possesses the sāmāiam.<sup>21</sup> Two of these verses recur in the sāmāiyajjhay. of the Āvaśy. nijj. 8, 109, 110. See pp. 67, 68. The last section of the nikkhēva, the suttālavayanipphanna, is not given in full<sup>22</sup> by the author "for brevity's sake," lāghavattham, since its contents is, he says, contained in the third dāra, the aṇugama, which follows thereupon.

This deals particularly with the suttāṇṅama and the nijjutti-aṇṅg., which latter is divided into nikkhēvanijj°, uvagghāyanijj° and suttaphāsanijj° (sūtrasaparsika°) — see p. 36a. Of the gāthās cited in it one in part recurs<sup>23</sup> in Āvaśy. nijj. 9, 6b.

Under the head of suttaphāsa° the correct pronunciation of the suttas is treated of. According to the scholiast there are 32 dōsas and 8 (or 6) guṇas, which he discusses at length.<sup>24</sup> The six different means<sup>25</sup> of making oneself certain of the correct understanding of the text are also mentioned; they are: — saṁhitā-form of the text, pada-form, sense of the words, division of the words into component parts, consideration (of objections) and determination (rejection of the objections): saṁhiyā ya payam chēva payatthō payaviggahō; chālaṇā ya pasiddhi ya chhavviham viddhi lakkham.

[39] The fourth dāram, nāḍ, consists of 6 gāthas, of which the first four treat of the seven different forms of naya, i. e. method of conception, exegesis; they are: — nēgamē, saṁgahē,

<sup>18</sup> The latter passage reads: āgāram āvasamāti vā āraṇṇā vā pavvaiyā idam dārisaṇam āvannā savvadukkhā vimucchehamti 'tyādi; on this the scholiast says: grihaesthā, āraṇṇā vā tāpasādayaḥ, pravrajitāś cha Śākyādayaḥ idam asmadyam matam āpannā śāritāḥ sarvadukkhēbhyō vimucchyanta ity ēvaṁ yadā Śāṅkhyādayaḥ, pratipādayanti tad ēvaṁ parasamayavaktavyatā, yadā tu Jaināś tadā svasamayavaktavyatā, tatasā chā 'sau svasamaya-parasamayavaktavyatō 'ohyatē.

<sup>19</sup> It reads: sē kim tam atth° rē? jō jassā ajjhayaṇassa atth° rō In R, instead of tam we have sāmāiyassa atth° rō, and this is doubtless merely an example of how the verse is to be understood: sāva°ajjōggaviraḥ sē°atth°, ukkittāṇā chāññisatthaassa atth° etc.; i. e. according to the scholiast: "arthādhiḥkārō 'dhyayanē" ādipadād ārabhya sarvapadeshy anuvartatē.

<sup>20</sup> Is threefold: ōhanipphannē nāmani° suttālavayani°; ōhani° is fourfold: ajjhayaṇam, ajjhāpē (akshapa), āḍ (āyah), jhavaṇā (khaḥapaṇā), names which are also: sāmāyikachaturvīṣatistavādiśrutavīśeshāpāṭh sāmānyāni.

<sup>21</sup> See Bhagav. 2, 193.

<sup>22</sup> He has probably lost his breath! The following sections are treated in a very fragmentary fashion.

<sup>23</sup> kim kāvīhaṁ kassa kahiṁ kēsu kahaṁ kēchiraṁ (kacchhi°) haviḥ kālāṁ | kaḥ saṁtaram aviraḥam bhavā°-garisa-phāsaṇa-nirutti || sāmāiam is to be supplied according to the scholiast. The verse recalls the quis? quid? cur? contra, simile, paradigmata, testes applied in German schools to the analysis of proverbs, etc.

<sup>24</sup> The scholiast is here very prolix, though the text is very compact and brief.

<sup>25</sup> See on this Haribh. on Āvaśy. 10, 1 etc.; in an avachūri on the oghaniryukti we read: askhalitapadoch-chāraṇam saṁhitā; padavibhāgaḥ padāni; padānām arthaḥ padārthaḥ; padavigrahasu samāśabdhānī padāni; chālaṇā pūrvapakṣāṁkā; pratyavasthānam nirākarapēṇa svapakṣasthāpam.



vavahārē, ujjusuḥ saddē, samabhirūdhē, ēvaṃbhūē. The scholiast says that they are named thus in reference to their connection with the sāmāyikādhyayanam as the background of the entire work. Verse 5 gives a general definition of the word naya. Verse 6 makes known the fact that the sāhu, sādhu, must hear all its forms with their manifold methods of representation, be purified by this means, and thus remain constant in his (correct) course of action. This concluding verse too thus refers directly to the sāmāyikam, even if it does not mention it by name. It was quite necessary that here at the close some regard be had for the sāmāyam; the remaining part of the work refers to it but little.

I have collected on Bhag. 1, 373, fg. some of the data regarding its age that can be extracted from the contents of the Anuyōgadv. To the arguments that have been mentioned others may be added. In the forefront is the direct connection of the work with the grammatical Sanskrit literature, especially the citation of the beginning of Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha. Next the information of a definite nature concerning the other literatures, Brahminical, etc., of that period. The nine kavvarasas point to a highly developed system of rhetoric, and the gāhās cited therein demonstrate the existence of a rich Prākṛit poetry after the fashion of the verses in Hāla's saptaśatakam. The names cited in the formation of taddhitas are perhaps to be regarded as titles of dramas (cf. niḍagādī at the end of the lōiya works) or [40] of romances. See p. 386. *Bhāratam* (but not Mahābh.<sup>26</sup>) and *Rāmāyaṇam* are mentioned three times in conjunction and undoubtedly were held in high esteem at that period. See my treatise on the Rām. p. 34. The contrast instituted between kāliam suam and diṭṭhivāa is of importance to Jaina literature. At the date of this work and at that of the Nandī, see above, p. 11, there existed a work, consisting of six ajjhayaṇas, on the six āvaśyakas, the first of which is said to form the foundation of the Anuy., though no evidence can be drawn from the Anuy. itself to prove this assertion. Another fact that savours of antiquity is the special emphasis laid on the formation of the names of persons by means of the names of the nakshatras or of their divinities.<sup>26</sup> The first nakshatra names appear in the old kṛittikā series, though no longer in their ancient form; and the names of the divinities are very much corrupted. The significance of the names Chīṇī, Sōraṭṭha and Marahattṭha, and those of the different pāsāṇḍas, or of each of the divinities honoured by them, must not be overlooked.

There is a commentary by Hēmachandrasūri, scholar of Abhayadēvasūri.<sup>27</sup>

[41] The conclusion is formed by

#### G. — The four mūlasūtras.

I have as yet not been able to make out the significance of this title,<sup>28</sup> which has come to light only in quite modern times in connection with these texts. In the second mūlasūtra the expression mūlasūtragāthā (see p. 54) occurs (see scholiast on Āvaśy. nijj. 11, c) though it is there probably used in contrast to the gāthās of the nijjuttī; so that mūlasūtra would mean nothing more than sūtra (see *ibid.* on 11, 39), i. e. the original to which the nijjuttī belongs.

The three texts bearing the name mūlasūtra which I have before me (the fourth I do not possess) have in reality no sūtra form at all, but are almost entirely in metre; mūlas. 1 and 3 in the ancient style (see p. 238, 239), especially in ślōkas; the nijj. on 2 is in gāthās.

They make the impression of being analogous to parīśiṣṭas rather than sūtras. The mūlas., which is No. 2 in Bühler's list, has not been preserved in its sūtra form at all, only its

<sup>26</sup> As a matter of fact such names are not often found in the Siddhānta. The following examples, however, belong here: — Āśāḍha, Aggidatta, Sōmadatta, Pāsamitta, Tisagutta, Tisabhadda; cf. also Rēvaṇ-nakkhatta (above p. 7). It is surprising that the form in "bhūti" is omitted, a form which is specially attested as occurring in Mahāvīra's time. Cf. also Pāsabhūti, Siva<sup>2</sup>. See Mahābh. on Pāṇ. 8, 2, 107 (Ind. Stud. 4, 331) on the common name of Agnibhūti.

<sup>27</sup> Other predecessors are Munisūndarasūri, Viradēva and Jayasinhāsūri; the gacha is śrī Harahapurīya, the kulam that of śrī Praśnavāhana. The well-known Hēmachandra is, therefore, not referred to, and the above-mentioned Abhayadēva is doubtless not the navāṅgīrīttikrit. Cf. pp. 276—7.

<sup>28</sup> Does it perhaps refer to the 5 mūlaguṇas (Āvaśy. 20, c—e).



nijjuttī being extant. The title of the fourth *mūlas*, expressly declares it to be a *nijj.*; and since both the others have essentially the same form, it is not an improbable conjecture to regard these too as *nijjuttis* to a *sūtram* of like name. On the other hand, however, special *nijjuttis* on each are cited by the scholiast, and these *nijj.* appear to be still extant. Of this kind are probably the two texts which the author of the *Āvaśy.* [42] *nijj.* 2, *s* declares that he composed on *dasakālia* and *uttarajjh°*.

The prose portions found here have in places the old introductory formula: *suyam mē āusam . .*; and the concluding formula of each of the *ajjh.* (and *uddes.*) of *mūlas*, 1 and 3: *tibemi* gives us an impression of their antiquity. Furthermore, the titles of all the 36 chapters of the first *mūlas*, are enumerated in the fourth *aṅga*, § 36 — hence this *mūlas*, with essentially the same contents must have existed at the date of *aṅga* 4. It appears to be cited also in the *Kalpasūtra*. In N. (above p. 11 fg.) we find only the three titles of the *mūlasūtras* I have before me: the name of the fourth is omitted, and the title of the second plays there, as in the *Anuyōgadv.* (above pp. 11, 22 fg.), a very prominent part.

A very ancient author is quoted for the third *mūlasūtram*; and a single chapter (14) of the *Āv. nijj.* is ascribed to a definite author, although the author of the *Āv. nijj.* himself says, in the beginning of chap. 2, that he is author of a large number of *nijjuttis* on the most different parts of the *Siddhānta*, especially on several *chēdasūtras*, and, as already mentioned, on *mūlas*, 1 and 3. The *Āvaśy. nijj.* contains, therefore, a large amount of authoritative data in reference to the date of its composition.

The contents of all three texts belongs to the sphere of the *vinayapitaka*. The *Nom. Sgl. Masc.* of the 1 Decl. ends generally in *o*, but chiefly in *e* in the few prose sections; but both forms are found together occasionally, and in fact even in the same verse.

[43] The extent of *mūlas*, 1 is stated to be 2095 gr., that of 2 or its *nijj.* 2550, that of 3, 700 gr. The author of the commentary on 2 is said to have died Vira 1055.

**XLIII. First *mūlasūtram*, the *uttarajjhayanam*, in 36 *ajjhayanās*.** The names of these *ajjh.*, which are cited (see page 280) in *aṅga* 4, § 36, are identical with those in the MSS. with but a few exceptions. By the *chhattisam cha apuṭṭhavāyaraṇām*, mentioned in the *Kalpas. Jinach.* § 147, we must understand the *Uttarajjh.* according to the scholiast (*Kalpalatā*). See Jacobi, p. 114. The correctness of this number (36) is corroborated by the concluding verse of the work itself. *Haribhadra*, on *Āvaśy.* 8, 44, explains the *isibhāsiām* mentioned there by *uttarajjhayanādini*;<sup>29</sup> and *ibid.* 2, 5 both *isibhās°* and *uttarajjh°* appear in conjunction in the text. The scholiast on *Nandī* explains (see p. 13 n.) the name *uttar°* by the *sarvēśhām adhyayanānam pradhānatvaṁ* which belongs to this work. The author of the *Āvaśyakanijj.* states (2, 5) that he is also author of a *nijj.* on the *Uttarajjh.*

With the exception of chap. 29 and the beginning of 2 and 16 which three chapters commence with the formula: — *suyam mē āusam tēṇam bhagavayā ēvam akkhāyam* (or *t. bh. Mahāvireṇam Kāsavēṇam e. a.*), the text is composed in metre and principally *ślōkas*, though there is an admixture of *gāthās*, *trisṭubh*, etc.<sup>30</sup> The contents consist of direct ordinances in reference to a correct course of life, especially of the clergy, [44] and of recitals and parables illustrative of this life. Much of the contents makes upon us the impression of great antiquity and recalls similar Buddhistic texts and especially *aṅga* 2.

On this *mūlas*, we have a very detailed commentary, *śishyāhitā*, by *Sāntisūri* (*Sāntyāchārya*) in which frequent reference is paid to a *nijjuttī* belonging to the text.<sup>31</sup> See pp. 41, 43.

<sup>29</sup> So also the *anyē* in the *Vidhīrapāṭ*; see pp. 429, 430.

<sup>30</sup> The metre is often very much out of order, as in almost all metrical parts of the *Siddhānta*.

<sup>31</sup> In a palm-leaf MS., dating itself 1307 (A. D. 1251) the 3 appears to me to be for an original 5; in which case the date would be 1597 (A. D. 1451). According to Jacobi, p. 9, the commentary of *Dēvēśvdragapī*, which was composed *Saṁv.* 1179 (A. D. 1123), is based upon that of *Sāntisūri*.



1. *vinayasuyajjhayaṇaṃ*, 48 vv. begins : *saṃjōgavippamukkassa aṇaḡārassa bhikkhuṇḡ* ; *vinayaṃ pāukkarissāmi* ; *vāṇupuvvīṃ suṇḡha mē* || The word *buddha* appears to be here and frequently elsewhere in the work, an honorific title of the teacher's (vv. 7, 8); cf. p. 203 (aṅga 2).
2. *parisahajjh.*, 46 vv. with a prose beginning, which enumerates how the 22 *parisahas* : *samaṇeṇaṃ bhagavayā Mahāvireṇaṃ Kāsavēṇaṃ pavēiya*. In the metrical portion the first person is used : *parisahāṇaṃ pavibhatti* ; *Kāsavēṇaṃ pavēiya* ; *taṃ bhē udāharissāmi* ; *āṇupuvvīṃ suṇḡhamē* || 1 ||
3. *chāuraṅgaṃ*, °giyyaṃ in S,<sup>22</sup> *chāu(raṃ)gijjaṃ* V, 20 vv.; of the *mānushatvādi*. In the commentary on v. 9 we find particular statements in reference to the seven schisms.
4. *asaṃkhayaṃ*, *asaṃskṛitaṃ*, *paṃāyappamāyaṃ* vā V, 13 vv. Of *pramādāpramādaṃ* (cf. No. 10 in the *anaḡapavittḡha* list of N., above p. 11), and of the *apramāda*, *marāṇakāle* 'pi.
- [45] 5. *akāmamaraṇijjaṃ*, 19 vv.; of the *paṃḡditamarāṇaṃ*.
6. *khuddāga-niyaṃthijjaṃ* (cf. chap. 20), *purisaviyyaṃ* S, 18 vv. Of the *vidyācharaṇavi-kalpās* of the *virata*. Its appellation in S is very different though the name there suits the present contents very well.
7. *ēlaijjaṃ* (so also V; of *ēḡaka*); *ura(b)bhayaṃ* S and *urabbhi* also here in C, in an enumeration of the chapters which is added to the close of this MS. only : 30 vv.; *urabhrādi-dṛṣṭātāṃtaḡ*, resp. *rasaḡṛiddhityāgaḡ*.
8. *Kāviliyaṃ*, °lijaṃ S V.; 20 vv. Of the *nirlobhatvaṃ*. It closes : *ii ēsa dhammō akkhāē* ; *Kavilēṇaṃ visuddhapannēṇaṃ* ; . . *tti bēmi* || 20 ||
9. *Namipavvijjā*, 62 vv. Of the *charaṇaṃ prati niḡkampatvaṃ*; *puttaṃ thavijja* *rajjē abhinikkhamaṃ* *Namī rāyā*.
10. *dumapattayaṃ*, *drumapattrakaṃ*, 37 vv.; *apramādārtham upamādvārēṇā* 'nuśāsaṇaṃ. Instruction addressed to *Gōyama*. It closes thus : — *buddhassa nisamma bhāsiyaṃ* ; *sukahīṃ atthapahōpasōhiyaṃ* ; *rāḡaṃ dōsaṃ cha chhīṃdiyā* ; *siddhigayaṃ gāē Gōama tti bēmi* || 37 ||
11. *bahussuyapujjaṃ* (°puvvaṃ V), *bahuśrutapūjā*, 32 vv. — In v. 1 the refrain of 1, 1. 2, 1 : *pāukkarissāmi*, *āṇupuvvīṃ suṇḡha mē*.
12. *Harikēsijjaṃ* (*Hariēsi*° V), 47 vv. Of the *tapasamṡiddhi* of *Hariēsabala*. The stories belonging here and also to the following chapters are related in detail in the commentary.
13. *Chittasambhūijjaṃ*, *Chitrasambhūtiyaṃ*, 35 vv.; *nidānaṃ tyājyaṃ nidānadoshaḡ* ; *Kampillasambhūō Chittō*.
14. *Usuārijjaṃ*, *Ishukārīyaṃ*, 55 vv.; of the *nirnidānatāḡuṇa*; *purē purāṇē* *Isugāra nāmē* (i. e. not as Ind. St. 2, 543).
- [46] 15. *sabbhikkhu*, °ugaṃ S, 16 vv. Of the *bhikshugūṇās*. Each verse closes with the refrain : *sabbhikkhū*, cf. *Dasavēālia* 3, 10. Begins : *mōṇaṃ charissāmi samiccha dhammaṃ*.
16. *bambhachērasamābhiṡṡhāṇaṃ*, *bambhagutti* C, *samābhiṡṡhāṇaṃ* S. First an enumeration of the ten *bambhachēras* of the *bhikkhu* in prose, then 17 *silōgas*. Of the *brabmahacharyagupti*.
17. *pāvasamaṇijjaṃ*, *pāpaśramaṇiyaṃ*, 31 vv. Of the *pāpaśramaṇasvarūpaṃ*, and of the *pāpavarjanaṃ*. Verses 3 to 19 close with the refrain : *pāvasamaṇi tti vuchchaṃ*.
18. *Samjaṃijjaṃ*, *Samjayīyaṃ*,<sup>23</sup> 54 vv. Of the *bhōḡarddhityāga*. *Kampillē nayarē rāyā* ; *udinnabalavāhaṇē* ; *nāmēṇaṃ Samjaō nāma* ; *migavvaṃ* (*mṡigavyāṃ*) *uvaḡigjāē* ||
19. *Miyāputtīyaṃ*, *Ma°ijjaṃ* V, *Miyacharitta* (or *Miyāchāritā*) S, 97 vv. Of the *niḡprati-karmatā*, and of *Miyāputta*, son of king *Balabhadra* and of *Miyā*; *Suggivē nayarē*.

<sup>22</sup> S = *Samavēya* (aṅga 4); V = *Vidhiprapā*, where the names are enumerated in detail.

<sup>23</sup> This might be *per se* for *samyatīyaṃ*; since the *pāpavarjanaṃ* is : *samyatasyai* 'va, sa cha bhōḡarddhityāgata ēva . . .



## FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 13. — The Cowherd and His Wife.<sup>1</sup>

There once lived a man with his wife and three sons, and when the sons came to be of a suitable age, the parents got them married. The wives of the two elder sons, having also attained puberty, came and lived with their husbands, but the wife of the third son, who was himself very young, being still too small, of course remained at her father's house.

Several years passed and the father died. The two elder brothers took to their father's profession, cultivation, and the youngest, not being old enough to do any manual work, was told by his brothers to take the cattle out for grazing and such-like light work.

Now it happened that his wife, being now twelve years old, had attained puberty, and was in the habit of going to a well to draw water, where she used to see a shepherd, and, calling out to him, would sing:—

"*Āikā na ré, āik na ré māñjiā māñḍevālā dādā ré,*  
*Aurā māñzā, aurā ré nirap sāñg māñjē jāsvantā<sup>2</sup> bhartārā ré:—*  
*'Tūji na ré rambhā<sup>3</sup> na zhāli kēlū zaśi ré,*  
*Kēl zaśi na nimand rasā āli ré.*  
*Bagitēi ré, bagitēi pāñch dissū tā'i na ré, vāṭṭū ré,<sup>4</sup>*  
*Nāhin tē na lāvilā dūsrīāññ na pāṭṭū ré.'"*

Listen, O listen, brother shepherd,  
 These words of mine; this message tell to my beloved husband:—  
 'Your wife has grown up like a plantain-tree,  
 Like a plantain-tree, and like a lime she is full of juice.  
 She will wait, she will wait for you for five days,  
 Otherwise she will marry another.'

For three or four days she said the same thing to the shepherd, and the shepherd used to deliver her message to her husband, whom he happened to meet on the pasture ground. Three days had passed, and on the fourth the cowherd asked his mother to let him go and fetch his wife. It happened also that his two elder brothers had gone to another country to trade. So his mother said to him:—"Wait, my son, till your brothers come back, and then you can go with them and fetch your wife home."

The cowherd, however, would not listen to his mother's advice, for who could tell when his brothers would return, and he knew that if he did not go soon, in one day more his wife would take to herself another husband. So on the fifth day, instead of rising and taking his cattle to graze as usual, he would not leave his bed. His mother saw him still asleep; so she sang:—

"*Ūṭṭā na ré, ūṭ māñjiā jāsvantā gūñhōālīā ré,*  
*Tūji na ré dhōrañ na gūrañ gōṭṭiañ gōṭṭū bāndalian ré."*  
 Rise, O rise, my beloved cowherd,  
 Your cattle are still tied up in every stall.

Then the cowherd, who was awake, thus sang to his mother:—

"*Sōrāvīñ gē, sōrā āiē, āñi lāvāvīñ vanātū gē."*

Unfasten, O unfasten, and let them loose in the forest.

<sup>1</sup> [This quaint version of the "Taming of the Shrew" belongs to the "singing" class of tales very common in the Pañjāb, and there always associated, so far as I know, with the Raslū Cycle. This tale then is very important as evidence of what I have long suspected, that the incidents of the Raslū Cycle are common to all Northern India. Thus we now know that a "singing" tale of a type identical with those of that Cycle is current among the Salsette Christians without ascription to any particular hero. — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Rambhā is one that is an adept in singing.

<sup>3</sup> Lit., victorious.

<sup>4</sup> Lit., I will see, will see for five days your road.



His mother unfastened the cattle from the stalls and drove them towards the forest, but she and his sisters-in-law wondered what was the matter with him. They asked each other if any one of them had said or done anything to annoy him, but all pleaded ignorance. And his mother, thinking perhaps he was sick, called out her eldest daughter-in-law, and sang:—

"*Āikā na gē, āikā na māijē mhōffē nā sūnē gē,  
Lāvā na gē, lāvā na sūnē gavētānā chāvia gē;  
Kārāvia gē, kārā na sūnē vakhanāchia zānā gē,  
Paratāvia gē, paratā sūnē dhōṇḍiē sāndiē gē,  
Pāzāvia gē, pāzā na sūnē tūjē jāsvantā dirā gē.*"

Listen, O listen, my eldest daughter-in-law,  
Put, O put, daughter-in-law, keys to the drawers;  
Take out, O take out, daughter-in-law, ingredients for medicine,  
Grind, O grind them, daughter-in-law, on the stone mortar,  
Give to drink, O give to drink, daughter-in-law, to your beloved brother-in-law.

When the cowherd heard what his mother had said to his sister-in-law, he sang in answer:—

"*Dūkatēi gē, dūkatēi āiē tūmchē mhōffē na sūnēchanā pōffā gē.*"

Is aching, is aching, mother, your eldest daughter-in-law's stomach?

By this he meant, of course, to tell his mother that he had no need of the medicine, which she had told her daughter-in-law to give him, but that his sister-in-law herself wanted it. His mother, however, did not understand the drift of what he said, and thinking perhaps that he did not like to take the medicine out of his eldest sister-in-law's hand, she called out to her second daughter-in-law, and thus sang to her:—

"*Āikā na gē, āikā na māijē madalē na sūnē gē,  
Lāvā na gē, lāvā na sūnē gavētānā chāvia gē;  
Kārāvia gē, kārā na sūnē vakhanāchia zānā gē,  
Paratāvia gē, paratā sūnē dhōṇḍiē sāndiē gē,  
Pāzāvia gē, pāzā na sūnē tūjē jāsvantā dirā gē.*"

Listen, O listen, my second daughter-in-law,  
Put, O put, daughter-in-law, keys to the drawers;  
Take out, O take out, daughter-in-law, ingredients for medicine,  
Grind, O grind them, daughter-in-law, on the stone mortar,  
Give to drink, O give to drink, daughter-in-law, to your beloved brother-in-law.

When his mother had done singing to her second daughter-in-law to give the boy medicine—the cowherd, still in bed, thus sang to his mother:—

"*Dūkatēi gē, dūkatēi āiē tūmchē madalē sūnēchanā pōffā gē.*"

Is aching, is aching, mother, your second daughter-in-law's stomach?

His mother now thought that he would not take any medicine even from his second sister-in-law, and so she said nothing. A little while afterwards the cowherd arose, and dressing himself very shabbily, took a horse from the stable, and took the road to his wife's house; though he had never seen his wife, much less her house. He thought, however, that the shepherd, who used to bring her message to him, would guide him there, and so he went on and on. On his way he came upon his sister's house, when his sister, seeing him dressed so shabbily, asked him what was the matter with him and where he was going. He told her how for two or three days successively he had received a message from his wife, and that he was going to fetch her home.



"But," said she, "how will you find out your wife's house? And how will you know her? You have never seen her before!"

"I will go," he answered, "and wait for the shepherd, who will surely guide me."

His sister then said to him:—"Don't do so. Take these few stones with you. When your wife comes to the well and sings to the shepherd, you will know her; and when she has filled her pitcher and is about to lift it up on her head, throw one of these stones at the pitcher, which will be then charmed, so that she will be unable to carry it!"

The cowherd took the stones, and riding his horse went away. As he went along he came upon the well and there saw a young woman drawing water, and suspecting that it must be his wife he waited there. Soon afterwards he saw the shepherd driving his sheep to the pasture-ground. When the woman saw the shepherd, she sang:—

"*Āikā na ré, āik na ré māñjiā mēndēvālā dādā ré,*  
*Aurā māñzā, aurā ré nirap sāng māñjē jāsvantā bhartārā ré :—*  
*'Tūji na ré rambhā na zhāñli kēlū zañi ré,*  
*Kēl zañi na nimanā rasā āñli ré.*  
*Bagitēi ré, bagitēi pāñch dīssū tūji na ré vāññū ré,*  
*Nāñin tē na lāñlū dāsriāññi na pāññū ré.' "*

Listen, O listen, brother shepherd,

These words of mine; this message tell to my beloved husband:—

"Your wife has grown up like a plantain-tree,  
 Like a plantain-tree, and like a lime she is full of juice.

She will wait, she will wait for you for five days,  
 Otherwise she will marry another."

The shepherd listened to her, and promising to deliver her message, went away again, as he had not seen the cowherd. The cowherd now made sure that the young woman was his wife, and waited till she had filled her pitcher, and when she was about to carry it, he hit it with one of the stones given him by his sister. As soon as the stone struck the pitcher, his wife was unable to lift it up. She tried all her strength, but to no avail; the pitcher was as if fixed in the ground. She looked about to see if there was any one about the place, whom she might call to help her, and saw the cowherd on horse-back, and as she, too, had not seen him before, she did not recognise him as her husband. She therefore thus sang to him:—

"*Ēhī na ré, ēh na ré māñjiā ghōrēvālā dādā ré.*"

Come, O come, my brother groom.

But the cowherd answered:—

"*Pailā hātū lāvin na gé tūjē zhōbalāññāñ gé,*  
*Ani dūsrā hātū lāvin na gé ghāgarilā gé."*

One hand I will place upon your breasts,  
 And with the other I will lift up the pitcher.

Upon this the wife sang to herself, addressing her mother:—

"*Saddāñcham khāññāñ na āñē, saddāñcham na pināñ gé,*  
*Saddāñchi ghāgar na āñē, saddāñchi na chūmbalā gé,*  
*Āzū māññam zōrū kōññam khāññāñ ge? "*"

My usual food, mother, and my usual drink,  
 My usual pitcher, mother, and my usual pad,  
 Where is my strength gone to-day?

\* *Lit.*, who has eaten my strength to-day?



She made another attempt to lift up the pitcher, but in vain ; so she again beckoned to the supposed groom to come and help her, singing : —

"*Āhī na rē, ēh na rē māñjīā ghōrēvālā dādā rē.*"

Come, O come, my brother groom.

But the cowherd sang as before : —

"*Pailā hātū lāvin na gē tūjē zhōbalānām gē,  
Ani dūsrā hātū lāvin na gē ghāgarilā gē.*"

One hand I will place upon your breasts,  
And with the other I will lift up the pitcher.

The poor woman had now no alternative, but to allow him to place one hand on her breasts. So he came, and having first placed one hand on her breasts, he only touched the pitcher with the other, and she was enabled to carry it as she would a feather. Taking up her pitcher she went to her house, our hero following her. His wife, however, did not like this ; so she shut the door against him. And then he sang : —

"*Ūgarā gē, ūgar rambhā darbājāchā khilā gē.  
Ālāi na, ālāi tūzā jāsvantū bhartārā gē.*"

Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.  
Is come, is come, your beloved husband.

But the wife thinking he was only a groom, who had followed her with evil intentions, paid no heed to what he said, and hurled at him abuse in the following strain : —

"*Māñjē na rē jāsvantā gōuñwāliachā kūtārā nāhin sāsañil.*"

You are not worthy of being my beloved cowherd's dog.

But our hero paid no attention to the abuse, and repeated his entreaties to his wife : —

"*Ūgarā gē, ūgar rambhā darbājāchā khilā gē.  
Ālāi na, ālāi tūzā jāsvantū bhartārā gē.*"

Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.  
Is come, is come, your beloved husband.

The girl, however, would not open the door, and continued to abuse him, singing : —

"*Māñjē na rē jāsvantā gōuñwāliachā dūkar nāhin sāsañil.*"

You are not worthy of being my beloved cowherd's pig.

Still the cowherd did not mind his wife's abuse, but sang : —

"*Ūgarā gē, ūgar rambhā darbājāchā khilā gē.  
Ālāi na, ālāi tūzā jāsvantū bhartārā gē.*"

Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.  
Is come, is come, your beloved husband.

But still the girl could not be persuaded to believe that the youth was really her husband, and therefore sang : —

"*Māñjē na rē jāsvantā gōuñwāliachā māñsar nāhin sāsañil.*"

You are not worthy of being my beloved cowherd's cat.

For the third time the cowherd bore the abuse patiently, and for the third time he entreated her to open the door for him, singing : —

"*Ūgarā gē, ūgar rambhā darbājāchā khilā gē.  
Ālāi na, ālāi tūzā jāsvantū bhartārā gē.*"

Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.  
Is come, is come your beloved husband.



Thus they kept on for some time, one begging for the opening of the door, and the other abusing him instead, till the girl's parents, who had gone out, came in and recognising their son-in-law, took him into the house, introducing him to their daughter as her husband, and entertaining him as a son-in-law.

The day passed and in the evening, as there was no spare sleeping-room for them, the wife asked her sister-in-law to spare her room for them for the night, singing: —

*"Diavá na gé, diavá kúniad tùmchá kámbará gé.*

*Diavá na gé kúniad tùmchá kámbará gé."*

Give, O give, sister-in-law, your room.

Give, O sister-in-law, your room.

Her sister-in-law willingly gave up her room to them for the night, and having taken their supper they went to bed. On the following morning, while she was still in bed, the cowherd's wife sang to her mother: —

*"Náhin na gé, náhin áié kómala máthianchan na mógarah gé !*

*Náhin na gé, náhin áié púsala dólíanchá kázólá gé !*

*Náhin na gé, náhin áié vánkharli máthiachi na víní gé !"*

Not faded, not faded, mother, the jessamine from my hair !

Nor rubbed off, nor rubbed off, mother, the lamp-black from my eyes !

Nor dishevelled, nor dishevelled, mother, my hair !

To which her mother sang in reply: —

*"Tó té na gé, tó té dhús áilái lúngalá bhágalá gé.*

*Tó té hái dhús lájéchá na cómbará gé."*

He has come, he has come, daughter, knocked up and tired.

He is, daughter, a shy cock.

They then arose and another day passed, and in the evening, the cowherd's wife asked her aunt to spare her room for them for the night. She sang: —

*"Diavá na gé, diavá káki tùmchá kámbará gé.*

*Diavá na gé káki tùmchá kámbará gé."*

Give, O give, aunt, your room.

Give, O aunt, your room.

Her aunt also gave up her room with the greatest pleasure, and when the night had come they took their supper and went to bed. Next morning, when she awoke, the cowherd's wife sang to her mother: —

*"Náhin na gé, náhin áié kómala máthianchan na mógarah gé !*

*Náhin na gé, náhin áié púsala dólíanchá kázólá gé !*

*Náhin na gé, náhin áié vánkharli máthiachi na víní gé !"*

Not faded, not faded, mother, the jessamine from my hair !

Nor rubbed off, nor rubbed off, mother, the lamp-black from my eyes !

Nor dishevelled, nor dishevelled, mother, my hair !

And her mother again sang to her: —

*"Tó té na gé, tó té dhús áilái lúngalá bhágalá gé.*

*Tó té hái dhús lájéchá na cómbará gé."*

He has come, he has come, daughter, knocked up and tired.

He is, daughter, a shy cock.

When they awoke the following morning, the cowherd told his father- and mother-in-law that he wished to go home, and to take his wife with him. They had, of course, no objection,



and the mother made her daughter dress for the journey. While she was combing the girl's hair and putting on her a new rich *sári* and other things, her daughter sang: —

"*Kalá na gé, kalá áie sáris ani gharía gé ?  
Tó té hái na váññechá váññari gé.*"

Why, why, mother, these *sáris* and other clothes ?  
He is only a passer-by !

But her mother, who knew better, paid no heed to her daughter's words, and when she was ready, she ordered a palanquin for her ; but the girl would not sit in it, and had therefore to follow her husband on foot. Half way she complained that she was tired, upon which her husband taunted her : —

"*Náhin na gé, náhin áie kómalañ máthianchañ na mógarañ gé !  
Náhin na gé, náhin áie púsala dólíanchá kásólá gé !  
Náhin na gé, náhin áie váññharli máthiachi na vini gé !*"

Not faded, not faded, mother, the jessamine from my hair !  
Nor rubbed off, nor rubbed off, mother, the lamp-black from my eyes !  
Nor dishevelled, nor dishevelled, mother, my hair !

And again with the words : —

"*Kalá na gé, kalá áie sáris ani gharía gé ?  
Tó té hái na váññechá váññari gé.*"

Why, why, mother, these *sáris* and other clothes ?  
He is only a passer-by !

When she was thus taunted she followed him quietly till they reached his sister's house. There he told her to get a large vessel with seven holes, and ordered her to fill it up with water. But how could such a vessel be filled ? As fast as she poured water in it, it ran out through the holes ! But she was made to bring water, till she was brought to submission and admitted him as her husband.

They then went to their house, and lived happily together to a good old age.

## MISCELLANEA.

### NOTES ON THE NATIONAL CUSTOMS OF THE KARENNIS.

The Karennis, or the Red Karens, call themselves *Kayá*. Their classical appellation is *Kiráta*. They inhabit the tract of country, lying between the parallels of 18° to 20° North latitude and 97° to 99° East longitude, with an area of about 7,200 square miles. They are a strong and hardy race, fierce and desperate fighters, and take a special delight in raiding into the neighbouring territories, kidnapping men, women, and children, and driving off cattle.

A raid, made on a village is either through the existence of some *chwe*, or on account of the favourable omens shown by a fowl's bones at the installation of a Chief.

The word *chwe* means an affair awaiting settlement, and is, in fact, a *casus belli*. The nearest English word, which would express its meaning, is 'feud.' Its literal meaning in

Burmese is 'debt.' Among the Karennis any wrong done against their persons, or property, or any insult done to their tutelary *nats* is a *chwe*, and it must be expiated either by blood or presents. A *chwe* is not wiped off by the death of the original offender ; his children and his children's children are held responsible for his wrongful acts. It is the persistence of this custom of 'feud' that causes the Kachins, Karennis, Chins, and other wild tribes of Burma to have no union among themselves, in spite of their community of language, beliefs, and traditions, and splits them up into various clans at feud with one another.

A Chief among the Karennis attains his position not by hereditary right, but on account of certain sacred characteristics. He must abstain from rice and liquor. His mother, while *enceinte*, must have eschewed these things and lived solely on yams and potatoes. She must not have eaten any meat, nor drunk the water out of the common wells ; and in order to be duly



qualified for a Chiefship her son must continue these habits. Such a child is taken good care of, and in due time installed as a Chief in the following manner. A *hò*,<sup>1</sup>—a low, rambling rectangular bamboo structure—is built and the candidate for the Chiefship is placed in it. Each villager brings one bunch of plantains, one mat, and at least a quarter of a tical weight of silver as offerings. The amount of the silver offering, however, varies from a quarter of a tical to a full tical, according to the resources of the village. The villagers also bring fowls, whose bones are to be used in reading omens. They then proceed to pass a merry time the whole night long, drinking *kaung*, their national beverage, and dancing round the *hò*. The fowls are killed and the leg bones are carefully scraped clean, and certain small holes in them are examined with a piece of straw or bamboo. If the holes on the right leg-bone are situated higher up than the corresponding ones on the left, the omen is considered to be auspicious. By this method of divination, which is quite a science among the Red Karens, the future of the candidate for a Chiefship is settled. The questions usually solved are whether the newly installed Chief will be one of might and power, whether the villages will prosper under his rule, and whether the people now assembled will be able to undertake forays successfully and with a minimum of loss to their side.

Every man is judge in his own case in Karenni, and the exaction of an indemnity in consequence of a *chwé*, which is an affair of honour, rests with himself. It is only in im-

portant differences and disputes that the Chief exercises his prerogative by stepping in as an arbitrator or peacemaker.

Divination by means of the bones of a fowl plays an important part in Karenni politics. All organized raids are determined in this way, and sometimes the subjects of a Chief disobey his orders, when the bones consulted predict unfavourable events.

The Karennis pay no regular revenue to their Chiefs. All that they are called on to pay is a silver offering, as described above, on certain days, as the anniversary day of the Chief's installation, or some festival day. Such silver pieces are hoarded in the hollow of the central post in the *hò*.

The Karennis, like all other wild tribes, are noted for their fidelity to their oaths. There are different forms of oath-taking:—(1) killing buffaloes, eating their flesh, and preserving their horns, one being kept as a memento by each party participating in the ceremony;<sup>2</sup> (2) drinking water, in which a drop of human blood from a puncture in the arm has been infused; (3) eating a jack-fruit; and (4) exchanging spears. The first three forms are used when an interchange of fraternity takes place. The fourth signifies that a reciprocal guarantee is given that no harm shall be done to the recipients. Sometimes, after deciding a knotty case between parties, who have a *chwé* against each other, a Karenni Chief gives his spear to one of the litigants in order to shield him from private vengeance.

T. S. K.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### MISCELLANEOUS SUPERSTITIONS AS TO ANIMALS IN MADRAS.

If one happens to see a jackal on first rising from bed, there will be success in every enterprise undertaken during that day. It is a common custom among the Hindus of Madras, when a man meets with exceptional success, to ask him, "Did you see the jackal's face early this morning?"

If a horse neighs, or an ass brays, or a clock chimes, or a bell is rung, or a dog twitches his ears, or a gun is fired, just when one is contemplating the performance of anything, there will certainly be success in the enterprise or attainment of the object.

Ootacamund.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, THE MONUMENTAL ANTIQUITIES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH, described and arranged by A. FÜHRER, Ph.D., Archæological Survey, N.-W. P. and Oudh. Allahabad—Printed and Published by the Supdt., Govt. Press, N.-W.P. and Oudh; Calcutta.—Thacker, Spink & Co.; London.—Trübner & Co. and W. H. Allen & Co.;

Leipzig.—Otto Harrassowitz. Imperial Quarto. 1891.

The new series of Archæological Survey Reports well begun by Messrs. Führer and E. Smith's handsome volume on the Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur is worthily continued by the work which is the subject of this notice.

(Chetpóji), Chief of Western Karenni, and Mr. O'Riley, Deputy Commissioner, Toungoo, in 1857.

<sup>1</sup> [*hò* = *aw*, in 'awful'—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Such a ceremony was performed by Kyetpóyi



The book is printed in large quarto size on good paper, and the binding and typography are much superior to the work ordinarily turned out by official presses in India.

Some misprints and slips of the pen have escaped correction; for example, the name of the well-known Bhar tribe is perversely printed Bhâr, with the long vowel, throughout the book. I am familiar with the Bhar country, and am quite certain that the vowel is invariably short. In the spelling of Indian words Dr. Führer has allowed himself to fall into the sin of pedantry:—'jungle' is now as good English as 'verandah,' or 'mango,' and it is absurd to print the word as 'jangal.'

I do not understand on what principle the word *ṣaiyid* or *Saiyid* (سید), is spelt *Sa'id*, a form which is incorrect, both for transliteration and pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

So much for small slips and defects. They do not seriously impair the value of the book, and need not be further dwelt on. While commenting on the external features of Dr. Führer's book, I must not forget to mention that it is furnished with admirable indices. Careful readers should not overlook the important "Addenda et Corrigenda" at pp. 331—334.

The Classified Lists of the Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh contained in this volume have been prepared in compliance with orders issued by the Government of India in 1885. The system of classification adopted is designed as a guide to assist Government in deciding questions concerning the conservation and repair of ancient monuments. "The object of this volume," observes the compiler, "is not only to produce complete lists, so far as known, of the antiquities and epigraphs in each district for the use of the Archaeological Survey, but to furnish general information for the guidance of the many residents in these Provinces, with the view of enabling them, if their tastes so incline, to interest themselves in the character and history of the remains in their vicinity."

The work may be regarded as an abstract of Sir A. Cunningham's *Reports*, topographically arranged, and brought up to date.

I now proceed to notice some passages of special interest.

Page 8.—The local name of the rock at *Kâlsî* in the Dehra Dûn District is *Chitrâsîla*, "inscribed or pictured stone," and not *Chhat*.

*trastîla*, or "canopied stone," as stated by Sir A. Cunningham.<sup>2</sup>

Page 23.—An old fort, in *Tahsil Sahaswân*, 20 miles north-west from *Badâôn*, has the remarkable name of *Kôṭ Sâlbâhan* (*Sâlivâhana*).

Page 35.—In *Pargana Bilâri* of the *Murâdâbâd District* "there is considerable opportunity for antiquarian researches, as nearly every second village has an old mound, or *dih*, to the west of it."

Page 36.—To the south-west of the village of *Asâmpur*, in *Tahsil Hasanpur* of the same district, "is a *khêrd*, which is the site of ancient buildings. It is reported that there was here the school of *Fâizî Fayâzî*, brother of *Abûl Fazl*, the great historian of Akbar's time. The ruins of an arched doorway are still standing. The earth of this mound is carried off by people, who come from long distances, in order to give it to students to eat, as it is supposed to have very beneficial influence on the brain and memory!"

Page 42.—The ruins at *Mâtî* (*Mâtîpura*) in *Tahsil Pawâyan* of the *Shâhjahânpur District* are extensive and apparently would repay examination.

Pages 53—68.—These pages contain a good summary account of the buildings at *Agra*. Dr. Führer thinks that the Palace of *Jahângîr* in the Fort was probably built by Akbar, late in his reign, to serve as a residence for the heir-apparent and his family. He does not accept Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the building was erected by *Ibrâhîm Lôdî*.

Pages 105—107.—It is to be hoped that a full and connected account of the discoveries at *Mathurâ* will some day be published. Pending such publication the notes here given are of interest: "The *Kaṅkâlî Tîla* lies at the side of the *Agra* and *Delhi* road, much nearer the city than the *Jamâlpur* mound. On the summit stands the fragment of a carved pillar venerated at the present day, the supposed image of the goddess *Kaṅkâlî*."

In the hill itself were found buried two colossal statues of Buddha, each 7½ feet high. Here also was found the large figure of an elephant standing on the capital of a pillar with an inscription of the Indo-Scythian king *Huvishka*.

During the extensive excavations, carried on by Dr. Burgess in January 1888, and by Dr.

<sup>1</sup> [It would be quite a different word, and would ordinarily represent *سید*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [It should be noted that, in correcting General Cunningham's version of the name, Dr. Führer twice confounds *stla*, 'stone,' with *stla*, 'virtue.']



Führer in January 1889, a large number of very interesting Jaina relics have been unearthed, namely:—a four-faced lion-capital of the Indo-Scythian period; a massive door-jamb, the three faces of which are divided into panels of equal size, containing scenes of domestic life represented under temple façades of the Nāsik cave pattern; several beautifully wrought panels, bearing inscriptions in the Maurya alphabet; twelve large statues of Digambara Tirthankaras, bearing inscriptions dated in the regnal years of the Indo-Scythian kings Kanishka Huvishka, and Vasudēva; and two colossal statues of Padmaprabhānātha, dated Samvat 1036, or A. D. 978, and Samvat 1134, or A. D. 1088,<sup>2</sup> being donative gifts of the Svētāmbara community of Mathurā.

Probably, on this mound stood the Upagupta monastery mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, which General Cunningham identifies with the Yaśa Vihāra inside the Katrā. The railway from Mathurā to Brindāban has been cut through the lower terrace of the Katrā in January 1889, and during the excavations several Buddhist sculptures have been discovered, as well as a mutilated inscription of the Maukharī king Mahāditya, and a beautifully written slab, dated Samvat 1207, but partly damaged in the middle.

These inscriptions have been edited by Dr. Bühler for the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Page 138.—Concerning Jhūst, in the Allahabad District, the ancient Pratiśthānapura, the residence of Purūravas, the first prince of the lunar dynasty, the compiler remarks: "The only remains now existing are the ruined forts of Samudragupta and Hamsagupta. Fifteen years ago twenty-four gold coins of Kumāragupta were unearthed here." Does this mean that the names of Samudragupta and Hamsagupta are still remembered by the people? If so, the fact is curious. Who was Hamsagupta?

Page 222.—Dr. Führer here recapitulates the arguments already published in his Jaunpur volume, which convince him that Bhinlā Dih in the Basti District cannot be Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Buddha, as Mr. Carlleyle and Sir A. Cunningham confidently believed it to be. Dr. Führer successfully attacks some of Mr. Carlleyle's fancies, but I do not think that his criticisms justify the conclusion that it is "evident that Bhinlā Dih is not the ancient site of Kapilavastu." Some of Mr. Carlleyle's reasons for supposing it to be that site are undoubtedly

invalid, but Bhinlā Dih occupies approximately the position indicated by the Chinese travellers, and I do not see why it should not yet be proved to be Kapilavastu. But it must be admitted that satisfactory proof has not yet been given.

Page 229.—By an odd blunder Kumāragupta Mahēndra is described as the son of Skandagupta.

Page 271.—"It is interesting to note that in 1876 several rectangular Chinese silver coins were found close to the river Ganges in a dīh at 'Alāu'ddīnpur, about six miles west of Bān-garmāu," in the Unāo District of Oudh.

Page 274.—The ancient village of Sañchānkōt or Sujānkōt, on the right bank of the river Sāi in the Unāo District, is identified by Dr. Führer with the Sha-chi of Fa-Hian. Sir A. Cunningham held that both the Sha-chi of Fa-Hian and the Viśākhā of Hiuen Tsiang are represented by the existing town of Ayudhya, or Ajodhya, and that both are identical with Sākētam. Dr. Führer holds that Ayudhya = Sākētam = Viśākhā, but that Sañchānkōt = Sha-chi.

Pages 306—313.—The account given in these pages of Bāhēt-Māhēt in the Gōndā District, the site of the famous city of Brāvastī, is the best yet published. But remarks Dr. Führer, "notwithstanding the excavations made by General Cunningham in 1862 and 1876, and by Dr. Hoey, C.S., in 1885, as yet very little is known of the ruins covered with dense jungle inside the old city, which must contain relics which would do much to elucidate some of the most interesting periods of Indian history. There can be no doubt whatever that a thorough and properly conducted excavation would be of great success, and yield many Buddhist and Jain relics; but it ought to be gone about in a scientific method."

Page 321.—Dr. Führer shows good reasons for believing that the well-known fort at Dalman on the Ganges, the most picturesque object in Oudh, was not originally a fort at all, but "consists really of two Buddhist stupas."

Page 323.—The O'-yu-t'o of Hiuen Tsiang has been identified with so many old sites in Oudh, that I hope Dr. Führer is correct in asserting that on topographical grounds and from a calculation of distances it may safely be identified with Jagatpur in the Rāi Barēli District.

19th April 1892.

V. A. SMITH.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some mistake here; 1036—978 = 56, and 1134—1088 = 46. The passages in the text are quoted as amended by the list of Corrigenda.

<sup>4</sup> The author writes 'jangal', but in this I decline to follow him. Nor can I consent to call my familiar friend, the coolie, by the outlandish name of 'gull'.



# SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ज	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
ए	ए	ē	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ण	ण	ṇa
—	—	o	त	त	ta
ओ	ओ	ō	थ	थ	tha
औ	औ	au	द	द	da
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ध	ध	dha
Jihvāmūlīya, or old			न	न	na
Visarga before क	—	h	प	प	pa
and ख			फ	फ	pha
Upadhmanīya, or			ब	ब	ba
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	भ	भ	bha
fore प and फ			म	म	ma
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m	य	य	ya
Anundīkā	—	m̐	र	र	ra
क	क	ka	—	ॠ	ṛa
ख	ख	kha	ल	ल	la
ग	ग	ga	ळ	ळ	ḷa
घ	घ	gha	—	ॡ	ṛa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	व	व	va
च	च	cha	श	श	śa
छ	छ	chha	ष	ष	ṣa
			स	स	sa
			ह	ह	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣhara* or syllable.







## SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

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

AS far as I can ascertain, the majority of the coins which form the subject of this paper, are now published for the first time. Others (Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 24, 27, 30) were included, because the previously published readings of their legends were more or less capable of improvement. Most of the coins form part of those which were selected from the collection of the late Mr. T. M. Scott, of Madura, for the Government Central Museum, Madras, by me and Mr. C. Rajagopala Chari. The abbreviations are the same as *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 301, with the following additions:—

**Atkins** = *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, by James Atkins; London, 1889.

**Thurston** = *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Museum*, by Edgar Thurston; Madras, 1890.

**Tracy** = *Pandyan Coins*, by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M. A.; *Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session 1887-88*.

**Tufnell** = *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India*, by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M. S. C.; Madras, 1889.

Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore, has again obliged me by preparing the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plates were copied.

## I. VIJAYANAGARA COINS.

## No. 1. Harihara. M.

Obv. A bull, facing the right; in front of it, a sword. On a specimen belonging to Mr. Tracy, a four-pointed star is visible over the back of the bull.

Rev.	{ प्रतापह राहर	Pratāpa-Ha- rāhara. <sup>1</sup>
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The legend is surmounted by symbols of the moon and the sun. This coin is a variety of the coin No. 3, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 302.

## No. 2. Mallikārjunarāya. MH.

Obv. An elephant, facing the left; above it, the Kanarese syllable Nā.

Rev.	{ ಮಲಿ ಕಾಜುನಾರಾ ಯರು	Mali- kājunaṛa- yaru. <sup>2</sup>
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## No. 3. Ditto. M.

Same type as No. 2, but the elephant on the obverse faces the right.

This and the preceding coin closely resemble Sir W. Elliot's No. 92, on which see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 304. Mallikārjuna was a son and successor of Dēvarāya II., whose latest date is Saka-Saṃvat 1371 expired, the cyclic year *Sukla*.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of Mallikārjunadeva, the son of Dēvarāya, on the left of the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Arulāla-Perumāḷ temple at Little Kāñchi is dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1387 expired, the cyclic year *Pāriḷva*. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother Virūpākshadeva, whose inscription on the South

<sup>1</sup> Read Harihara.<sup>2</sup> Read Mallikārjunarāya.<sup>3</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 81.



wall of the *Abhishēka-maṇḍapa* in the same temple is dated in 'Saka-Saṃvat 1392 expired, the cyclic year *Vikṛiti*.<sup>4</sup> The two Tamil dates are as follows:—

A. *Inscription of Mallikārjuna.*

Srī-Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāyar kumārar Mallikā[r]jjunadēva-mahā[rā]yar prīdivi-rājya[m]=ppaṇṇi arulāniṇṇa Sakābdam 1387ṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa P[ārd]dhiva-saṃvatsarattu Vṛischika-nāyarṇ pūrvva-pakshattu pūṇṇaiyum [N]āyarṇ-kkilaṃaiyum perṇa Kāttigai-n[ā].

"While Mallikārjunadēva-mahārāya, the son of the glorious Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāya, was pleased to rule the earth,—on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Kṛittikā, which corresponded to Sunday, the full-moon *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛischika in the *Pārthiva* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1387."

B. *Inscription of Virūpāksha.*

Srī-Dēvarāya-mahārāyar ku[mā]rar śrī-Virupākshadēva-mahārāyar<sup>5</sup> p[ri]divi-rājyam paṇṇi arulāniṇṇa Sakābdam 1392ṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa Vikṛiti-saṃvarsarattu Magara-nāyarṇ a[pa]ra-pakshattu amāvāsyai[yum] Āditya-vāramum perṇa Tiruv[ōṇat]tu nā A[r]tta-udaiya-punya-kālattilē.

"While the glorious Virūpākshadēva-mahārāya, the son of the glorious Dēvarāya-mahārāya, was pleased to rule the earth,—at the auspicious time of *Ardhōdaya* on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Sravaṇa, which corresponded to Sunday, the new-moon *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara in the *Vikṛiti* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1392."

No. 4. *Sadāśivarāya. MH.*

Obv. God and goddess, seated.

Rev. { श्रीसदा [Sri-Sadā]-  
शिवरा śivarā-  
यारु. yaru.

This copper coin corresponds to the pagoda figured by Sir W. Elliot, No. 100; see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 32.

No. 5. *Ditto. M.*

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the left.

Rev. Same as No. 4.

The obverse of this coin is an imitation of the copper issues of Kṛishṇarāya, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 28.

No. 6. *Tirumalarāya. H.*

Obv. A boar, facing the right; above it, a sword and the sun.

Rev. { ಶ್ರೀತಿ [Sri-Ti].  
ರುಮಲ rumala-  
ರಾಯ ರāya.

This coin is figured by Sir W. Elliot in the *Madras Journal*, New Series, Vol. IV. Plate i. No. 11. The execution of the Kanarese legend is so barbarous, that the reading would remain doubtful, unless a similar Nāgarī legend did occur on the coins figured *ibid.* Nos. 12 to 17, which have nearly the same obverse as the coin under notice. A correct transcript of the legend on the reverse of these coins was given *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> See also Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> Read Virūpāksha.



## II. CHOLA COIN.

No. 7. M.

(Elliot, No. 152).

The obverse and reverse are identical. In the centre is a seated tiger,—the emblem of the Chôla king,—facing the right, with two fishes,—symbols of the Pāṇḍya king,—in front, and a bow,—the emblem of the Chêra king,—behind. The whole group is flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two *chauris*. Underneath is the legend:—

Obv. and Rev. { गंगैकोण्ड  
चोलः Gaṅgaikonda-  
Chôla[h].

This coin is republished, because Mr. Thomas has misread it (Elliot, p. 132, note 1). The name or surname Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla, "the Chôla (king) who conquered the Gaṅgā," survives to the present day in Gaṅgaikonda-Sôlapuram, the name of a ruined city in the Uḍaiyārpālaiyam talukā of the Trichinopoly district. The earliest reference to this city is in a Tañjāvūr inscription of the 19th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman, *alias* Rājendra-Chôladēva.<sup>6</sup> As this king claims to have conquered the Gaṅgā,<sup>7</sup> it is not unreasonable to suppose that he bore the surname Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla (I.), and that both the foundation of the city and the issue of the coin are due to him. A proof for the correctness of this supposition may perhaps be derived from the unpublished inscriptions on the walls of the ruined Br̥hadīśvara temple at Gaṅgaikonda-Sôlapuram. This temple is called Gaṅgaikonda-Chôlēsvara in four Pāṇḍya inscriptions, while a mutilated inscription of Kulōttuṅga-Chôladēva I. refers to a temple named Rājendra-Sôla-īśvara. If, — what is very probable, — this temple has to be taken as identical with the first, it would follow that the founder of the īśvara (Siva) temple at Gaṅgaikonda-Sôlapuram bore the two names Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla and Rājendra-Chôla. Further, the surname Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla is applied to the maternal grandfather of Kulōttuṅga I. in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* (x. 5). Though the same poem (x. 3) gives the real name of Kulōttuṅga's grandfather as Rājarāja, there is no doubt that, as Dr. Fleet (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 279 f.) points out, this is a mistake or an inaccurate expression for Rājendra-Chôla, who, as we know from the Chellūr grant, was the father of Ammaigadēvi, the mother of Kulōttuṅga I. A coin which resembles the one under notice, but bears the Nāgarī legend *Srī-Rājendraḥ* (Elliot, No. 153),<sup>8</sup> may be attributed to Parakēsarivarman, *alias* Rājendradēva. An unpublished inscription of this king at Maṇimaṅgalam in the Chingleput district mentions a Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla (II.) who was the uncle of, and received the title Irumaḍi-Chôla from, the reigning king. Subsequent to the time of Rājendra-Chôla, the next mention of Gaṅgaikonda-Sôlapuram is in an unpublished inscription of Rājakesarivarman, *alias* Vira-Rājendradēva, at Karuvūr in the Coimbatore district. This inscription also refers to a son of the king, whose name was Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla (III.), and on whom the title Chôla-Pāṇḍya<sup>9</sup> and the sovereignty over the Pāṇḍya country were conferred by his father. According to the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani*,<sup>10</sup> Gaṅgāpurī, i.e. Gaṅgaikonda-Sôlapuram, continued to be the royal residence in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chôladēva I. (A.D. 1063 to 1112). In Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* (iv. 21, and vi. 21) the city is mentioned under the name Gaṅga-kundapura, which the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya VI. is said to have taken twice.

## III. MADURA COINS.

No. 8. MH.

Obv. Two fishes.

Sri-Avaṇi-

Rev. { paṣēgarah-

(Tamil) { gōlaga-

<sup>6</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 105, and Vol. I. p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> A third coin of similar type (No. 154) has *Uttama-Chôlaḥ* in Nāgarī, and a fourth (No. 151) *Uttama-Chôlan* in Grantha characters.

<sup>8</sup> Not *Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Chôla*, as stated in Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd edition, p. 46, note 1.

<sup>10</sup> *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 339.



"The round coin (?) of the glorious *Avanipatekhara* (i. e. the ornament of princes)."

No. 9. MH.

(Elliot, No. 139).

Obv. A standing figure, facing the right.

Rev. { Sôpā-  
(Tamiḷ.) { ñu ko-  
                  { ñdāñ.

"He who conquered the *Chôla* country."<sup>11</sup> The correct reading and explanation of this legend is due to my First Assistant, Mr. Venkayya.

No. 10. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 9.

Rev. Two fishes; between them, the Tamiḷ legend:—

El-

lā-

nta-

laiy-

āñāñ.

No. 11. MH.

(Elliot, Nos. 137 and 160).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 and 10.

Rev. Two fishes, surrounded by the Tamiḷ legend *Ellāntalaiyā*.

No. 12. MH.

(Elliot, No. 136).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11, with the addition of the Tamiḷ syllable *Su* on the right side.

Rev. A fish between two lamps, surrounded by the same legend as on No. 11.

No. 13. MH.

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11.

Rev. { El-  
(Tamiḷ.) { lān-  
                  { talai-  
                  { yā.

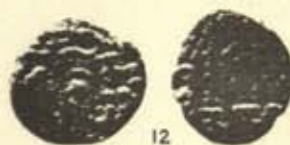
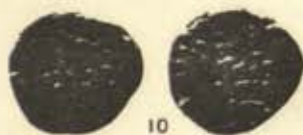
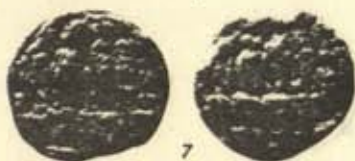
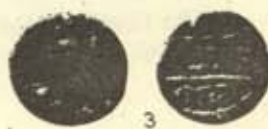
The legends of Nos. 11 to 13 appear to be abbreviations of the longer legend of No. 10, which on some specimens is further shortened into *Ellāntalai*. Mr. Tracy, p. 2 f. pointed out that Sir W. Elliot's reading *Samarakôlāhala* is impossible, and suggested *Ellānagaraiyāñ* instead. But the syllable which he reads *rai*, is clearly *lai* on all the coins. The preceding syllable might be *ka*, *ga* or *ta*, *da*; the sense requires the second alternative. The last syllable is distinctly *ñāñ* on No. 10. *Ellān-talaiy-āñāñ* means "he who is the chief of the world" and appears to be the Tamiḷ original of the Sanskrit epithets *vīvôttarakshmdbhrit*, *sarvôttarakshmdbhrit*, and *sarvôttarāmahābhrit*, "the king who is the chief of the world," which occur in verses 7, 8 and 15 of an unpublished inscription of *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* on the East wall of the second *prākāra* of the *Rāṅganātha* temple at *Srīraṅgam*. I would accordingly attribute the issue of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 to *Sundara-Pāṇḍya*, who ascended the throne in *Saka-Saṃvat*

<sup>11</sup> *Sôpāñu* is a contraction of *Sôlāñāñu*, as *Malāñu* of *Malaināñu*; see below, p. 344, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 167, note 5, and p. 229, note 2.



# SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

Plate i.



FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.







1173 (*ante*, p. 122). This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that, on the obverse of some copies of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 (*e. g.* on No. 12 of Plate i), we find the Tamil syllable *Su*, which appears to be an abbreviation of *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyan*. Compare *Dé* for *Dēvarāya*; *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 303, No. 12.

## No. 14. Visvanātha. M.

(Tracy, No. 9).

Obv. Same as No. 13.

Rev. A sceptre between two fishes, surmounted by a crescent and surrounded by the Tamil-Grantha legend:—

[1.] Vi- [5.] n.  
[2.] śva- [4.] da-  
[3.] nā-

Mr. Tracy, p. 6, took the final Tamil *ṇ* for a Grantha *s*, and the Grantha group *śva* for a Tamil *va*.

## No. 15. Ditto. M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes.

Rev. A crescent; below it, the Tamil-Grantha legend:—

Viśva-  
nāda-  
ṇ.

## No. 16. Ditto. M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes; above them, the Tamil legend:—

Pāṇ-  
ḍiyan.

Rev. The same legend as on No. 15.

Nos. 14 to 16 belong to Visvanātha, the first Nāyaka of Madura (A. D. 1559 to 1563). No. 16 shows that he wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pāṇḍya dynasty.

## No. 17. MH.

Obv. A standing figure.

Rev. {  $\text{śoṣ}$  Veṅka-  
 $\text{ṣṣ}$  tapa.

This is a variety of No. 37, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 308.

## No. 18. H.

Obv. Three standing figures.

Rev. {  $\text{śoṣ}$  Veṅka-  
 $\text{ṣṣ}$  [ṭa]panā-  
 $\text{ṣṣ}$  [yaka].

## No. 19. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure, which faces the right.

Rev. { Vi-  
(Grantha.) { rabha-  
dra.



## No. 20. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the right.

Rev. { श्री  
          { नन्त      Sri-A-  
                                  nanta.

It is not known to which of the rulers of Madura the names Virabhadra and Ananta on the reverse of Nos. 19 and 20 refer. But the style of the kneeling figure on the obverse connects the Grantha coin No. 19 with the Tamil coins of Bhuvanaikavira (Elliot's No. 138) and Samarakōlāhala, and the Kanarese coin No. 20 with the Nāgarī coins of Kṛṣṇarāya and Sadāśivarāya (No. 5, above).

## No. 21. H.

Obv. A lion, facing the right.

Rev. { मिना-  
(Tamil.) { त्ति.

Minākshi is the name of the goddess of Madura. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 203, queen Minākshi of the Nāyaka dynasty ruled from A. D. 1731 to 1736. The reverse of the coin may refer to the goddess, or to the queen, or to both at the same time.

## No. 22. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 21.

Rev. { Madu-  
(Tamil.) { rai.

## No. 23. MH.

Obv. మధుర      Madhurā.

Rev. Same as No. 22.

The obverse of No. 22 connects this coin with No. 21. The bilingual coin No. 23 agrees with No. 22 in the reverse, which bears the Tamil name of the city of Madura, while its Telugu equivalent occupies the obverse.

## IV. BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY COINS.

## No. 24. MH.

(Tufnell, No. 49; Thurston, Plate xii, No. 1).

Obv. श्री      Sri.  
Rev. { Kum-  
(Tamil.) { piṇi.

## No. 25. MH.

Obv. An eight-pointed star.

Rev. Same as No. 24.

The reverse of Nos. 24 and 25 is an early attempt to transliterate the word "Company" in the vernacular character. The auspicious monosyllable Śrī (Fortune) appears to be inserted on the obverse of No. 24 from similar motives as the word Śrīraṅga on Nos. 26 to 29.

## No. 26. H.

Obv. An orb, surmounted by a cross.

Rev. { श्री  
          { ರಂ      Sri-  
                                  raṅga.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On some specimens of this and the next coins, the second line of the legend reads ರಂ instead of ರಂ through a mistake of the engraver of the die. See Nos. 26 b and 28 of Plate ii.



# SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

Plate ii.



16



17a



17b



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



26a



26b



27



28



29



30a



30b

FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAN, Curator, Bangalore Museum.







No. 27. H.—A.D. 1678 (?).

(Atkins, p. 140, No. 34).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figure 78 inscribed in the lower portion of the orb.

Rev. Same as No. 26, with the addition of a double line between the two lines of the legend.

Mr. Atkins attributes this coin to the Bombay Presidency; but the Southern characters on the reverse prove it to be a Madras issue.

No. 28. H.—A.D. 1698.

Obv. { 16  
98 } in a circle.

Rev. Same as No. 27.

No. 29. H.—A.D. 1705.

(Thurston, Plate xii. No. 3 ?).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figures 17 and 05 inscribed in the upper and lower half of the orb.

Rev. Same as Nos. 27 and 28.

The word *Srīraṅga*, which appears on the reverse of Nos. 26 to 29, is, as a neuter, the name of a celebrated shrine of Viṣṇu near Trichinopoly, but is also used in the masculine gender as an epithet of the god Viṣṇu himself. This reverse was probably selected by the Company with the view of making their coin popular with the native public, and of matching the image of Viṣṇu, which was engraved on all the Madras pagodas.

## V.—FRENCH COIN OF KARIKAL.

No. 30. H.

(Tufnell, No. 48).

Obv. { Pudu-  
(Tamiḷ.) { chchê-  
ri.Rev. { Kâ-  
(Tamiḷ.) { raik-  
kâl.<sup>13</sup>

Puduchchêri and Kâraikkal are the original Tamiḷ forms of the names of the French settlements Pondicherry and Karikal.

## WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from page 311.)

20. mahāniyamthijjāṃ (cf. chap. 6), mahānirgrāṃthiyāṃ; aṇāhapavvayyā S; 60 vv. Of the anāthatvaṃ; Sēṇiō Magahāvivō v. 2. The title found in S agrees with the contents (as was the case with 6 and 7).

21. samuddapālijjāṃ (°lejjāṃ V), samudrapāliyyāṃ, 24 vv. Of the viviktacharyā. Begins: Champāe Pāliē nāma | sāvaē āsi vāṇiē | Mahāvīrassa bhagavaō | sisō sō u mahappaṇō ||

<sup>13</sup> No. 30 a of Plate ii shows the first and second lines of the obverse, and the second and third lines of the reverse; No. 30 b exhibits the second and third lines of the obverse, and the first and second lines of the reverse.



22. rahanēmijjā, 49 vv. Of the anōrathanēmivach charaṇaṃ, utpannaviśrōtasikēnā 'pi dhṛitih kāryā. Begins: [47] Sōriyapurammi nayarē | āsi rāyā mahiddhiē | Vasudēva 'tti nāmē-  
ṇaṃ | rāyalakkhaṇasāmjuē || 1 || tassa bhajjā duvē āsi | Rōhiṇi Dēvaī tahā | tāsīm dūḥaṃ pi dō  
puttā | itthā Rāma-Kēsavā || 2 || v. 1<sup>ab</sup> | Samuddavijjā nāmaṃ | v. 1<sup>d</sup> || 3 || tassa bhajjā Sivā  
nāma | tīsē puttē mahāyasē | bhagavaṃ Aritṭhanēmi tti | lōganāhē damisarē || 4 || . . .

23. Kēsi-Gōyamijjā, Kēsi-Gautamīyaṃ; Gōtamakēsiyyaṃ S; 89 vv.; chittaviplutīh  
parēshām api Kēsi-Gautamavad apanēyā. Begins: jipe Pāsi tti nāmēṇaṃ | arahā lōgapūiē | . .  
|| 1 || tassa lōgapālvassa | āsi sīsē mahāyasē | Kēsi Kumārasamaṇē | vijjācharaṇapāragē || 2 ||.  
See p. 337 on upāṅga 2.

24. samīti, samitiō S, pavayaṇamāyārō (!) C; 27 vv. Of the pravachanamātrīśvarūpaṃ,  
i. e. the 5 samiti and 3 gupti, which are together also called atṭha samīti: iriyā-bhāsē-śaṇā  
dāpē uchchārē samīti ya | maṇōguttī vayaguttī kāyaguttī ya-atṭhamā || 2 ||. These are regarded  
as the mothers as regards the duvālasaṅgaṃ Jīṇakkhāyaṃ pavayaṇaṃ. See *Ind. Streifen*,  
1, 133, 209, 2, 047, in reference to the ethical three-fold division into maṇō, vāya, kāya.

25. jannāijjā, yajñīyaṃ, 45 vv. Jayaghōshacharitavarṇanadvārēṇa brahmaguṇā ihō  
'chyaṃtē. Begins: māhaṇakulasambhūō | āsi vippō mahājasō | jāyāī-jamajannammi (yamayañjē)  
| Jayaghōsu tti nāmāō || . . .

26. sāmāyārī, dasasā° C, 53 vv. Only he who is in possession of the brahmaguṇas (chap.  
25) is a yati, tēna chā 'vāsyāṃ sāmāchārī vidhēyā. This is ten-fold:<sup>34</sup> [48] āvassīyā, nīlhiyā,<sup>35</sup>  
āpuchhaṇā, paḍipuchhaṇā, chhaṃdaṇā, ichhākārō, michhākārō, tahakkārō, abbhutṭhāṇaṃ, uvasaṃ-  
payā. The similar enumeration in Āvaśy. nijj. 7, 12, where there is, however, a different  
arrangement (the same as in aṅga 3, 10, and Bhag. 25, according to L.): — ichhākārō, michhā,  
tahakkārō (6—8), āva° . . chhaṃdaṇā (1—5), nimaṃtaṇā (instead of 9), uvasaṃpayā (10). — Hari-  
bhadrā on Āvaśy. nijj. 6, 38, says<sup>36</sup> that there are three kinds of sāmāchārī, 1. the ōghasāmāchārī,  
represented by the ōghaniryukti, on the 20th prābhṛitaṃ (ōghaprā°) of the 3. vastu (āchārābhi-  
dhāna) pūrva 9, 2. the dasavidhasāmāchārī, for which our chapter and Āv. nijj. 7 is authorita-  
tive, and 3. the padavibhāgasāmāchārī, which too is represented by chhēdasūtralakṣhaṇaṃ nava-  
māt pūrvād ēva nirvyūḍha, or by kalpavyavahārau.<sup>37</sup> — Begins: sāmāyārīṃ pavakkhāmi savvaduk-  
khavimukkhāṇi | jaṃ charittāṇa niggaṃthā | tinnā samsārasāgaraṃ || 1 ||

27. khalumkijjā, khulu° V, 15 vv. Of the śaṭhatā; the śaṭhatā is the antecedent  
condition for the sāmāchārī. It begins: thērē gaṇaharē Gagjē (Gārgyaḥ) munī āsi visārāē |  
āinnē gaṇibhāvammi samāhiṃ paḍisaṃdhāē || . . . The name comes from v. 3: khalumkē jō u  
jōēi, khalumkān galivṛisabbhān (s. Hēm. 1263) yō yōjayati.

28. mukkhamaggagaī, sīvamagga° C, 36 vv. Of the mōkshamārga. Begins: mukkhamag-  
gagāiṃ tachchaṃ | supēha jīṇabbhāsiyaṃ . .

29. sammattaparakkamaṃ, samyaktva°; appamāō S. In prose; anantaram (in chap. 28)  
jñānādīni muktimārgatvēnō 'ktāni, tāni cha samvēgādīmūlāni akarmatāvasānāni; [49] yadvā  
mōkshamārgagatēr apamāda ēva (on this then is based the title in S) pradhānaṃ. Enumeration  
of the 73 samvēgādīni, means of deliverance (cf. Leumann, Gloss. Aup. p. 155, s. v. samvējāṇa):  
samvēgē 1, nivvēō 2, dhammasaddhā 3, gurusāhammiyasusūsaṇayā 4, ālōaṇāya 5, nīmaṇayā  
6, garihaṇayā 7, sāmāiē and the remaining 5 āvassaya 8 — 12 etc. to akammayā 73 (cf. the 48  
samvēgādīni, Bhagav. 16, 3, and 27 samv. in aṅga 4, 27, Leum.). As in the beginning (see p. 43)  
so in the end there is a direct reference to Mahāvira: ēsa khalu sammattaparakkamaṃsa ajjha-  
yaṇassa atṭhō samapēnaṃ bhagavayā Mahāvīrēṇaṃ agghaviē pannaviē parūviē dāmsiē nidāmsiē  
nvadamsiē tti bēmi.

<sup>34</sup> The word sāmāyārī recalls especially the *sāmāyāchārikasūtra* of the Brahmins, with which the significance  
and contents of these texts is in agreement. From this I am led to conclude that sāmāyārī is an intentional  
deformation of sāmāyāchārī; see pp. 223, 233, 243 fg.

<sup>35</sup> nāishēdhikī, see pp. 452, 257.

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 357, 449.

<sup>37</sup> The three sāmāyārī texts which I have before me — see pp. 223, 369 fg. — contain another division than  
that stated above. Their contents is, however, connected, and they agree in the main with each other.



30. tavamaggiyam, °ggô S, °mañjam V, 37 vv., tapô-mârgagati. Begins: jahâ u pâvagam kammañ râgadôsasamajjiyam | khavêi tavasâ bhikkhû tam êgagamañô suṇa || 1 ||

31. charaṇavihi, 21 vv.; charaṇavidhi.

32. pamâyatthânam, 111 vv.; pramâdasthânâni. Begins: achchañtakâlassa samûlayassa | savvassa dukkhassa u jô pamâkkhâ | tam bhâsâ me paḍipunnachittâ | suṇeha êgamtaḥiyam hiyattham.

33. kammapayaḍi, karmaprakṛitib, 25 vv. Begins: aṭṭha kammâñ (cf. Bhag. 2, 100) vuchhâmi | âṇupuvvîm jahakkamañ | jêhim baddhê ayam jivê | samsârê parivattâ || 1 || nâpassâ "varaṇijjam | dâmsaṇâvaraṇam tabâ | veyapijjam | tabâ môham | âukammañ tabêva ya || 1 || nâmakayyam cha gôyam cha | amtarâyam tabêva ya. Closes: êssim samvarê chêva | khavañê ya jâê (yatêta) buhê tti bemi || 1 || The nânam *e. g.* is (see N. Anuy. Âvaśy. Anap. p. 41) five-fold: suyam, âbhinibôhiyam, ôhinânam, maṇanânam, kêvalam.

34. lêsajjhayanam, lêsya°, 62 vv.; anamtarâm (in 33) prakṛitaya uktâs, tatsthitîs cha lêsya-vaṣataḥ; apra[40]śastalêsyaṭyâgataḥ praśestâ éva tâ adhishtâtavyâḥ. Begins: lêsajjhaya-ṇam pavakkhâmi | âṇupuvvîm jahakkamañ chhaṇham pi kammalêsânam | aṇubhâvê suṇeha me || 1 || Closes: appasatthân vajjittâ | pasatthân ahiṭṭhâê (adhitishthê) muṇi tti bemi || 62 || Bhag. 1, 100, Leum. Anp. p. 149.

35. anagâramaggañ, °ggô S, °ggô V; 21 vv.; hiñsâparivarjanâdayô bhikkhuguaḥ. Begins: suṇeha me êgamañ magjam Savvannudêsiyam | jam âyarañtô bhikkhû | dukkhâṇa 'ntakarô bhavê || 1 || Closes: nimmamô nirahamkârô vîyarâgô aṇasavô | sampattô kêvalam nânam sâsayam parinivvudâ tti bemi || 21 ||

36. jivâjivavibhatti, 268 vv. Begins: jivâjivavibhattim | suṇeha me êgamañ iô | jam jâṇiṇa bhikkhû | sammam jayañ samjamê || 1 || Closes: ii pâukârê buddhê | nâyaê parinivvudê | chattisaṇ uttarajjhâê | bhavasiddhi sammañ (samvudê A) tti bemi || 268 ||

At the end in some MSS. of the text and in the scholiast there are added some variant verses of the niryuktikâra in praise of the work: jê kira bhavasiddhi | parittasamsâri a jê bhavvâ | tê kira paḍhamti êê | chhattisaṇ uttarajjhâê || 1 || . . .

**XLIV. Second mûlasûtram, âvaśyakasûtram.** By âvaśyaka, as we have often seen in the case of pañna 1, Nandî and Anuyôgadv., are meant six observances which are obligatory upon the Jain, be he layman or clerical. That the regulations in reference to these observations had an established text as early as the date of N and An., is clear from the fact that they appear in the Nandî as the first group of the apaṅgapaviṭṭha texts (see above p. 11); and in the Anuyôgadv. the word ajjhayanachhakkavagga is expressly given as its synonym. See p. 22. We have also seen [51] that the Anuyôgadvârasûtram claims to contain a discussion of the first of these ê âvaśyakas (the sâmañyam), but that this claim is antagonistic to that limitation of the sâmañyam to the sâvajjajôgaviratiin which frequently secures the Anuy. By this limitation an ethical character is ascribed to the work, the contents of which is, furthermore, at variance with the claim made by the Anuy.

The âvaśyakasûtram is a work which deals with all the six âvaśyakas in the order<sup>35</sup> which is followed in the Nandî and Anuyôgadvâra, and discusses the sâmañyam actually, not merely nominally as the Anuyôg. does. Unfortunately we possess, not the text of the âvaśy., but merely the commentary, called *śiṣyahitâ*, of an Haribhadra,<sup>36</sup> which is as detailed as that on mûlas.

<sup>35</sup> See p. 434 on this arrangement.

<sup>36</sup> At the close he is called a pupil of Jinadatta from the Vidyâdharakula, or an adherent of Sitâmbarâchârya Jinabhatta: samâptâ chê 'yam śiṣyahitâ namâ "vaśyakajñâ, kritiḥ Sitâmbarâchârya Jinabhaṭanigadânnâsripô Vidyâdharakulatilakâchârya Jinadattaśikhyasya dharmatô jôṇi (yâkinî)-mahattarâmnâñrâlpamânârâ(?)chârya Haribhadraṇya. The Gaṇadharaśrîdhâṣata is here referred to (cf. v. 52 fg.) and the great Haribhadra († Vira 1055); see pp. 371, 372, 456 fg. In Peterson's *Detailed Report* (1883) we find cited (pp. 6-9) under No. 12 a vṛitti of a 4ṛi-Tilakâchârya, scholar of Śivaprabha, composed saṃvat 1296.



1. Of this commentary there is but one MS., which, though written regularly enough, is very incorrect and fails in every way to afford the reader any means of taking a survey of its contents by the computation of the verses, etc. It labours under the defect of such manuscript commentaries in citing<sup>40</sup> the text with the *pratikas* only and not in full, with the exception of foll. 73<sup>b</sup> to 153<sup>b</sup><sup>41</sup> and some other special passages. The text is divided according to the commentary into [52] the six *ajjhayaṇas*, with which we are already acquainted:— 1. the *sāmāyam*, the *sāvajjajōgaviraṃ*, which extends to fol. 196<sup>b</sup>, 2. the *chaṇḍisaṭṭhava* or praise of the 24 Jinas, extending to 204<sup>b</sup>, 3. *vaṇḍanayaṃ* or honor paid to the teachers, reaching to 221<sup>a</sup>, 4. *paṭikkamaṇaṃ*, confession and renunciation (to 298<sup>b</sup>), 5. *kāussaga*, expiation to (315<sup>a</sup>), and 6. *pachchakkhāṇaṃ*, acceptance of the twelve *vratas* (to 342<sup>a</sup>).

By *sāmāyam* much more than the *sāvajjajōgavirati* is meant. It is etymologically explained by *samānam jñānadāraṇachārītrāṇaṃ āyaḥ* (35<sup>b</sup>). It treats not merely of the doctrine of Mahāvira on this point, but also of the history of the doctrine itself, i. e. of the predecessors of Mahāv., of himself, of his eleven *gaṇaharas* and of his opponents, the different schisms (*nīṇhagas*, *nīṇhavas*) which gradually gained a foothold in his teachings. The latter are chronologically fixed. Haribhadra quotes very detailed legends (*kathānakas*) in *Prākṛit* prose (sometimes in *metre*) in this connection and also in connection with the *diṭṭhanta* and *udāharaṇa* which are frequently mentioned in the text. These legends have doubtless been borrowed from one of his predecessors whose commentary was composed in *Prākṛit*. The remarks of this predecessor, cited elsewhere either directly as those of the *Bhāṣyakāra* (see on Nijj. 10, 47), or without further comment or mention of his name, he has incorporated into his own commentary. This too was here and there composed in *Prākṛit*. Occasional reference is made to a *mūlatikā* (see on Nijj. 19, 122), which in turn appears to have been the foundation of the *Bhāṣyakāra*.

[53] Even if we do not possess the text of the *śaḍāvaśyakasūtram* with its six *ajjhayaṇas* which was commented upon by Haribhadra, our loss is to a great degree compensated by a metrical *Nijjuttī*. This is even called *āvaśyakasūtram* at the close in the MSS., and is probably the only *Āvaśy.* text which is extant.<sup>42</sup> At least Haribhadra regarded it as an integral portion of his text. He has incorporated it, with but a few omissions, into his commentary, and commented upon it verse for verse. He cites its author not merely as *Niryuktikṛit*, *°kāra*, (e. g. on chap. 16, 17) as *Samgrahaṇikāra*, as *Mūlabhāṣyakṛit* (e. g. 2, 133), or even merely as *Bhāṣyakāra* (e. g. on 2, 70, 142, i. e. just as the author of the above mentioned commentary in *Prākṛit* prose) but also occasionally as *grāṃthakāra*, *°kṛit* (see for example Nijj. 8, 44, 10, 33), and even as *sūtrakāra*, *°kṛit* (e. g. Nijj. 1, 76, 16, 30). The verses of the Nijj. are occasionally called<sup>43</sup> *sūtras* by him! From a consideration of these facts we are led to the conclusion that the sole difference between the text commented on by Har. and the Nijj. lies in the different division — the text being divided into 6, the Nijj. into 20 *ajjhayaṇas*. See below. The fact that Har. does not cite at all some sections of the *Nijjuttī* (for example the *Thērāvalī* at the very start) may, however, be held to militate against the above conclusion. His text too contains besides the Nijj. several other parts, chiefly in prose, [54] which he calls *sūtras* or words of the *sūtrakāra* (see Nijj. 13, 33), e. g. especially a *pratikramasūtram* given *in extenso*. He furthermore occasionally contrasts the *sūtragāthā* or *mūlasūtragāthā* with the *gāthās* of the *Niryuktikāra*. See on Nijj. 11, 39, 41.<sup>44</sup>

With this the following fact is in agreement: — several times in the MSS. of the Nijj. there are inserted in the text short remarks in Sanskrit which refer to the proper *sūtram*. This *sūtram* has, however, not been admitted into the text, e. g. Nijj. 10, 2, 12, 176. In one case, chap. 20, this *sūtra* portion (in prose) has actually been incorporated into the Nijj.

<sup>40</sup> 342 foll. Each page has 17 lines of 58—63 akṣh. each.

<sup>41</sup> Nijj. 3, 315—9, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Cf., however, the *āvaśyakaśrutakandha* in Kielhorn's *Report*, 1881, p. 92, and the *śaḍāvaśyakasūtram* in Bühler's paper in the *Journal of the Vienna Acad.* 1881, p. 574.

<sup>43</sup> e. g. *tathā chē 'hō 'padāśikāṃ gāthāsūtram āha Niryuktikārah: saṃsāra°* (2, 18).

<sup>44</sup> In other passages, however, he says that the verses even of the Nijj. are *sūtras*! See p. 53, note 2.



It is, furthermore, noteworthy that in the Nijjuttī, too, Haribhadra distinguishes different constituent parts and different authors (see p. 53). He refers its verses at one time to the niryukti(kāra), mūlabhāṣyakāra,<sup>45</sup> and at another to the saṅgrahaṇikāra, or even sūtrakṛit (!). He thus brings these verses into direct contrast with each other<sup>46</sup> and subjects them to different treatment, by citing some, perhaps those of more recent date, in full, [55] either word for word or without commentary; while the remainder he cites as a rule merely by their *pratīkas* and then explains, first by a gamanikā, or akṣharagam., i. e. a translation of each word, and finally by expository remarks called out by the nature of the subject.<sup>47</sup>

Haribhadra too appears to have found a special defect existing in his sūtra text. Between chapters 8 and 9 of the Nijj. we ought to find the sūtrasparśinī nijjuttī according to his statement; but: nō 'chayatē, yasmād asati sūtrē (!) kasyā 'sāv iti. Haribhadra devotes a long discussion to sūtras in general, which recurs Nijj. 10, 2, 32, 11, 7 (sūtra and niryukti), 12, 17, 13, 35.

Using due caution in reference to an explanation of the mutual relation which exists in our text between Sutta and Nijjuttī, and in reference to the form of the text of the Āvaśyakam which existed in the time of Haribhadra, I subjoin a review of the 20 ajjhayaṇas of the existing Nijj. The two MSS. which I possess (the second I call B) show many divergences from one another, some of which are explainable on the score of inexact computation of the verses. Other MSS. contain much greater variations. The passages cited in Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 100 (104) as 2, 97, and p. 101 as 2, 332, are e. g. here 3, 281 (301), 332 (342). Very great divergences come to light in the two MSS. in Peterson's [56] *Detailed Report* (1883), pp. 124 and 127. These MSS. are numbered Nos. 273 (= P) and 306 (= π, with a break in the beginning; and chapters 1, 2 and 6 are lost). The text is composed exclusively in gāthās. One of its special peculiarities is formed by the frequent dāragāhās, i. e. verses which state briefly the contents of what follows, principally by the enumeration of the catch-words or titles of paragraphs. Unfortunately the use or denotation of these verses is not regular; from which fact the benefit to be derived from this otherwise excellent method of division is materially reduced. The Nom. Sgl. Masc. 1. Decl. ends, with but very few exceptions, in ō.

It must be prefaced that Haribhadra treats chap. 1—10 under ajjhayaṇa 1, 11—12 under ajjh. 2 and 3 respectively, 13—18 under ajjh. 4, and the last two chapters under ajjh. 5 and 6 respectively. This is done, however, without specially marking off the conclusions of the chapters of the Nijj.<sup>48</sup> Only the conclusions of the six ajjhayaṇas are distinguished from the others.

1. peḍhiā, pīṭhikā, 131 vv. (in P the thirāvalī has nominally 125 and peḍhiyā 81 gā°!) It begins with the same Thērāvalī (50 vv.) that occurs in the beginning of the Nandī, and treats, from v. 51 on, of the different kinds of nāpa (cf. Nandī and Anuyōgadv.). Haribhadra does not explain the Thērāvalī at all and begins his commentary (fol. 3) at v. 51: ābhiniḍō-hianāṇaṁ | suanāṇaṁ chēva ḍhināṇaṁ cha | taha maṇapajjavanāṇaṁ | kēvalanāṇaṁ cha paṇchamayāṁ || 51 ||

<sup>45</sup> e. g. 4, 3, iyaṁ niryuktigāthā, ētā tu mūlabhāṣyakāragāthā: bhīmaṭṭha° (4, 4—6).

<sup>46</sup> The sūtrakṛit appears here as later than the saṅgrahaṇikāra, fol. 260a: — tēn abhidhīṣur āha saṅgrahaṇikārah: ambē (Nijj. 16, 49) gāthā, asi° (49) gāthā; idam gāthādrayaṁ sūtrakṛin-niryuktigāthābhīr ēva prakāśarthābhīr vyākhyāyatē (sūtrakṛitā . . . vyākhyāyatē or sūtrakṛin niryu° . . . vyākhyāti would be better); dhāḍanti padhāḍanti . . . ; then follows the text of Nijj. 16, 50—54 in full but without commentary. Here it is to be noticed that one of the MSS. of the Nijj. in my possession omits these 15 verses from the text. See p. 59 in regard to the assumption that the Nijj. is the work of several authors.

<sup>47</sup> An occasional reference to other methods of treating the subject is found, e. g. 2, 31, iti samāsārthaḥ, vyāsārthaḥ tu viśēṣavivarapādavagamitavyaḥ. Or on 10, 19, iti gāthāksarārthaḥ, bhāṣārthaḥ tu bhāṣyagāthābhīr 'vaśyab, tās chē 'māḥ (in Prākṛit, but not from the Nijj.)

<sup>48</sup> Chapter 8 forms an exception, though at the end at least it says: samāptā chē 'yam upōdghātaniryaktir iti, but in such a way that it is not mentioned as the "eighth chapter"; nor is the statement made that it is concluded.



[57] 2. paḍhamā varachariā, 173 (178 P, 179 B) vv., treats, from v. 69 on, of the circumstances of the lives, etc., of the 24 Jinas, especially of Usabha, the first of their number. In the introduction it is of extreme interest to notice the statements of the author in reference to his own literary activity. It is as follows :

tittḥayarē bhagavāntē | aṇṭṭaraparakkamē amianāṇi | tinnē sugaigāigāē | siddhipahapāēsāē  
vaṇḍē || 1 ||

vaṇḍāmi mahābhāgam | mahāmaṇṇim, mahāyaśam Mahāvīram | amaranararāyamahiam |  
tittḥayaram imassa tittḥassa || 2 || ikkārasa vi gaṇḥarē | pavāyāē pavayaṇassa vaṇḍāmi |  
savvaṇ gaṇḥaravaṇṣam | vāyagavaṇṣam pavayaṇam cha || 3 || tē vaṇḍiṇṇa sirasā | atthapu-  
huttassa<sup>49</sup> tēhim kahiassa | suanāṇassa bhagavaḍ | niyyuttim<sup>50</sup> kittāissāmi || 4 || āvassagassa  
dasakā- | liassa taha uttarajjha-m-āyārē<sup>51</sup> | suagaḍē niyyuttim | buchchhāmi taha dasāṇam  
cha || 5 || kappassa ya niyyuttim | vavahārasē 'va paramaniṇṇassa | sūriapannattī | buchchhām  
isibhāsiṇṇam<sup>52</sup> cha || 6 ||

ēēsim niyyuttim | buchchhāmi aham jipōvāēsēṇam | āharapaḥēukārāṇa- | payanivaham iṇam  
samāēsēṇam || 7 ||

sāmāianiyuttim | buchchhām uvāēsiam gurujaṇēṇam | āyariaparaṇparēṇa | āgayaṇ  
āṇupuvvī || 8 ||

niyyuttā tō atthā | jam baddhā tēṇa hōi niyyuttī | taha vi āi chchhāyēi | vibhāsiṇṇ  
suttaparivāḍi || 9 ||

There is no doubt that we have here the beginning of a work, [58] and that chapter 1 (which is itself called pīṭhikā, support, complement) did not yet precede these verses at the period of their origin.<sup>53</sup> From vv. 5 and 8 we learn that the author does not intend to write an introduction merely for this second chapter, but that his work is designed for all the āvaśyaka matter and especially the sāmāiam. The separate statements of his account show that he intended to carry his investigations into the first two aṅgas too, the fifth upāṅgam, three chhēdasūtras, two more mūlasūtras,<sup>54</sup> and, if Haribhadra's explanation of isibhāsiṇi is correct,<sup>55</sup> to paṇṇa 7 fgg.

If we compare these statements with those in the commentary of Rishimaṇḍalasūtra in Jacobi, Kalpas, p. 12, in reference to the ten niryuktis composed by Bhadrabāhu, it is manifest that they are identical (instead of kalakasya in the passage in Jacobi we must read kalpakasya), and that Bhadrabāhu must be regarded as the one who in our passage speaks in the first person. This conclusion, however, is not supported by the Théravāli in chap. 1, which, as we have seen, p. 7, is much later than Bhadrabāhu. Nevertheless, we have just above formed the opinion that this contradiction is immaterial, since this pīṭhikā is to be regarded as not extant at the time of the composition of chap. 2. [59] The greater is, however, the contradiction which is disclosed by other parts of the text, notably the first verse of the ōghaniryukti cited as 6, 8, and chapter 8, etc. The statements made there refer to a period much later than that of Bhadrabāhu, the old bearer of this name, and who is assumed to be the last chaṇḍḍasapuvvi († Vira 170). All these statements must either be regarded as alien to the original text, or the

<sup>49</sup> arthapṛithutvaṇ.

<sup>50</sup> sūtrārthayōḥ parasparam niryojanam niryuktib; — kim aśāhaya śrutajñānaya? nō, kiṇ tarhi? śrutaviśē-  
shāṇam āvaśyakādīnam ity ata ēvā "ha: āvaśsa"; — niryukti is perhaps an intentional variation of nirukti.

<sup>51</sup> samudāyaśabdānām avayavē vṛttidarśanād, yathā Bhīmaśēna Sēna iti, uttarādhyā ity uttarādhyayanam  
avayavam.

<sup>52</sup> dēvēndrastavādīnam.

<sup>53</sup> They are placed thus in a palmleaf MS., No. 23, in Peterson's *Det. Report* (1883) (only 1, at ābhiniḥōhā . . .  
see p. 56, precedes) at the beginning of a text entitled "niryuktayaḥ," which contains at least several, if not all,  
of the above 10 niry.

<sup>54</sup> dasavāḍīyam is undoubtedly referred to under dasakāliyam. See the same denotation in v. 1 of the four  
gāthās added there at the close. For the abbreviation see note 3 on p. 57 in reference to uttarajha.

<sup>55</sup> This is, however, extremely doubtful as regards the existing paṇṇam called dēvēndrastava. See pp. 442,  
259, 272, 280, 281, 402, 429, 431, 43.



person in question may be one of the *later* bearers of the name of Bhadrabāhu, to whom these ten Nirvyuktis might be referred. The further course of the account would then determine to what and to how late a period this Bhadr. belonged. All this is, however, on the supposition that we should have to assume that all the other chapters of the Nijjuttī were the work of but one hand! In this connection the distinction is of significance which Haribhadra — see above pp. 54, 55 — draws in reference to the separate constituent parts of the Nijj. The fourteenth chapter is expressly stated by him to have been composed by another author, viz. Jinabhadra. See my remarks on pp. 61, 62 in reference to the incorporation of the ōhanijjuttī. The result is that chap. 14 and several other chapters (9, 11, 12, 20) exist in a detached form in the MSS., without any connection with āv. nijj. At any rate the statements made in the text remain of extreme interest since they show the interconnection of the ten nirvyuktis mentioned in the text, and their relation to one author. A good part of these niry. appears to be still extant. [60] As regards the MS. of the nirvyuktayaḥ, mentioned above p. 58<sup>a</sup>, we must confess that Peterson's account does not make it clear in which of the above ten texts it is contained. On the āchāranirvyukti see p. 258, Peterson, Palm-leaf 62, Kielhorn's Report (1881) p. 10; on a sūyagaḍaniijj. see Pet. Palm-leaf, 59, a dasavēālianijj. ib. 167. We have also citations from the nijj. in up. 5 and mūlas. 1.

What follows is very interesting:—

attham bhāsāi arahā; suttam gamthamti gaṇaharā niṇṇam; sāsaṇassa (°ṇasa!)hi atṭhāē; taō suttam pavattāi || 13 ||

sāmāia-m-āiam; suanāṇam jāva bimḍusārāō; tassa vi sārō charaṇam; sārō charaṇassa nivvāṇam || 14 ||

Here the *contents* of the doctrine is referred back to Arahā, but the *composition* of its textual form is ascribed to the gaṇaharas. See pp. 216, 345, above p. 35 and p. 80. The word sāmāiam, which we have found in v. 8 used as the title of the first āvaśyaka, is now used in its other signification, i. e. as the title of aṅga 1; for bimḍusāra is the title of the first pūrva book in the diṭṭhivāa, aṅga 12. See above pp. 243, 244.

3. *bā varachariā*, 349 (also P $\pi$ , 359 B) vv., of like contents.<sup>55</sup> It begins Viraṃ Ariṭṭha-nēmim Pāsam Mallim cha Vāsupujjam cha; ēē muttūpa Jipē avasēsā āsi rāyāpō || . . . Despite its seeming exactness, its statements give the impression of being apocryphal. Verses 287 (297) fg. treat of Siddhattha and Tisā, the fourteen dreams of Tis., etc.

[61] 4. *uvasagga*, 69 (70 P $\pi$ ) vv., treats especially of Vira.<sup>56</sup> The statements made here in chapter 4 take almost no notice at all of the facts in reference to the life of Vira that are found here and there in the aṅgas; nor does the Kalpasūtram (see p. 474) devote a greater amount of attention to this subject.

5. *samavasaraṇam*, 69 (64 P) vv., as above.

6. *gaṇaharavāō*, 88 (33 P, 90 B) vv. (is wanting in  $\pi$ ); the history of the 11 pupils of Vira: Imḍabhūi 1, Aggibhūi 2, Vāubhūi 3, Viatta 4, Suhamma 5, Maṇḍia 6, Mōriaputta 7, Akāmpia 8, Ayalabhāyā 9, Mēajja 10, Pabhāsa 11 (see Hēmach. vv. 31, 32); titṭham cha Suhammāō, niravachchā gaṇaharā sēsā (v. 5). The contents is as above, and almost no reference is paid to the account in the aṅgas. It concludes with the statement (above p. 48): sāmāyāri tivihā: ōbē dasahā padavibhāgē || 88 ||; in B there follows, as if belonging to this chapter, as v. 89 the beginning verse of the ōghanirvyukti, and thereupon the statement ittha 'mtarē ōhanijjuttī bhāṇiyavvā. In A v. 89 appears as v. 1 at the beginning of chap. 7 and then follows in partial Sanskrit: attha<sup>57</sup> 'ghanirvyuktir vaktavyā; after this verse 1 of chap. 7 according to the new computation. There is probably an interpolation here. Since chap. 7 treats

<sup>55</sup> Jina 6 is called Paṇḍābha (v. 23), Jina 8 Sasippaha (v. 24), Jina 19 Malli appears as a masc. (Mallissa v. 30).

<sup>57</sup> On Dēvānamāsi see v. 279 (289); but Usabbhadatta is not mentioned. We read Sōmilābhidhānō in the scholiast.

<sup>58</sup> Gōsāla v. 15 fg.

<sup>59</sup> attha instead of atra.



of the second of the three sāmāchāris enumerated in 6, <sup>53</sup> and the first receives no mention, it was necessary to remedy this defect. The third sāmāchāri is, according to the statements of the scholiast here and elsewhere, pp. 357, 449, represented by the two chhēdasūtras : kalpa and vyavahāra. It is very probable that the interpolation is not merely one of secondary origin, but an interpolation inserted by the author himself. [62] If this is so, he deemed the ōhanijjuttī which he had before him (perhaps his own production) to be the best expression of the first form of the 3 sāmāchāris, and consequently, not taking the trouble to compose a new one, incorporated<sup>60</sup> *brevi manu* this ōhanijj. (cf. above p. 59), or rather referred to it merely by the citation of its introductory verse. A complete incorporation brought with it no little difficulty, because of the extent of the text in question.<sup>61</sup> The economy of the whole work would have lost considerably if the entire text had been inserted. The text which we possess under this name and of which the first verse alone is cited here, consists of 1160 Prākṛit gāthās.<sup>62</sup> I shall refer to it later on, and call attention for the present to what I have said on p. 357<sup>2</sup> : — that the first verse cited here from it, in that it mentions the dasapuvvi, excludes any possibility of that Bhadrabāhusvāmin, whom tradition calls the author of the ōghaniryuktī, having been the first bearer of this name, who is stated to have been the last chaūddasapuvvi. The same, of course, holds good *à fortiori* of the author of our text, in which this verse is quoted.

7. *dasavihasāmāyārī*, 64 (Pπ, 65 B) vv. ; cf. *uttarajjh.* 26 ; the enumeration here in chapter 7 is as follows (see above p. 48) : ichchhā, michchhā, tahakkārō, āvassīā nisihiā ; āpuchchhaṇā ya [63] paḍipuchchhā chhaṇḍaṇā ya nimaṇṭaṇā || 1 || uvassampayā ya kālē sāmāyārī bhavē dasavihā u | ēssim tu payāṇaṁ pattēa parāvaṇaṁ bachchhaṁ || 2 ||

8. *uvagghāyanijjuttī*, 211 (214 B, 216 P, 210 π) vv. In vv. 40-50 glorification of Ajja-Vayarā (plur. maj.), °Vairā, Vajrasvāmin, who extracted<sup>63</sup> the āgāsagamā vijjā from the mahāpaṇṇā (see p. 251) and made ample use of the latter. In his time there still existed (p. 247) apubhattē kāliāṇuḍassa, apṛithakvāṁ kalikānuyōgasya, but after him (tēṇā "rēṇa, tata āratah, Haribh.), i. e. perhaps through him there came into existence puhattaṁ kāliasua diṭṭhivāē a,<sup>64</sup> pṛithakvāṁ kālikaśrutē drisṭivādē cha (v. 40). Tumbavaṇa, Ujjēṇī, Dasapura, nayaraṁ Kusumanāṁsē (Pāṭaliputra) appear in regular order as exercising an important influence upon his life. In vv. 50—53 glorification of his successor Rakkhiājjā (plur. maj.), Rakkhiakhamaṇā, i. e. of Ārya Rakshitasvāmin, son of Sōmadēva and Ruddasōmā, (elder) brother of Phaggurakhia and pupil of Tōsaliputta. These two names : Vajrasvāmin and Āryarakshita (cf. Hēmachandra's *parisīṣṭap.* chaps. 12, 13), especially as they are regarded here as persons deserving of great honor, bring us to a period much later than the *old* Bhadrabāhusvāmin. According to the statements of the modern Thērāvalī (see Klatt, l. c. pp. 246b, 247a,) 252<sup>a</sup>, his death is placed Vira 170, but that of Vajra, 400 years later, Vira 584.<sup>65</sup> We will find below that [64] there is mentioned here another date later by several years. Hēm. v. 34 too says that Vajra is the last "dasapūrvīn," one who still has knowledge of 10 of the 14 pūrvas, and in general that he is regarded as deserving great honour as regards the transmission of the sacred texts. See the account of Dharmaghōṣa on the Kupakshakaśik., Kup. p. 21 (811). The two-fold division into kāliasua and diṭṭhivāē (also in the *Anuyōgadv.* above, pp. 36, 40), dating back as far as Vajra according to v. 40, is in contrast to a no less peculiar division into four parts, referred back in v. 54 fg. to Ārya Rakshita : kāliasuaṁ cha isibhāsiyāṁ taiō a sūrapa-

<sup>60</sup> In the *Vidhiprapā* (in v. 7 des jōgavihāṇa) the ōhanijjuttī is said to be "ōṇṇā," avatīrṇā into the āvasayam.

<sup>61</sup> Haribh. says : sūpratam ōghaniryuktir vāchyā, sā cha prapanchitatvāt (perhaps on account of its fulness) na vivriyatē ; and likewise at the end : idāṇaṁ padavibhāgasāmāchāryāḥ prastāvah, sā cha kalpavyavahārārōpā bahuvistārā svasthānād avasēyā ; ity uktah sāmāchāryupakramakālah.

<sup>62</sup> The ōghaniryuktī, which in Pπ is actually incorporated with the text, has but 58 (or 79 π) verses. See below, p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> But according to the *Ganadharaśārdhasāta*, v. 29, it was taken from the *sumahāpaṇṇapuvvā* ! see p. 479.

<sup>64</sup> In v. 36 there was mention of 700 (!) or 500 *nayas*, ēssim (v. 37) diṭṭhivāē parāvaṇā suttaattakapaṇā ya ; each of the 7 etc. *nayas* — see p. 350 ff. and p. 39 — *śatavidhah*.

<sup>65</sup> See also *Kupakshak.* p. 21 (811)<sup>2</sup>.



natti | savvô a diṭṭhivâḥ chaṭṭhaḥ hōi aṇuḡô || 54 || jaṃ cha mahākappasuam jāpi a sēsāpi chhēasuttāpi | charaṇakarapāṇuḡa tti kāliatthē uvagayāpi || 55 || Here then the isibhāsīyāim (which Har. explains here by uttarādhyayanādini! see above pp. 43, 58) and upāṅga 5 are enumerated as members holding equal rank<sup>66</sup> with the kāliasuam, i. e. aṅgas 1—11, and the diṭṭhivāa, i. e. aṅga 12. Although the "mahākappasuam" and "the other chhēdasūtras" (kalpādini, scholiasts) are said to have been borrowed from aṅga 12, they are akin (or ṛishibhāshita) to the kāliasua, i. e. aṅgas 1 to 11. Such is apparently Haribh.'s conception of the passage.<sup>67</sup>

[65] In this text we notice that the different sections are frequently joined together without any break; and such is the case here. In vv. 56 to 96 we find very detailed statements in reference to the seven ninhagas, nihnavas, schisms.<sup>68</sup> After an enumeration (v. 56) of the names there follows a list of their founders, the place of their origin (v. 59), the date of their foundation (vv. 60, 61), and then a more exact list of all in regular order, though in a most brief and hence obscure fashion, the catch-words alone being cited. The kathānakas etc. adduced in the scholiast, help us but little to clear up this obscurity. The first two schisms occurred during the life of Vira, the first (vv. 62, 63), the Bahuraya, bahurata, under Jamāli in Sāvattī in the fourteenth year after he obtained knowledge (Jiṇṇa uppāḍiassa nāṇassa), — the second (vv. 64, 65), the Jivapaēsiya, under Tisagutta (chaḍḍasapuvvi) in Usabhapura in the sixteenth year thereafter. The third schism (vv. 66, 67), the Avvattaga, avyaktaka, under Āsāḍha in Sābiā (Svētavikā), in the 214th year after the end of Vira's death (siddhiṃ gayassa Virassa). They were "brought back to the right faith" (Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 9) by the Muria (Maurya) Balabhadda in Rāyagiha. The fourth schism (vv. 68, 69), the Sāmucchhēa or °chchhēa under Āsamitta (Āśva°) in Mihilapura (Mithilā) is placed in the year 220 after Vira.<sup>69</sup> The fifth (vv. 70, 71), [66] the Dōkiriya, under Gaṃga in Ullamatira (? A, Ullaga B, Ulluga scholiast, Ullukā in Skr.) in the year 228. The sixth, the Tērāsia, trairāsika, under Chhaluga in Āmtaraṃjiā, in the year 544, is treated of at greater length (vv. 72—87), though in a very obscure fashion. We have already seen (p. 351) that aṅga 12, according to the account of aṅga 4 and Nandī, devoted considerable attention to these schisms. Finally, the thērāvali of the Kalpasūtra (§ 6) contains several statements in reference to the Tērāsīyā sūhā and its founder Chhaluē Rōhaguttē Kōsiyagottē. The latter it calls the scholar of Mahāgiri, who, as in the thērāvali of the Nandī, is called the ninth successor of Vira. But this is not in harmony with the above-mentioned date (544 after Vira), since it is equivalent to an allotment of 60 years to each patriarchate. There is then here, as in the case of the name of the founder of the fourth schism — see 351<sup>a</sup>, 381 — a considerable discrepancy in the accounts. The seventh schism, the Abaddhiā (vv. 88—91), under Goṭṭhāmāhila in Dasapura is referred to the year 584 and brought into connection with Ayya Rakkhia, Pūsamitta and with the ninth puvva (p. 356). The first of these statements harmonizes with the other information concerning Rakkhia which we possess. See p. 63, Klatt p. 247<sup>b</sup>. The name Pūsamitta is frequently met with. According to Mērutāṅga's *Vichārāirōpi* (see Bühler, *ante*, 2, 362, and Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 7), there reigned a Pūsamitta, successor of the Maurya (the Pushyamitra of the *Mahābhāshya*, etc.!), in the years 323—353 after Vira. Neither can he be the one referred to here, nor the Pūsamitta who was

<sup>66</sup> The terminology in the Nandī — see above p. 11 — is quite different. There the kāliam suam, together with the ukkāliam, as a subdivision of the anaṅgapavivṭha texts, is opposed to the davāsaamga gapip.; the isibhāsīyāim, together with the sūrap. are regarded as parts of the kāliyam. In reference to the use of the word in Anuy. see above, p. 36 n 2.

<sup>67</sup> upalakṣhaṇāt kālikāśrutam charaṇakarapāṇuḡab, ṛishibhāshitāni dharmakathāṇuḡa ity gamyātē; sarvaś cha dṛishṭivādāś chatvṛtibō bhavaty anyyōgab, dravyāṇuḡa ity; tatra ṛishibhāshitāni dharmakathāṇuḡa ity uktam, tataś cha mahākappasūtrādini ṛishibhāshitam tvā (tatvāt?), dṛishṭivādād uddhṛitya tesāṃ pratipāditatvāt. dharmakathāṇuḡagavā (?) tvāḥ cha (?) prasāṅga ity atas tadapōhadvārachikīrahayā "ha: jaṃ cha . . (v. 55). See p. 258.

<sup>68</sup> See above, pp. 275, 381 on aṅga 3 and upāṅga 1. Further information is found in the second chhēdasūtra (see p. 463) and in the scholiast on uttarajjh. 3, 9.

<sup>69</sup> Abhayadēva on up. 1 mentions Pushyamitra instead of Āsamitta. See p. 331. Is this merely a lapsus calami?



the founder of the Pûsamittijam kalam of Chârâṇagaṇa in § 7 of the thêravall of the Kalpas., which emanated from Sirigutta, the pupil of the tenth [67] patriarch Suhatthi. The name Pûsamitta occurs here too in chap. 17 (16), 190 (see p. 74<sup>a</sup>), as that of a contemporary of king Muḍimbaga and of Ayya Passabhûi. Abhayadêva on up. 1 mentions him as the founder of the fourth schism. See p. 65<sup>a</sup>.

In addition to these seven schisms there was an eighth (vv. 92—95), that of the Bôḍia, Pauṭika, according to Haribh., under Sivabhûi in Rahavîrapura (Ratha<sup>o</sup>) in the year 609. According to the account in Dharmaghôsha's scholiast on his Kupakshakaṇṇa, the Digambaras are referred to; see Kup. p. 6 (796) where I have attempted to shew that the name Bôḍia has the same meaning (naked) as digambara. The animosity against the Bôtikas is as keen as can possibly be imagined. In the 22nd chapter of the Vichârâmrîtasaṃgraha, the remaining 7 niṇavas are said, according to Malayagiri's commentary on the Âvaśy., to be dêsavisaṃvâdinô dravyaliṅgênâ 'bhêdinô, but the Bôtika: sarvavisaṃvâdinô dravyaliṅgatô 'pi bhinnâs. Similarly Haribh. on v. 92 (dôsavi<sup>o</sup> and prabhûtavi<sup>o</sup>); see also Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 15<sup>a</sup>. In the kâlasattari, v. 40, they appear as khamanâ pâsamdiyâ; also in Kup. 1, 37, 71, 2, 3; *ibid.* 1, 8, or as khavaṇaya, i. e. kshapaṇaka. See below, p. 75.

In contradistinction to these heterodox opinions (michhâditthi) we have the praises of the sâmaṇiâ sung in v. 102 fg. We find it called<sup>70</sup> (v. 108) an "ajjhayaṇam" as opposed to the "remaining (five) ajjhayaṇas;" and the two verses closing with the refrain ii kēvalibhâsiam [68] are cited in reference to it. These verses recur in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra (see above, pp. 37, 38) as I have shewn on Bhagav. 2, 136. After the conclusion of the upôdghâtaniryukti we find in the scholiast (see above p. 55) the following statement: atra sûtrasparśikaniryukty (see p. 38) avasaraḥ, sâ cha prâptâvasarâ 'pi nô 'chyatê, yasmâd asati sûtrê kasyâ 'sâv iti; to which is joined an elaborate deduction in reference to sutta and niryukti.

9. namukkâranijjuttî, 139 (P<sup>π</sup>, 144 B) vv. Towards the end we find the verse êsô paṃcha<sup>o</sup> (132), glorifying the paṃchanamukkâra, a verse we have already met with in upaṅga 4; see p. 393. In the last pâda we have here the reading havai maṅgalaṃ; see Kup. p. 21 (811) fg., where this form of the verse is referred directly back to âri-Vajrasvâmin. See p. 38<sup>a</sup>.<sup>2</sup> on v. 6<sup>b</sup>. A detached copy is found in Peterson, Palm-leaf No. 77<sup>b</sup>.

10. sâmaṇianijjuttî, 100 (P<sup>π</sup>, 111 P, 112 B) vv. Begins: namdi-annôgadâraṃ vihiṇḍaṃ uvagghâiaṃ cha kâṇaṃ | kâṇa paṃchamaṅgala-m ârambhô hoi suttassa || 1 || The knowledge of the namdi and of the annôgad<sup>71</sup> is here regarded as a preliminary condition for the understanding of the sûtra. This citation is both *per se* of interest (see p. 3), and also because from it we can prove that the Âvaśyaka texts quoted in these two works are to be distinguished from our Âv. nijj. — though this was tolerably self-evident after the remarks on p. 53 ff. The text continues:

ahavâ (!): kayapaṃchanamukkârô karêi sâmaṇiâ ti sô bhihiô | sâmaṇiaṅgam êva ya jaṃ sô sêsam aô buchchham [69] || 2 || sûtram (atra 'mtarê sûtram vâchyam B). On this Har. (see between 8 and 9): atra 'mtarê sûtrasparśaniryuktir uchyatê, svasthânatvâd, âha cha niryuktikâraḥ: akkhaliya (v. 3) tti,<sup>72</sup> gâhâ. We have here then a very incomplete quotation of the text, see above p. 55. — In vv. 30—38 there are special statements in reference to the 11 karaṇas, the fourth of which is here called thivilôyaṇam. See p. 414. In v. 40 we find a division of the suam into baddham and abaddham. The former is explained by duvâlasaṅgam and called nisiham and anisiham (see pp. 452, 553); the nisiham is explained as pachhannam, and the following added in illustration: — nisiham nâma jaha 'jjhayaṇam (v. 41). In verse 42 we

<sup>70</sup> ajjhayaṇam pi a tiviham | suttê attihê tad-ubbhâ chēva | sêsēn vi ajjhayaṇēsu (chaturviṇsatistavādiha) hoi êsê 'va nijjuttî (uddēsanirdeśādikâ niroktiparyavasānâ).

<sup>71</sup> namdiê cha annuyôgadvârâpi cha Haribh.

<sup>72</sup> akkhaliasamhiâ vakkhâpachakkâsê darisiammi | suttapphâsianijjuttivittarattthô imô hoi || schol. tatrâ 'akkhalitapadôchchâraṇam samhitâ, athavâ parâh samnikarahaḥ samhitâ (a fine Brahminical reminiscence!) . . . padam, samhitâ, padârtha, padavigraha, châlânâ, pratyavasthânâ (see above p. 38) are here referred to.



find a citation from *pūrva* 2 — see above p. 354 — in immediate conjunction with the foregoing.

11. *chaūvisatthaū*, 62 (61 BP) vv., second *ajjhayaṇaṃ* in *Haribh.* Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77<sup>c</sup>.

12. *vaṇḍaṇaṇijjuttī*, 191 (189 π B, 190 P) vv., equivalent to the third *ajjh.* of *Har.* Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf No. 77<sup>d</sup>. From v. 36 on there is a dialogue between *guru* and *chō*, *chōdaka*, see above p. 34. After v. 176 we read in the text: *atra sūtraṃ*, and *Har.* quotes a text which begins with the words *icchāmi khamāsamaṇē vaṇḍiṇiṃ*.

13. *paḍikkamaṇaṇijjuttī*, 54 (52 PB, 51 π) vv. Chap. 13—18, which correspond to the fourth *ajjh.* of *Haribh.*, presuppose a [70] *pratikramaṇasūtraṃ*<sup>73</sup> given by him in full in sections. These chapters form a species of running commentary to each of the sections of the *pratik.* Chap. 14, 15 take up one section each, chap. 17 two, chap. 13, 16 contain the explanation of several sections. The sections explained in chap. 13 read: — *paḍikkamāmi ēgavihē asaṃjamē . . . p. dōhiṃ bāṇḍhaṇēhiṃ, p. tihīṃ daṇḍēhiṃ, p. chaūhiṃ jjhāṇēhiṃ*. The entire following chapter is an explanation of the latter sentence. In π a *dharmajjhāṇaṃ* of 69 vv. precedes these sections commented upon in chapter 13.

14. *jhāṇasayaṃ, dhyānasatakāṃ*, 106 vv. The last verse (106) which is omitted by *Haribh.* mentions only 105 vv., and states that *Jiṇabhadra* is the author of this cento<sup>74</sup>: *paṇchuttarēṇa, gāhā-sāṇa jjhāṇasayaṃ samuddiṭṭhaṃ | Jiṇabhadrakhamāsamaṇēhi kammaśōhikarāṃ jainō || 106 ||*. It had originally, as at present (see Peterson's Palm-leaf 77<sup>a</sup> 161<sup>b</sup>), a quite independent position and was later on inserted here. This is clear from the fact that the beginning contains a special salutation, which is usual only in the case of independent texts: — *Viraṃ sukkaṇḍhāg-gidaddhakammimḍhaṇaṃ paṇamiṇḍhaṃ | jōṣaraṃ sarannaṃ, jhāṇajjhayaṇaṃ pavakkhāmi || 1 ||* *Haribh.* cites this *dhyānasatakāṃ* just as he usually cites his [71] *kathānaka*: *ayaṃ dhyānasamāsārthaḥ, vyāsārthaḥ tu dhyānasatakād avasēyaḥ, tach chē 'dām dhyānasatakāṃ asya mahārthatvād vastunaḥ śāstrāntaratvāt (! this is plain; we should have expected 'tvāch cha) prārāmbha ēva vighnavināyakōpaśāntayē maṅgalārtham ishtadēvatānamaskāraṃ āha : Viraṃ . . . The explanation concludes (omitting verse 100) with the words: — samāptaṃ dhyānasatakāṃ, and the commentator proceeds with his explanation of the *pratikramaṇasūtraṃ*: *paḍikkamāmi paṇchahiṃ kiriyāhiṃ*, again having recourse thereby to the *pāriṭṭhāvaṇiyanīyuttī*.*

15. *pāriṭṭhāvaṇī*, 151 (152 P, 153 π B) vv. Begins: *pāriṭṭhāvaṇiavihiṃ | buccāmi dhīrapurisapannattaṃ | jaṃ nāṇa suvihiṃ pavayanasāraṃ uvalahaṃti || 1 ||* This chapter, too, gives me the impression of having originally enjoyed a separate existence. Nevertheless it is closely connected with chapter 18, since they both share this form of introduction. It is also noticeable that the same verse recurs with tolerable similarity in 20, 9; from which we may conclude that chapters 16, 18, 20 were composed by one author. *Haribh.* in this chapter omits or leaves a large number of verses unexplained; and beginning with v. 79. His commentary is partially composed in *Prākṛit*, probably taken from the old *bhāṣya* (see p. 52). After the conclusion: — *pariṭṭhāvaṇīkā samāptā*, he proceeds to cite and explain the *sūtraṃ*: *paḍikkamāmi chhahiṃ jīvaṇikāhiṃ*. In π there is an additional chapter *lēsāō*, with 13 vv., inserted between the conclusion and explanation.

16. *paḍikkamaṇasamghayaṇī, pratikramaṇasamghrahaṇī*, 133 (80 P π B) vv. The verses, which are not found in [72] B,<sup>75</sup> are cited in full by *Haribh.* as a part of his commentary.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> It begins *icchāmi paḍikkamiṇiṃ . . .*; it is in prose and different from the *śrāddha-* or *śrāvaka-pratikramaṇasūtra*, whose 50 *gāthās*, divided into 5 *adhikāras*, were commented in *Saṃvat* 1498 (A. D. 1440) by *Ratnaśekhara* from the *Tapāgaccha* (No. 52 in Klatt). In Peterson's Palm-leaf MSS. there are two other similar texts, a *pratikramaṇasūtraṃ* 86<sup>e</sup>, 83<sup>c</sup> (where it is called *atichārapratī*) and a *pratikramaṇaṃ* 154<sup>a</sup> (see p. 125b), which is different from the first.

<sup>74</sup> He appears in *Ratnaśekhara* as the author of a *viśēṣhāvaśyaka*. See preceding note.

<sup>75</sup> Pr also presumably do not contain the verses: A 18-30, 32-43, 50-64, 68-80.

<sup>76</sup> On one occasion he calls these verses (vv. 50—64) *niryuktigāthās* of the *sūtrakṛit* (!), by which the *sūtrakṛit* (!), is said to explain the two preceding verses (48, 49) of the *samghrahaṇīkāra*! See above p. 54c3.



The verses which A B have in common, are cited by him here, not as verses of the *niryuktikṛit*, but as a part of the *saṃgrahaṇikāra*. In these chapters we find explanations and enumerations of the contents of sections 6—31 of the *pratikramaṇasūtram*. Each group of verses is explained under its proper section. Chapters 14 and 15, however, belong to but one section. The following is treated of: 6 *jīvanikā*, 7 *bhayaṭṭhāṇa* (v. 14), 8 *mayatṭhāṇa* (v. 14<sup>b</sup>), 9 *bambha-chêragutti* (v. 15), the 10-fold *samaṇadhamma* (v. 16), 11 *uvāsagapaḍimā* (v. 17), 12 *bhikkhu-paḍimā* (v. 31), 13 *kiriyaṭṭhāṇa* (v. 44), 14 *bhūyagāma* (v. 45), 15 *paramāhammā* (vv. 48, 49), 16 *gūhāsōlāsa* (vv. 65, 66), the 17-fold *saṃjama* (v. 67), the 18-fold *abambha* (v. 81), 19 *nāyaj-jhayaṇa* (vv. 82, 83), 20 *asamāhittāṇa* (vv. 84—86), 21 *sabala* (*śabala* v. 87),<sup>77</sup> 22 *parisaha* (v. 100), 23 *suttagaḍajjhayaṇa* (v. 102), 24 *dēva* (v. 103), 25 *bhāvaṇa* (v. 104), 26 *dasā-kappa-vavahāraṇa uddēsaṇakāla* (v. 109), the 27-fold *apaṇāchararitta* (v. 110), the 28-fold *āyārapakappa* (v. 112), 29 *pīvasutapasamga* (v. 115), 30 *mōhaniyyaṭṭhāṇa* (v. 117) and 31 *siddhāiguṇa* (v. 132). We find herein enumerations of the 23 chapters of *aṅga* 2 (in two groups, one of 16, the other of 7; [73] see above p. 260), of the 19 chapters of the first part of *aṅga* 6, of the 26 chapters of the three *chhēdasūtras* 3—5, and of the 28 chapters of *aṅga* 1.

17. *jōgasamgaha-āsāyaṇa*, *āsātana*; 64 vv.; in A counted continuously in conjunction with chapter 16, i.e. as vv. 134—197. In P<sub>π</sub>B, however, it is divided into two chapters: *jōgasamgaha* of 60, and *āsāyaṇa* of 5 (4 π) vv. It contains the vouchers for and examples (*udāharana-gāthā*) of the 32 *jōgasamgahas* (to v. 193) and 33 *āsāyaṇas*,<sup>78</sup> *āsātanas* (v. 194—197), which are mentioned in the last two sections of the *pratikramaṇasūtram*. The *pratikramaṇasamgrahaṇi* (*pr<sup>o</sup>ṇi samāptā*) ended here according to Haribh. But with the words *sāṃprataṃ sūtrōktā ēva trayastriṃśad vyākhyāyāntē* . . . Haribh. comes back to the explanation of v. 197. These verses contain principally matters of legendary and historical purport, and consist chiefly of proper names and of some catch-words. Haribhadra cites very detailed *kathānakas* on them composed in *Prākṛit*, from which the meaning of the verses is to be extracted (*svabuddhyā 'vasāyah*); but he does not enter upon the explanation of the text of each of the verses, or even of the *kathānakas* cited by him. It is very interesting that *Thūlabhadda* is here brought into connection with the (ninth, Haribh.) *Nanda*, and with *Sagaḍāla* and *Vararuchi* (v. 144, cf. the statements in *Hemach.*'s *pariśiṣṭaparvan* 8,3 fg.). The same may be said of the mention of *Sālavāvahana* in *Paṭṭhāṇa* (v. 164; *Vikramāditya* is, however, not noticed), and of the identification, in all essentials, of all these and similar [74] names<sup>79</sup> with the names of king *Dummuha* of *Pamchāla*, of *Nami* of *Vidēha*, *Naggal* of *Gaṃdhāra* (v. 172), and with the *Pamḍavavaṃsa* (v. 161)! As far as the legends admit of being comprehended (which is no easy matter, if we take into consideration the enigmatical character of the text and the corrupt condition of the MS. of the commentary), they are in only partial agreement with our information in respect to these persons obtained from Brahminical sources. The information they convey, is quite independent of any other source, and is probably the result of their arbitrary desire for change. It is of interest that the *gāthā* (v. 188), cited pp. 158, 159, which is quite in keeping with the character of the verses of *Hāla*, is here inserted in the legend of two prostitutes (*Magahasūndarī* and *Magahasirī*).

18. *asajjhāiyanijjuttī, asvādhyāyika*, 111 (P<sub>π</sub>, 110 B) vv. Begins<sup>80</sup>: *asajjhāiyanijjuttīm buchehhāmi dhīrapurisapannattam | jaṃ nāṇa suvihiā pavayaṇasāraṃ uvalabbhānti || || asajjhāiyan tu duviam āyasamuttham cha parasamuttham cha | jaṃ tattha parasamuttham tam pam-*

<sup>77</sup> On vv. 87—96 we read here: *āsāṃ vyākhyā . . . ayaṃ cha samāsārthāḥ, vyāsārthas tu dasākhyaḍ granthāntarād avasāya ēvaṃ (ēva), asamūhārtham dasānusārēna sabalasavarūpam abhihitam, saṃgrahaṇikāras tu ēvaṃ āha: varisam (v. 97).* The fourth *chhēdasūtram* (or its second book, see p. 468) is meant by the *dasākhya grantha* mentioned here.

<sup>78</sup> Explained by *āyaḥ* (!) *samyagdarśanādyavāptilakṣhaṇas, tasyā ātānāl khamḍanā āsātana . . .* as if the word was *āsāyaṇa* (or *āyā*?).

<sup>79</sup> As for example *Vijaa* in *Bharuachha* v. 189, *Muḍimbaga*, *Ajja Pussabhūi*, *Pūsamitta* in *Sambavaddhana* v. 190.

<sup>80</sup> Verse 1 is omitted by Haribh.



chavihaṃ tu nāyavvaṃ || 2 || Closes : asajjhāniijuttī kabiā bhē dhīrapurisapannattā | samjama-tavaḍḍhagāṇaṃ | niggamthāṇaṃ mahārisiṇaṃ || 10 || This chapter, too, appears to have originally existed by itself (see above p. 71, on chapter 15). It refers to certain faults in the study and recitation of the śrutam, which are enumerated at the conclusion of the 33 āsāyaṇās; but special reference is made to the cases in which akālē kaō sajjhāō, etc. The pratikramāṇasūtram consequently is joined on in Haribh. as follows: nama chaūvisāē titthayaṇāṇaṃ Usabhāi-Māhavīrapayyavasāṇāṇaṃ, . . iṇaṃ ēva niggamthāṃ pāvayaṇaṃ savvaṃ aṇuttaram ity-ādi, . . ṇēvaṃ (naiyāyikam) [75] ti saṃsuddhaṃ ti, sallakattāṇaṃ ti, siddhimaggaṃ muttimaggaṃ nejjāmaggaṃ nevvāṇamaggaṃ ti, icchāmi paḍikkamiṃ gōyachariyāē ity-ādi.

19. kaussagganiij, 172 vv., fifth ajjh. in Har.

20. pachchakkhāṇaniijuttī corresponds to the sixth ajjah. in Haribh., and consist of three parts: — 1. A metrical section in 22 (26 B) vv., with an enumeration of the 5 mūlaguṇas,<sup>81</sup> 2. A prose portion treating of the 12 vrata (5 aṇuvr., 3 guṇavr., 4 śikshāpadvr.). Haribhadra calls its sections sūtram; this is doubtless to be regarded as a bit of the sūtram, which is presupposed in the other chapters, but not directly admitted into the text of the Nijj. 3. A metrical conclusion of 74 (70 B) vv., which closes with the same two verses as chapter 10. There are 194 vv. verses in all given in P, but in π only 90. It stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77<sup>o</sup> (without statement as to the number of verses) and 86<sup>g</sup> (94 vv.). — The prose part (nominative in 1) is directed with great vigour against the annaūtthiyas (anyatīrthika) and against the parapāsaṃdapasaṃsās, or the parapāsaṃdasaṃthavas. According to Haribhadra, the Brahminical sects<sup>82</sup> Bhautika and Vōtika (Digambara, see above p. 67) are treated of under annaū°. The 363 doctrines attacked in aṅga 2 are referred to under parapāsaṃda. See p. 259.<sup>83</sup> According to H. there is no mention here of the seven schisms. [76] He mentions also a legend (in Prakṛit) of Chavakka and Chāmdagutta in Pāḍaliputta. Cf. Hēmach. pariś. chap. 8 and 9).

Besides the Nijjuttī I possess a fragment of a second metrical treatment of the āvāyaka, which is, however, confined to vaṇḍaṇa and pachchakkāṇa. The former is divided into two sections, chaityavaṇḍana and guru°. The text is only partially based upon the Nijjuttī. There is an avachūri (°chūrṇi) to it from the commentary of a Sōmasūmdara (from the Chandra-gachha). This avachūri can be traced back to a Jñānasāgara.

[77] XLV. The third mūlasūtram, dasavēāliasuakkhamdha, dasavaikālika, or merely : dasaālia,<sup>84</sup> daśakūlika. It consists of ten ajjhayaṇas, which are composed in ślōkas, with the exception of a few prose sections. There are furthermore two chapters called chūlā (and hence

<sup>81</sup> pāpivaha musāvāē adatta mēhuṇa pariggahē chēva . || 8 || sāvaṇḍhammassa vihiṃ buchhchāmi dhīrapu-risapannattāṃ | jaṃ chārīṇa suvihiṃ ginipō vi suhāṃ pāvaṃti || 9 || On this verse see p. 71 on chap. 15.

<sup>82</sup> anyatīrthikaparigrihitāni vā chaityāni arhatpratimālakahapāni, yathā Bhautaparigrihitāni Virabhadra-Mahā-kālādini, Vōtika-parigrihitāni vā.

<sup>83</sup> Dr. Leumann called my attention to the fact that a letter of Schiefner to me dated Dec. 1837 — see Ind.-Stud. 4, 335 — contains the following statement extracted from the introduction of a Thibetan work edited by Wassiljew: "there are 363 different schisms in the religion of India." Since I found nothing of the kind in the introduction of Tāranātha, which was doubtless referred to here, I had recourse to Wassiljew himself. On the 8th of October 1883, I received from him the following kind reply: — "I cannot inform you definitely in which of my works 363 Indian schools are mentioned, if at all; but it is certain that this number is frequently mentioned in Thibetan works. In Djandja Vatukta's Siddhānta, which I have at present before me, I find the following: 'In the sūtras are mentioned 96 darsana papantika[?], 14 dijakṛita muluni[?], 62 injurious darsana, 28 which do not permit salvation, and 20 which are ruinous.' In Bhaṇia's work Tarkadīvala all the darsanas are enumerated in 110 species, viz. . . According to my hasty count there are more than 120 names, probably because the same school is mentioned twice, i. e. in Sanskrit and Thibetan. And at the end, after mention of all 110 (=120) species, we read: — in all 363 darsanas. As regards the names of these darsanas, it is too difficult for me to translate them into Russian and a fortiori into German, though, should you desire it, I will attempt it as best I may be able." I did not consider it necessary to have recourse again to Wassiljew's kindness, since, for the purpose in view, his communication was amply sufficient. It is clear from the above, compared with p. 259, that it will be difficult to expect complete agreement in detail; nevertheless the fact that the number of 363 darsanas is common to the Jains with the Thibetan Buddhists, is of great value.

<sup>84</sup> Thus in Āv. nijj. 2, 5, and in the Vādhīrapā.



secondary<sup>85</sup>) of similar contents. These are in gāthās. After them follow four gāthās, in which Sijjambhava, according to the old thērāvā (Nandi, Kalpas.) the fourth patriarch after Mahāvīra, is stated to be the author;<sup>86</sup> but his son Ajja-Maṇḍa and his pupil Jasabhadda<sup>87</sup> are mentioned in connection with him. This is indeed a claim of great antiquity for the author!

The contents refers to the viṇaya, and is clothed in a very ancient dress. That this is the case is proved by the close of a chapter: ti bēmi (also in the case of the two chūlās!) and by the introduction: suam mē āsuam in the prose sections (with the exception of that in chūla 1.). The dasavēlīam, (see p. 11) is mentioned in the Nandi as being in the forefront of the ukkāliya group of the anāṅgapaviṭṭha texts; its position here, however, almost at the end, does not agree with the prominent place ascribed to it by N. It appears elsewhere as the last or smallest of the āgama (if I understand the words correctly; the preceding leaf is wanting in the Berlin MS. — see p. 214) in Hēmach. [78] in the pariśiṣṭap. 9, 99, and in the commentary on Nēmi-chandra's pravachanasāra, v. 1415, where Duhprasaha, the last of the 2004 sūris which Nēmich. accepts, is designated as dasavaikālikam dātrasūtradharō 'pi chaturdaśapūrvadhara iva śakra-pūjyaḥ. The author of the Āvaśy. nijj. asserts (2, 5) that he composed a nijjutti on it. A MS. of a nijjutti which recognizes the chūliya is found in Peterson's Palm-leaf 167. Is it the work referred to? The word vēlīam is said here to mean about the same as vaikālikam, "belonging to the evening" (vikālō 'parāhṇō).<sup>88</sup>

1. dūmapupphā, dūmapuṣṭhikā, 5 vv. Comparison of the dhamma with a flowering tree. Cf. aṅga 2, 2, 1. uttarajjh. chap. 10.

2. simanṇapuvva, śrāmaṇyapūrvikā, 11 vv. Of firmness, dhṛiti.

3. khuddiāyārā, kshullikāchārā, 15 vv.; sā dhṛitir āchārē vidhēyā.

4. chajjivāṇiyajjh.,<sup>89</sup> shadḍivānikhādhy., i. e. doubtless °nikāyajjh.; see above, pp. 71, 72. In two chapters, the first of which, in prose, begins suam mē... and treats of the 6 grades of the four elements (earth, water, light, air), plants (vaṇasa) and insects (tasa); and of the 5 mahāvayas to be observed in reference to them. To these five a sixth, the rāibhōṇāu veramaṇaṁ (command against eating at night), is added. Chapter 2, in 29 vv., treats of the six forms of activity (walking, standing, sitting, lying, eating, speaking) necessary for these 6 mahāv.

5. piṇḍesaṇā, in 2 uddēśakas, with 100 and 50 vv., bhikṣhāsōdhiḥ, of the collection of the necessities of life and of rules for eating; see aṅga 1, 2, 1. To this is joined, [79] according to the Vidhiprapā, the piḍḍaniijjuttī (mūlas. 4); ittha piṇḍi oṇarā (oṇṇā v. 7 of the jōgavihāṇa).

6. dharmārthakāmajjhayaṇaṁ, also mahāchārakathākhyaṇaṁ; in 69 vv. — This trivarga (trivargō also in the Abhidhānappadīpikā) which plays so important a rôle in epic literature (MBhār., Rāmāy. Maṇu) is not known to the Vēda. Among the Jains and Buddhists, by whom dharma and artha are often brought into connection, though in quite a different signification (artha *sense, explanation*), the trivarga does not claim any place whatsoever. It is probable that we must connect it with the three guṇas: sattva, rajas and tamaś. But in that case artha would respond to rajas, kāmā to tamaś, though kāmā suits rajas much better. Has the Platonic trinity καλόν, ἀφελιμον, ἡδὺ, which is Cicero's *honestum, utile, dulce*, wandered to India?

7. vakkasuddhi, vākyaśuddhi, 57 vv.

8. āyārapaṇi, āchārapraṇidhi, 64 vv.

<sup>85</sup> This is evident from the title dasakāliam itself. At the time that the four gāthās were added at the end, these two chūlās had not yet been affixed, since the text in v. 1 is called, as one might expect from its title, merely dasajjhayaṇaṁ.

<sup>86</sup> According to v. 37 of the kālasattarī it was composed in the year 98 Vīra.

<sup>87</sup> These three names recur in the same connection in the thērāv. of the Kalpas. Jasabhadda is also in the Nandi the fifth successor of Vīra.

<sup>88</sup> In aṅga 2 the word means vaidārikam; in paṇṇa 5 the meaning is not clear.

<sup>89</sup> dhammapannatti vā, in the Vidhiprapā.



9. vinayasamāhi, °samādhi, in 4 uddēśakas, of which the first three in metre, in 17, 23 and 15 vv., treat of the correct vinaya, especially in reference to the guru. The fourth is in prose with the introduction suam mē . . . and establishes four fixed categories of the correct vinaya.

10. sa bhikkhu-ajjhayaṇaṃ, in 21 vv. All the verses end, as in Uttarajjh. chap. 15, with the refrain sa bhikkhū, and consequently enumerate the requirements made of a correct bh., who desires to live in accordance with the regulations contained in the preceding 9 chapters.

11. raivakka chūlā paḍhamā, rativākya, in two sections. The first in prose, without the introduction suam [80] mē . . . , enumerates 18 ṭhāpas which the bhikkhu must take and fulfil in order gradually to acquire mukkhā. The second, in 18 vv., partly with the refrain : sa pachehā paritappaṃ, emphasizes especially the obstacles to this quest and serves sīdatēh sthīrikarapaṇāya.

12. chūlā 2 without any special title (also in the Vidhiprapā merely chūliyā) in 16 vv., describes the correct course of action of the man of firmness.

The conclusion is formed by the 4 gāthās in reference to Sijjambhava, which have already been referred to. These gāthās are probably of later date. The work is called in v. 1 dasakāliam (as in Āv. niḥj. 2, <sup>5</sup>, and in the Vidhiprapā) and also dasajjhayaṇaṃ; so that verse 1 at least dates from a period in which the two chūlās had not been added (see p. 77<sup>2</sup>).

The text is frequently doubtful in the two Berlin MSS. The commentary calls itself an avachūri of the vṛihadvṛitti of Haribhadrāsūri.<sup>20</sup> Another avachūri, in bhāṣhā, is the work of a Rājakaśāpīdhyāya. A laghuṇvṛitti too is ascribed to Haribhadra. See p. 458.

## FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

### No. 3.—How Eve rescued the Prince.<sup>1</sup>

There was once a king, who dearly loved his queen, and she too loved him exceedingly. One day the king went to hunt, and met in the jungle a most beautiful woman. He fell in love with her and brought her home; soon she got his heart in her power, and one day she said "I will live with you only on this condition, that you get rid of your first queen." The king was grieved, but he was in her power, and he searched for a cause to discard the queen: but she was so good that he could find no fault in her.

One evening he challenged her to play chess and said, "This shall be the stake. If before the game is finished a jackal howls, I will take my new queen and leave my kingdom: but if a donkey brays, then you must go away." This was agreed on; before the game was over the jackal howled. The king said, "Lady, you have won. To-morrow I will make over my kingdom to you and depart." At this her heart was nearly broken, and, not wishing to distress her husband, she replied: "No, king, it was a donkey that brayed. I will leave early to-morrow." The king said, "No, it was a jackal that howled." On this they began to argue, and the king said, "Let us ask the sentry whether it was a jackal or a donkey."

So the queen went to the sentry and said:—"Was it the cry of a jackal or a donkey you heard just now?" "Mistress," he replied, "it was the howl of a jackal." The queen replied: "The king and I have sworn an oath about this. If you say it was a jackal, the king must leave his kingdom. How can I defend it against our enemies? Then all you people will be killed and your children will die of hunger. You must say it was a donkey that brayed." The sentry agreed, and the queen came back to the king and said: "The sentry says it was a donkey

<sup>20</sup> Ratnaśekhara (on Pratikramanāsūtra) cites this vṛitti frequently; likewise the Vichārāmṛtasamgraha quotes e. g. the following verse from it (or from the niḥj. 2): titthayaratthāpaṃ khalu atthō, suttam tu gapaharattāpaṃ (see p. 60) | atthēna ya vaṇṇijjajā suttam tamhā ya sō balavaṇṇa ||

<sup>1</sup> A folktale recorded by E. David, a Native Christian of Mirzāpur, from the lips of Mahtābō, a cook-woman, and literally translated.



that brayed." "You lie," said the king, "I will go and ask him myself." When the king asked the sentry he made the same answer. So the king came back and said to the queen:—"You must leave this to-morrow morning."

Next morning the queen went off in her litter and at last reached a jungle. Through excess of grief she had not slept a wink the whole night, and was so tired that she fell asleep in the litter. Then the bearers, seeing night coming and in dread of the wild animals, quietly put the litter on the ground and ran away. When the queen awoke, finding herself alone and hearing the roaring of the wild beasts, she trembled and closed the doors of the litter. As night advanced tigers, bears and wolves roared all round her, and she lay inside trembling with fear.

When morning broke all the beasts of the forest went back to their dens, and she got up and prayed to God to appoint her some place where she could live in quiet, and get bread and water for her support. The Lord heard her prayers, and when she got out of the litter she saw a house inside a dense thicket. Going there she found that it had only a single door, which was locked. Looking about she saw the key hanging on a peg. When she opened the door, she went in and found a lot of property lying scattered about. So she locked the door thinking "the house may belong to some demon (*dédô*), and if he sees me he will kill me."

When evening came a *faqir*, to whom the house belonged, arrived and found the door locked. He knocked and said: "Open the door. Who has dared to shut up my house?" The queen made no answer, and did not open the door. When he got tired of knocking, the *faqir* said: "Whether you are a *jinn*, or a *pari*, or a *dédô*, or a human being, open the door, and I won't hurt you." Then the queen told him the whole story and said: "Promise that we shall live as father and daughter; then I will open the door." So the *faqir* made the promise and said: "I will give you half of all I get by begging." The queen then opened the door, the *faqir* went in, and they lived there for some time happily.

Now when the queen left home she was with child, and after some time gave birth to a son, who was very beautiful. When the boy was three or four years old, one day the queen took him to bathe on the sea shore. As she was bathing him a merchant's ship appeared, and when the merchant saw the queen, he desired to take her with him. But she refused. Then the merchant secretly showed the boy some sweetmeats and the boy ran up to him. The merchant seized him and put him into the ship, and loosed it from the shore. Seeing this the queen wept violently and implored him to give back her son. The merchant said: "I will restore him only on condition that you come with me." When the queen saw that he would not restore the child and was taking him off, through affection for the boy she agreed to go; but when the merchant desired to take her to wife she refused. The merchant thought that if he killed the child she would marry him, so after going some distance he stopped the ship, and with a pretence of great affection took the boy with him and pitched him into a well. When he returned to the ship the queen asked where her child was; he said: "I don't know. I took him a short way with me, but he turned back to you, and now I can wait here no longer." The queen was sure he had killed her son, and began to weep and bewail.

Now the fairies lived in the well into which the little prince had been thrown. They took him up in their arms and carried him quietly to their house. For two or three days the boy was quite happy, but then he began to cry and wanted to go back to his mother. But the fairies warned him,—"Don't go there, for the merchant will kill you." But he would not mind them. Then the fairies gave him two sticks, one white and the other black, and said: "When you smell the black stick you will become white as a leper, and when again you smell the white one you will get all right. So when you see your mother's ship, smell the black stick. If you don't, the merchant will take your life."

The moment the young prince got out of the well he ran in the direction where the ship had gone. The merchant from a distance saw him through his telescope(!) and recognised him. Then he got off the ship, took a sword and cut off his head, and then went on board again.



When night fell the prince was so lovely that light streamed from his face. By chance that night **Father Adam and Eve** (*Bábá Adam, Hawwá*) were flying towards that jungle. Eve looked down, and when she saw the light that came from his face, she said to Adam: "What light is this? Let us go and see." Adam replied: "This is the world, and it is sometimes light and sometimes dark; come along." Eve said: "No! I must see this light." So they both flew down, and when she saw the boy, Eve took great pity on him, and cutting her finger let a couple of drops of blood fall on his head and trunk; then the boy came to life again. Then Eve said to him: "Smell the black stick; if you don't perhaps the merchant will see you again and kill you." So the boy smelled the stick and became white as a leper and went off in search of his mother.

So at last he reached the land where his mother was, and the king of that land had a great love of hearing stories. Begging his way along the boy reached the king's palace, and the people said to him: "Lad, do you know any tales? If you can tell him a story the king will be much pleased and give you a reward." The boy said, "Yes! I do know a story; if the king hears it he will be delighted." The people gave him something to eat and entertained him kindly till the evening; and when it was night the king sat in his place and beside him sat the merchant; the king's wife, and the merchant's wife, and the boy's mother and several wives of the lords sat behind seven screens, and the boy was brought forward.

So he began to tell his mother's story and his own — how his mother was married, and how his father had turned her away, and how his mother bore sorrow in the jungle and how she came to the *faqir*, and how he was born, and how the merchant deceived his mother and threw him into the well, and how he got out of it, and how the merchant had killed him, and how he came to life, and how he changed his form by smelling the stick.

And as he went on telling the story his mother's heart became the more affected, and at last she said: "Bravo! boy! you have well said! Raise one of the screens." And by the time the boy had finished the tale all the seven screens had been raised. At last the prince said:—"I am the boy," and his mother said: "Smell the other stick." He did so and came to his own shape, and his mother fell on his neck and wept, and said:—"I never hoped to see you again." Then the king rose from his place and embraced them both; for, of course, he was the prince's father; and he turned out his wicked queen, and had the merchant executed, and he and his queen and the prince lived happily ever after.

## MISCELLANEA.

## TWO FURTHER PANDYA DATES.

## No. 1.

In continuation of a note which appeared in the April part of this *Journal* (*ante*, p. 121 f.) I subjoin another date which deserves to be calculated by an expert. For an impression of the record which contains the date, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, I. C. S. The original is stated to be inscribed on the second *gōpura* of the Śaiva temple at Tirukkalukkuṅgam, "the sacred hill of the kites," or Pakshitirtha,<sup>1</sup> in the Chingleput district.

1 Svasti Samasta-jagad-ādhāra Sōmakula-tilaka Madhurāpurī-Mādhava Kēraḷa-varṇāni[rmāḍ]āna Lankādvīpa-luṅṭana-dvitiya-

Rāma Chōlakula-śaila-kulīśa Karṇāṭarāja-vidrā-vaṇa Kāṭhaka(ka)-kari-kūṭapāka[ā] vīvidha-ripu-durgga-marḍana Vira-Kaṇṭha-Kōpāla-vipina-dā-

2 vadahana Kāūchi-puravar-ādhiśvara-Gaṇapati-haripa-śārdḍōla Nellārapura-(vi)vīrachita-vir[ā\*]bhishēka pra[ṇa]ta-rāja-pratiśṭāpaka<sup>2</sup> mahārājādhi(rā)rāja-paramēśvara Tribhuvana-chakrava[r]ttiga[l] śrī-Sundara-Paṇḍiya-dēvaṅkku yā[n]ḍu 9Avadu Ishava-nā[ya]ṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m So[v\*]vāy-kkila-

3 maiyum peṅga Puṇarpōsattu nāl.

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Paṇḍyadēva, *etc.*," — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Punarvasu, which corresponded to Tues-

<sup>1</sup> Read *pratiśṭāpaka*.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of the Sanskrit *virūdas* is omitted, as they are the same as *ante*, p. 121.

<sup>1</sup> On the legends connected with this village see *ante*, Vol. X. p. 193 f. Mr. Venkayya has published three inscriptions from Tirukkalukkuṅgam in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for October 1890 and April 1892.



day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Rishabha*."

The above inscription must belong to the same reign as the *Jambukésvara* inscription of *Jaṭavarman*, alias *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*,<sup>4</sup> because the same *birudas* are applied to the king in both. A third date of a king *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva* who bore the surname *Jaṭavarman*, appears to be contained in an inscription at *Vikkiramaṅgalam* in the *Madura* district.<sup>5</sup> But I am unable to vouch for the correctness of the published transcript, as I have no impressions at hand.

#### No. 2.

The following date occurs at the beginning of an inscription on the East wall of the second *prākāra* of the *Raṅganātha* temple at *Srirāṅgam* near *Trichinopoly*.

1 . . . . . *Sri-kō-Mārapaṇmar-āṇa*  
*Tiribuvanaachakkaravatt[i]gaḷ*      *Sōṇāḍu*  
*vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-*  
*var[k\*]ku yāṇḍu oṇḍādāvu*

2 *Mēsha-nāyargu apara-pakshattu tṛitīyai-*  
*yum Velli-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Viśāgattu nāḷ.*

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious king *Māṇavarman*, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*, who was pleased to distribute the *Chōḷa* country (among *Brāhmaṇas*), — on the day of (the *nakshatra*) *Viśākhā*, which corresponded to Friday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mēsha*."

The *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* of this inscription calls himself *Māṇavarman*, while that of the *Jambukésvara* inscription bore the surname *Jaṭavarman*. Accordingly, the two kings must be considered as distinct from each other. To the reign of *Māṇavarman* belongs the *Tirupparaṅkunram* cave-inscription, which is dated "on the three-hundred-and-twenty-fifth day of the seventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king *Māṇavarman*, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*, who was pleased to distribute the *Chōḷa* country;"<sup>6</sup> and the smaller *Tiruppvāṇam* grant, which is dated in the eleventh year, and refers to the tenth year, of "*Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*, who distributed the *Chōḷa* country."<sup>7</sup>

E. HULTZSCH.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

##### 'NO' AS A WORD OF ILL-OMEN IN BENGAL.

Mr. K. Srikanthaliyār, *ante*, p. 93, mentions that 'No' is a word of ill-omen among the *Kōmaṭis* in Southern India. In certain circumstances it is equally so in Bengal. No one will admit that there is no rice in the house, for fear of offending *Annapūrṇā*, the goddess of the Corn and also of the Kitchen. The fact of the rice having

run short is intimated by saying with significance 'the rice has increased' (*baḍontā*). *Annapūrṇā* is represented by the rice in the house, and in her hands the rice-ladle should never fail to supply all guests, however numerous. In this way she is peculiarly the symbol of Hindu hospitality.

Calcutta.

GAURDAS BYSACK.

#### BOOK-NOTICE.

COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century A. D., by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., R.E., London, B. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly. 1891. Octavo, pp. ix. and 118, with 13 autotype plates, and a Map.

This work of Sir A. Cunningham is the first book which deals systematically with the coins of Ancient Northern India as a whole, and is thus assured of a warm welcome from all Indian coin collectors and numismatists. The richness of the author's cabinet and his unrivalled experience necessarily bestow on the book a distinctive value which could not be given to a work on the same subject by any other writer.

<sup>4</sup> *ante*, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. pp. 18-20.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Nāṭhā Śāstrī (*ibid.* p. 45, text lines 48 ff.) reads: *Sri Kōmārapaṇmarāṇa Tribhuvanachakravattigaḷ Śēra-ṇāḍu-vaḷaṅgi-yaruḷiya Śri-Sundaravarumadēvarṅku yāṇḍu* [i]ḍadu nāḷ munnārr-irupatt-andiṇḍāḷ, while the original

The preface and the first forty-one pages of the treatise deal with metrology, the origin of coinage, and the Indian alphabets. In this part of his book the author reiterates many of the opinions on matters in dispute which he has frequently expressed in his other publications. Some of the positions maintained by him are open to attack, but for the present I pass these by, and proceed to consider the seventy-seven pages which describe the coins of ancient India.

The well-known coins of the Satraps of *Surāshtra* and of the Gupta dynasty are not discussed by the author, as they have recently been

has *Sri-kō-Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachakravattigaḷ Śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgi-yaruḷiya śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṅku yāṇḍu* [i]ḍadu nāḷ munnārr-irubatt-aṇḍiṇḍāḷ.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *śēraṇāḍu aḷaṅkanar Sundarapāṇḍiyadēvarṅku yāṇḍu* [i]ḍadu (ibid. p. 37, reverse of the Plate, I. 1), the facsimile (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 143) reads *Śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgi* [i]ḍadu *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṅku yāṇḍu* [pa]tt[āṇḍi]ḍu.



fully described in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* by the late Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal, Mr. E. J. Rapson, and the writer of this notice. In a second volume Sir A. Cunningham hopes to deal with the coins of Mediæval India from A. D. 600 down to the Muḥammadan conquest, including the coinages of (1) the Rājās of Kāśmīr, (2) the Shāhis of Gandhāra, (3) the Kalachuris of Chēdi, (4) the Chandēllas of Mahōba, (5) the Tōmaras of Delhi, (6) the Chauhāns of Ajmīr, (7) the later coins of the Sisōdiyas of Mēwār, and (8) those of the Pundirs of Kāngrā.

This is an extensive programme, and all numismatists will anxiously expect the promised volume.

The early punch-marked and cast coins form the first group described in the volume under review, but the section expressly dealing with them is not exhaustive, many punch-marked and cast coins being dealt with in other parts of the book. It is a great pity that Sir A. Cunningham did not prepare an index; for, small though his treatise is, it is full of matter, and an attentive reader finds it very troublesome to be compelled to note for himself all the cross references which require to be made.

Notes of time, marking more or less closely the date of punch-marked coins, are rare. The author records two of interest. On the authority of the late Sir E. C. Bayley he observes that a few much worn specimens of the punch-marked class were found in company with hemidrachms of Antimachus II., Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialcidas, and Menander.

The second note of time is afforded by the fact that three worn silver punch-marked coins, weighing respectively 34, 35, and 42 grains were found "in the deposit at the foot of the Vajrāsana, or throne of Buddha, in the temple of Mahābōdhi at Buddha Gayā. As this deposit was made about A. D. 150, during the reign of the Indo-Seythian king Huvishka, we learn that punch-marked coins were still in circulation at that time." This inference nobody will dispute, and coins of the kind may have continued to circulate much later in some parts of the country. The issues of Gupta silver coins did not begin before A. D. 400, and it is probable that the silver punch-marked coins remained in circulation up to that date in Northern India, and possibly even later. But I cannot accept the argument by which Sir A. Cunningham tries to fix the Buddha Gayā coins to a date of about B.C. 450. His words are:—"The three coins weigh 111 grains, giving an average of only 37 grains. But, as the general average of upwards of 800 of these coins from all parts of India is upwards of 47 grains, I

am willing to accept a loss of 10 grains [*scilicet*, from 56, the assumed normal full weight] in about 600 years circulation, or, roughly, from B. C. 450 to A. D. 150, as very exceptional. These three coins show a loss of upwards of 3 grains per century, while the average loss of these punch-marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century. It must be remembered that they were all hardened with copper alloy."

The assumption that the normal wear and tear of such pieces was a grain and a half in a century, seems to me rather arbitrary. It would be difficult to quote an example of any class of coins remaining in circulation for 600 years; and small silver coins would be completely worn away long before the expiration of six centuries.

British rupees forty or fifty years old are often withdrawn because they have lost more than two per cent in half a century, or, say, from five to six per cent of weight in a century, and I can see no reason why the rate of loss in the case of punch-marked coins should be assumed to be less. Three grains out of fifty-six is approximately six per cent, and that might be taken as the minimum possible rate of loss for the small thin punch-marked coins, which would wear much quicker than English made rupees. Every one knows that four-anna pieces wear out very quickly, and could not be kept in circulation for a single century. It seems to me that B. C. 200 is a much more likely date than B. C. 450 for the Buddha Gayā coins, and even that may be too early. I can find no reason for the belief of Sir A. Cunningham (page 43) that some of the punch-marked coins may be as old as B. C. 1000. I agree, however, with him that there is nothing to indicate foreign influence on coins of this class, and that the evidence clearly points to their being an Indian invention.

The conjecture that some of the punched symbols may have been private marks of ancient money changers, is plausible.

The punch-marked copper coins (page 59), are much rarer than the silver ones, and at least one-half of those that Sir A. Cunningham has seen, "are simple forgeries of the silver coins, which betray themselves by their weight (that of the fifty grain [*sic*] *kāśha*), and sometimes by the silver still adhering to them." Similar forgeries or imitations exist in the Gupta series, and in many other ancient coinages.

On page 60, in the account of the cast coins, two slips of the pen have escaped correction.



The word "bulls" should be "balls," and the statement that "No. 28 . . . is of six different sizes, weighing respectively 107, 76, 26, and 11 grains," requires amendment.

The account of the coins of Taxila, illustrated by two entire plates, is valuable. A series of rare inscribed coins found only at that place (now Shâh ki dhêri in the Râwalpindi District) bears the legend *négama* (or, in one instance, *wigama*) in Indian characters of the Aśoka period. On some coins the word is written *nékama* in Gandharian (*i. e.* Arian, or Kharôshtri) letters. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to interpret this word as the name of a coin, comparing it with the Greek *νόμισμα*, but this suggestion does not seem to be correct.

The word *négama* (*i. e.* *naigamdh*), occurs in the Bhatiprôlu Stûpa inscription lately discovered by Mr. Rea in the Kistna (Krishnâ) District, Madras, and is interpreted by Dr. Bühler (*Academy for 28th May 1892, page 522*) to mean "members of a guild." That inscription appears to belong to the age of Aśoka, or a time very little later, and the word *négama*, (*nigama*, or *nékama*) on the coins, which seem to date from the same period, should, in the absence of good reason to the contrary, be interpreted in the same way. The word *négama* (including the variant spellings) on the coins is associated with an unmistakable figure of a steelyard balance, and also with the words *dôjaka*, *râlimata*, and *antarôtaka*, of which the meaning seems to be at present unknown. Sir A. Cunningham's etymological speculations concerning these legends do not command assent.

The very rare coins bearing the legend Odumbara or Odumbarisa, which have been found only in the Kângrâ District, have already been noticed in the *Archæological Reports* (Vol. V. p. 154, and XIV. p. 116.). Only two silver pieces are known, and the number of copper specimens is variously stated by the author in the same paragraph as five and seven. The silver pieces give the name of Râjâ Dhara Ghôsha in Pâli and Kharôshtri characters. One of these coins is in the Lahore Museum, and was found in company with Kuninda coins and hemidrachms of Apollodotus, who reigned about B. C. 100.

The coins of Amôghabhûti, king of Kuninda, have been frequently published, but only five specimens of the Siva type are known. The name Kuninda was first correctly read by Sir A. Cunningham many years ago. The late Mr. Thomas committed himself at one time to very rash speculations about the interpretation of the legend of these coins.

The local coins of the ancient city Kôsâmbi, near Allâhâbâd, appear to comprise the issues of at least four princes, namely, Bahasata Mitra, Aśva Ghôsha, Jêtha Mitra, and Dhana Dêva. The connection of the first named ruler with Kôsâmbi is proved by the occurrence of an inscription of his in the neighbourhood. The coin legends do not include the name of the town, and I presume that the proof of the connection between Kôsâmbi and the other three rulers named rests chiefly on unpublished evidence as to the find spots of their coins. Coins of Dhana Dêva are recorded to have been found at Ayôdhyâ (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. I. p. 319). His coins are stated to be very numerous.

Plate vi. is devoted to the illustration of coins ascribed to the Yaudhêya tribe, now represented by the Jôhiyas along the Satluj River and in the Salt Range. The coins numbered 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13, of the Plate include the name Yaudhêya in their legends. I cannot perceive any reason for ascribing the single-die coin No. 1 with common Buddhist symbols to the Yaudhêyas, and the same remark applies to the broken coin No. 5, but the ascription of the remaining pieces (with the doubtful exception of No. 14), is satisfactorily established. The small copper coins, in two sizes, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, have on the obverse a humped bull to right, approaching a Bôdhi tree with railing, with the legend *Yaudhêyand* (or *ni*), and on the reverse an elephant walking to right, with Buddhist symbols. This class of small copper coins is believed to date from about the first century B. C. I would name it the Bull and Elephant Type. Figures 6, 7, and 8 represent large copper coins, with a mean weight of 172 grains, which form a totally distinct class, copied from the Indo-Scythian money, and apparently later in date than A. D. 300. The obverse shows an armed figure standing to front, with spear in right hand, and left hand on hip, cock in field to right. Legend in old Nâgarî characters: *Yaudhêya ganasya jaya*. In one instance the word *dvi*, and, in another, the word *tri* follows *jaya*. The reverse is occupied by a standing male figure and sundry symbols.

This type may be called the Javelin Type, which name has been generally accepted for the corresponding class of Gupta coins. The legend shows that these coins are those of the Yaudhêya tribe or clan.

Figure 9 represents a silver coin, apparently the only one known in that metal, which belongs to a third completely distinct type. The author remarks that this piece and certain related copper coins (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13) "are, perhaps, of a



slightly later date." They seem to me to be considerably later in date, and not earlier than A. D. 500.

They are characterized by the rude six-headed male figure on the obverse, which is probably intended for Kārttikēya, son of Śiva, and god of war, and may be conveniently named the **Kārttikēya Type**. The legend on the silver piece is *Bhḡgavatō Svāmīna Brāhmaṇa Yaudhēya*, and that on some of the copper coins is *Bhḡgavata Svāmīna Brāhmaṇa Dēvaśya*.

The obverse device of Figure 14 is simply a snake, with the legend *Bhānu Varma*, and the ascription of this piece to the Yaudhēyas does not appear to be certain.

The Yaudhēya coins deserve further investigation and illustration.

If space permitted, Sir A. Cunningham's description of the Coins of Pañchāla (Northern Rohilkhand), Mathurā, and Ayōdhya should receive a long discussion; but it is impossible to treat the subject adequately in a review. The coins of the Mitra dynasty, characterized by the incuse square obverse, generally ascribed to the Śuṅga kings, are regarded by the author as the issues of a local dynasty, inasmuch "as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla, which would not be the case, did they belong to the paramount dynasty of Śuṅgas." The princes with the cognomen of Mitra who issued these coins, are Dhruva Mitra, Śūrya Mitra, Phalguni Mitra, Bhānu Mitra, Bhūmi Mitra, Agni Mitra, Jaya Mitra, Indra Mitra, and Viṣṇu Mitra: — a very remarkable series of names. The names of Bhadrā Ghōṣa and Viśva Pāla also occur.

The well-known Horse and Bull coins of Satya Mitra, Śūrya Mitra, and Vijaya Mitra, as well as the closely related coins of Saṅgha (Mitra) are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Ayōdhya issues. But I am by no means certain that the same Śūrya Mitra did not issue both the Incuse Square and the Horse and Bull coins. It is certainly a mistake to say that the Incuse Square coins are "very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla." I have myself three coins of Indra Mitra found in Oudh, and Mr. J. Hooper, B.C.S., has many other coins of the same class, obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of Ayōdhya. Coins of this class are also found in Basti and the other districts adjoining Oudh, where the Horse and Bull coins likewise occur. Certain princes, with the cognomen Mitra, namely **Gō Mitra** and **Brahma Mitra** issued coins which are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Mathurā issues. These various Mitra coins require, and

would, I think, repay detailed study and investigation.

The Mathurā coins of the Satraps Hagā-māsha and Hagāna (page 87) are now, I believe, published for the first time.

The chapters dealing with the coins of Ujain and Ēraṇ are very interesting, but the greater part of their contents has already been published in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, and I must refrain from discussing them. The coin from Ēraṇ figured as No. 18 in Plate xi. is, however, too remarkable to be passed over. It "is a thick rude piece of copper, weighing 171 grains. It bears the name of Dhama Pālasini, written reversedly [scilicet, from right to left] in large Asōka characters of early date." This legend may be older than the inscriptions of Asōka. Sir A. Cunningham includes in his work a brief account of the Andhra coins on the ground that the Andhra kings claim in their inscriptions to have extended their sway far to the north of the Nerbada River, and may thus be reckoned among the dynasties of Northern India, with which the book is concerned. Sir A. Cunningham adopts Dr. Bühler's results (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 272), as regards the succession and chronology of the Andhra monarchs.

The coins, which are generally made of lead, fall into two main classes, the Western, from the neighbourhood of Kōlhāpur, and the Southern, from the neighbourhood of Amarāvati on the Kṛishṇā (Kistna) River. The Western coins are mostly characterized by the obverse device of a bow, with arrow fixed. The Southern coins have for leading obverse device a horse, elephant, *stūpa* (*chaitya*), lion, or two-masted ship; and for reverse device the cross and balls, characteristic of the coinage of Ujain. Sir A. Cunningham observes that "one specimen has an elephant;" but I possess nine small leaden coins from the Kṛishṇā District, given me by Dr. Hultzsch, all of which seem to bear the elephant obverse device. They are very rude coins.

Three of the kings also coined in copper, using the Bow and Arrow device, and one silver coin struck by Yajña Śātakarṇi, resembling the Satrap coinage of Surāshṭra, was found in the *stūpa* of Sōpāra.

The concluding section of the book is devoted to a brief discussion of the coinage of Nēpāl. Sir A. Cunningham accepts "with perfect confidence" the determination of the chronology by Dr. Bühler, whose results are very different from those at which Dr. Fleet arrived. Dr. Fleet thought that the Śūryavamśi Licchhavi dynasty



ruled simultaneously with the Thākuri dynasty, whereas Dr. Bühler, interpreting differently the dates of certain inscriptions, holds that the Lichchhavi dynasty ended after A. D. 634, and was succeeded about A. D. 640 by the Thākuri dynasty, founded by Thākur Amsuvarman.

The coins, which are all copper, ranging in weight from 95 to 250 grains, bear the names of Mānāka, Gunāka, Vaiśravaṇa, Amsuvarman, Jishnugupta, and Paśupati. Three of these coins had long ago been published by Prinsep and Sir A. Cunningham, and several of the types were published by Dr. Hoernle and myself for the first time in 1887 (*Proc. A. S. Bengal*), amended readings being given in the same periodical for the following year. The coins then described were from a find presented to me by Dr. Gimlette, and are now divided between the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Hoernle, and myself. Colonel Warren's coins, some of which are figured and described by Sir A. Cunningham, have been recently acquired by the British Museum. The approximate date, A. D. 640, of Amsuvarman's coins is certain, but the dates and order of the other coins are far from being settled. In fact the Népāl coinage requires to be worked out in a separate monograph before it can be satisfactorily treated in brief. In describing the coins of Mānāka and Gunāka, Sir A. Cunningham transposes the terms obverse and reverse. There can be no doubt that the side occupied by the seated goddess is, as in the Gupta coinage, properly denominated the reverse.

No one can be more grateful than I am to Sir A. Cunningham for giving to numismatic students the first intelligible guide-book to the numerous groups of miscellaneous early Indian coins, or can appreciate better the knowledge and learning displayed in the small book under review. But it is a reviewer's business to criticize, and I may be pardoned for pointing out some defects. M. Ed. Drouin, when criticizing my work on the Gupta coinage, complained with justice that the autotype figures in the plates are often unsatisfactory. The same criticism applies with much greater force to the plates in this work, the coins figured being frequently much worn copper pieces, of which the photographs are necessarily very indistinct. In many instances the more expensive and troublesome process of engraving from drawings would have given far better results.

This review has run to such a length that it is impossible to discuss the introductory sections of the book, but a few dubious statements may be noted. Modern scholars do not generally accept the date "from 600 to 543 B. C." for the lifetime

of Buddha (page 3). On page 20 the statement is repeated in the form that "Buddha's death is placed in the middle of the sixth century B. C."

The observations on the derivation of the term *tanika* in pages 24-26 will hardly command general acceptance. The date 84 (page 37) for the Hasht-nagar inscription appears to be incorrect. I think it may safely be asserted that the date is either 274 or 284, as read by Dr. Bühler, and originally by Sir A. Cunningham.

On page 49 the small gold coins of Southern India, known by the name of *hūn*, are said to average 52 grains, the weight being adjusted to that of the *kañju* seed, which is "over 50 grains." On page 51 the *hūns* are said to have been "intended for half *dīndra* of the Roman standard"; and, on the same page, the *hūn* is declared to be "the original gold *karsha* of 57.6 grains, which has now dwindled down to 52 and 53 grains," and ten of the older *hūns* are said to give an average of 55 grains. These statements, which are not altogether consistent, appear to require revision. I do not see how the weight of the *hūn* can be derived from that of the *kañju* seed of "over 50 grains," a purely indigenous measure, and also be copied from the Roman *dīndra* standard.

The citation of the legend of the purchase of the Jētavana garden to prove the antiquity of "square Indian coins" (page 53) suggests the criticism, first, that Sir A. Cunningham much antedates Buddha, secondly, that the representations in the sculptures prove nothing as to the facts in the time of Buddha, but only indicate what seemed to the sculptor a suitable way for representing a payment, and, thirdly, that early square gold coins are not known to exist. The legend illustrated by the sculpture refers to gold coins.

I am glad to see that Sir A. Cunningham has ceased to use the values 1.75 grain and 140 grains for the *rati* and *suvāṇa* respectively, and now uses the much more correct values 1.8 and 144. The values 1.825 and 146 which I have employed in my publications, are perhaps more strictly correct, but 1.8 and 144 are sufficiently accurate, and form a very convenient basis for a table of weights.

On page 53 the words "eight *ratis*, or 140 grains," should be read "eighty *ratis*, or 144 grains." On the same page it is stated that the Jētavana story "will be found in the appendix," but there is no appendix.

V. A. SMITH.

Cheltenham,  
22 June 1892.



## THE THIRD INSTALMENT OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

**I**N the present paper I publish that portion of the Bower Manuscript, which contains the short treatise, referred to *ante*, p. 129, on conjuration or the use of magic spells.

This portion consists of four leaves. In shape they are exactly like those previously published; but they are of a somewhat smaller size, measuring only 9 by 2 inches. There is also an appreciable difference in their material; it is not so brittle as in the other parts of the manuscript, but feels tough and supple. A different preparation of the bark would seem to have been used for these leaves. A specimen, being the obverse of the third leaf, is published in the lower part of Plate III., issued with the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for November 1891.

The treatise, to which the four leaves belong, is referred to in my paper "On the Date of the Bower Manuscript" (*ante*, p. 29)<sup>1</sup> as "the third portion C." I have there ascribed the writing of this portion, which is in a large and somewhat slovenly hand, to a scribe distinct from those that wrote the portions published in my first and second instalments. On closer examination, however, and further consideration, I do not feel now quite so sure on this point. It is just possible that the portions published in my second and in the present instalments may be the products of the same scribe, the second portion being written by him in a careful calligraphic hand, but the third in a hurried and rather slovenly manner.

The test letter here is the palatal *ś*, which, both in the second and third portions, has the form of a straight-lined square with a circular loop at the lower left-hand corner, while in the first portion it is a square with a rounded top and a minute forked tail in the place of the loop. In the third portion, in keeping with its more slovenly character, the loop is sometimes left more or less open, and the top-line of the square more or less indented. In fact this indentation is seen in most letters that have a top-line; it is well shown, *e.g.*, in the akshara *grā* of *saṃgrāma* in the 5th line (fl. IIIa<sup>5</sup>). On the figured page, unfortunately, the palatal *ś* occurs only once, in *yaśasvinah*, in the 4th line (fl. IIIa<sup>4</sup>), where the *ś* shows the open loop, but a straight top. This distinction in the shape of the *ś* is quite sufficient to show that the writing of the second and third portions belongs to one and the same class, as distinguished from the writing of the first portion. That it belongs not only to the same class but to the same scribe is shown by another significant circumstance connected with the same palatal letter *ś*. Occasionally this letter assumes, in the third portion, a very cursive form, in which the loop is connected with the top-stroke, so that the whole letter can be drawn with no more than two strokes of the pen, thus *Q* (*e.g.*, in *śāntayś* IIIb<sup>6</sup>, *yaśamitrasya* IIIb<sup>6</sup>). Now in one or two places in the second instalment a few letters are inserted between the lines of calligraphic writing, to supply blundered omissions. These inserted letters are written not calligraphically, like the rest of the writing, but in a hurried, slovenly hand, strikingly resembling the hand of the third portion. In one of these interpolations, *na śāntayā* in fl. IIIb<sup>1</sup> (*ante*, p. 139), the letter *ś* occurs and is there drawn in precisely the same very current form which is peculiar to the third portion. This fact seems clearly to prove, that, if not the writer, at all events the reviser, of the second portion was identical with the writer of the third portion. But there is no reason why the writer of the second portion should have been a different person from its reviser. It is at least equally probable that the same person, who at first wrote his manuscript in a calligraphic hand, afterwards made the corrections in a more hurried and cursive hand, — *viz.*, the same in which he wrote another manuscript (*i.e.*, the third portion).

When it is observed that both the second and third portions have this in common, that they never use the transitional or modern forms of *y*, but exclusively the old tripartite form, — it further tends to make probable the identity of the scribes of those two portions. Add to this,

<sup>1</sup> Also in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LX., Part I., pp. 80, 81.



that the writing of the third portion also agrees with that of the second in the matter of the hook attached to the bottom of the main perpendicular (see *ante*, p. 129).

The leaves are again of varying thickness. The first has three, the third has six, and the second and fourth have each four layers.

This portion of the Manuscript is complete. It commences at the top of the obverse of the first leaf and concludes with the second line on the reverse of the fourth leaf, the remainder of which is left blank. The treatise which it contains relates a Buddhist tradition: how on the occasion of a novice, named Svāti, being bitten by a cobra, Buddha, who was then living in Anāthapiṇḍada's garden in Jētavana near Śrāvastī, gave a curative spell (*śānti-svastyayana*)<sup>2</sup> against snake-bite to his disciple Ānanda for the purpose of saving Svāti. The introduction, which is written in prose, extends as far as the middle of the last line on the obverse of the second leaf. It first relates the occasion on which the spell was given, and next enumerates all the dangers or diseases against which the spell may be put in practice. Then follows the great spell, which is composed partly in verse (*śloka*), partly in prose. The intelligible portions are in verse, while the unintelligible jargon, consisting mostly of alliterating or rhyming words, is in prose. The spell ends in the fifth line on the obverse of the fourth leaf. It is called the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and described as a *vidyārājā*, or "queen of the magic art." *Mahāmāyūrī*, I notice, is said in the abridged Petersburg Dictionary to be "the proper name of one of the five talismans and of one of the five tutelary goddesses of the Buddhists." The present treatise shows it to be the name of a spell. From the fact of the mention, before the commencement of the spell (fl. Ib<sup>3</sup>), of the ligature to be placed on the bitten part, I conclude that the saying of the spell was intended to accompany the operation of tying the ligature. See further remarks on this subject in Appendix III to this paper.

The spell is followed by the conclusion, which is again in prose. This consists of a series of salutations addressed to Buddha and Buddhism, under various synonyms, and of good wishes addressed to a certain "Yaśamitra" (for Yaśōmitra). This would seem to be the name of either the composer of the treatise, or of the person on whose behalf it was composed. Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, I find, gives it as "the name of a Buddhist author;" but in the abridged Petersburg Dictionary it is only noted as the name of various persons in Jain tradition.

A fragment of this portion of the Manuscript,—that on the obverse of the third leaf—was published by me in the April, 1891, *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 60, 61. It was also published, about the same time, and independently of me, by Professor Bühler in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., pp. 106, 108, and in the *Academy* of the 15th August 1891, pp. 138, 139. His reading and translation were reviewed by Mr. R. Morris in the *Academy* of the 29th August 1891, pp. 178, 179, and by Dr. A. Stein in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., pp. 343–345. Mr. Morris, in his review, has given valuable identifications of some of those *Nāgarājas*, whose names occur on fl. IIIa. In Appendix I to this paper I have added such further information, as I have been able to gather from the literature of the Northern Buddhists available to me, on all those whose names occur in the second part of the spell. But perhaps Mr. Morris and other Buddhist scholars, whose acquaintance with that literature is more intimate than mine, may feel disposed to supplement this information, which, I need hardly say, will be gratefully acknowledged by me in the edition I am preparing for the Government of India.

Professor Bühler, who interprets the term *gōlā* (fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup>; see also fl. IIb<sup>4</sup>) as the same as *Gōdāvarī*, the well-known river in the Dekhan, accordingly considers it probable that the snake-charm was composed in Southern India. I cannot agree with this opinion; I have given my reasons, in a note to the translation, showing that *gōlā* cannot be a proper name, but must be a common noun, meaning 'district.' Nothing, therefore, can be extracted from this word to indicate the locality of the composition of the spell. Dr. Stein, on the other hand, suggests that

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, Appendix III. The term corresponds to the German *Heilspruch*.



the charm was probably composed in Kaśmīr, because most of the names, occurring on fl. IIIa, are those of well-known Nāgas or Sacred Springs of that country. It will be interesting to learn, now that I have published the whole of the *mantra*, whether any more, and how many, of the names in the list occur in the Nīlamata Purāṇa as those of springs in Kaśmīr. The fact that the manuscript was undoubtedly written in Kaśmīr, or in an adjoining country, naturally raises a presumption that the charm contained in it may have been composed in the same locality. On the other hand, there is the circumstance that the names of the Nāga kings, mentioned in the spell, are, as Mr. Morris has shown, the common property of the whole of Northern Buddhism, and probably also of the Southern.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Bühler suggests that the *mantra* is "a charm which is intended to force the Nāgas or snake-deities to send rain." The portion of it contained on fol. IIIa certainly supports this interpretation; and Mr. Morris quotes a similar list of names of Nāgas from a Chinese "rain-asking-sūtra." I was disposed to hold the same opinion at first, but gave it up when I came to read the whole of the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The introduction shows unmistakably that the *mantra* is intended to be a charm against snake-bite, for Ānanda was to pronounce it over Svāti in order to cure him of the bite of a cobra; and this is also clearly implied in the final words "from all poisons," in the concluding sentences. Its real character of a snake-charm is also clearly shown by its identity with the snake-charm in the Jātaka book, of which I give an account in Appendix II. At the same time the charm would seem to be intended to be a protection against all sorts of ills and troubles. I take this to be the meaning of the long list of evils given in the introduction as well as in the conclusion. Still there is clearly a prayer for rain expressed in the two first lines of fol. IIIa. For the presence of this prayer in a snake-charm I can give no satisfactory explanation; though the prayer was, no doubt, suggested by the fact that the Nāgas are also looked upon as water-deities, residing in springs or lakes.

As a curiosity I may note, that the word *jaṅgamā*, occurring at the end of verse 15, on fl. IVa<sup>3</sup>, appears to be a gloss of the scribe, added to explain the meaning of the word *trāsa*. *Trāsa* properly means 'fear' or 'fearful,' but it is sometimes used erroneously in the place of *trasa*, which means 'movable,' as opposed to *sthāvara* 'immovable' or 'stationary.' The object of adding the gloss would seem to have been to prevent a misunderstanding of the meaning of *trāsa*, which, however, was obvious enough in the context. That the word is not a genuine part of the text, but a mere gloss, is shown by its being extraneous to the metre of both verses 15 and 16.

Of two curious parallels which I have discovered, (one in the Jātaka book, the other in old Indian medical books), I have given a full account in the Appendices II. and III. respectively. The credit of the discovery in the Jātaka book, however, is really due to Professor Bühler, who first pointed out<sup>5</sup> the occurrence, in the *Khandhavatta Jātaka*, of the name Chabhyāputra, and who would, of course, have noticed the more extended agreement, if he had had the full text of our spell before him at the time when he wrote his paper.

The state of the text and the character of the composition in this part of the manuscript are similar to those in the other parts which I have published. There is a considerable number of clerical blunders and omissions. To mention some of the most obvious of different kinds: we have *namō kṭayē* for *namō stu mukṭayē*, fl. IVa<sup>6</sup>; *ḍaharaḥ staruṇaḥ* for *ḍaharaḥ taruṇaḥ* or *ḍaharas=taruṇaḥ*, fl. Ia<sup>2</sup>; *ētaḍ=avācha* for *ētaḍ=uvācha*, fl. Ib<sup>1</sup>; *śulam* for *śūlam*, fl. IIa<sup>5</sup>; *vāsukind* for *vāsukind*, fl. IIIa<sup>3</sup>. Sometimes anusvāras are inserted where they should not be, e. g., in *saṅgrāmanam=anubhāvamti* for *saṅgrāmanam=anubhavanṭi*, fl. IIIa<sup>5</sup>; in other places they are omitted where they should stand, e. g., in *rakṣā karōhi* for *rakṣāṃ karōhi*, fl. Ib<sup>2</sup>. In several

<sup>3</sup> See also the note on No. 32, *Sāketako*, in Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> See my remarks, in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX., Part I., p. 80, in my paper "On the date of the Bower MS."

<sup>5</sup> See *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., p. 110.



places the vowels *ō* and *ā* are written where one would expect *á* and *é* respectively; e. g., *mahārātram* for *mahārātram*, fl. IIb<sup>1</sup>; *upasargōpāyābhyah* for *upasargōpāyābhyah*, fl. IVb<sup>1</sup>. Occasionally the scribe has made corrections; thus in fl. IIIa<sup>4</sup> he had originally written *nandōpanandō*, but corrected it to *nandōpanandō* by inserting *na* between the lines; again in fl. Ia<sup>6</sup> he seems originally to have written *vāhayamānam*, which he partially rubbed out and over-wrote with *vāhayamantam*.

Grammatical anomalies are equally numerous. I may instance the following:—

I. — In Orthography: confusion of letters: *s* for *sh* in *dārusu* for *dārushu*, fl. Ia<sup>4</sup>; *ri* for *ri* in *nīritā* for *nīritā*, fl. IIIb<sup>5</sup>; *ri* for *ri* in *Dhritarāshtrēshu* for *Dhritarāshtrēshu*, fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup>, *rihikēshu* for *rihikēshu*, fl. IIIb<sup>3</sup>, *prithivī* for *prithivī*, fl. IIIb<sup>5</sup>; *ḍ* for *ḍ* in *Mahākādi* for *Mahākādi*, fl. IIb<sup>3</sup>; *ṇ* for *n* in *varttayamānam* for *varttayamānam*, fl. Ia<sup>6</sup>; *n* for *n* in *ārōhani* for *ārōhani*, fl. IIb<sup>2</sup>. Final *t* is omitted in *chaturthakā* for *chaturthakāt*, fl. IIa<sup>2</sup>, *jvarā* for *jvarāt*, fl. IIa<sup>3</sup>, *ācharē* for *ācharēt* fl. IVa<sup>4</sup>. Insertion of connecting consonants: *m* in *Vāsukind-m-api* fl. IIIa<sup>4</sup>, perhaps *pari-m-apanaya*, fl. IIa<sup>4</sup>. Insertion of a separating vowel, *i* in *śirisha* for *śirsha*, fl. IIa<sup>4</sup>. Doubling of a consonant: *dh* before *y*, in *maddhya*, fl. IIa<sup>6</sup>. Sandhi neglected in *taruṇah achira*, fl. Ia<sup>3</sup>, *parivartayamānah āvrākshād*, fl. Ia<sup>5</sup>, *bhōntu anāmaya*, fl. IVa<sup>3</sup>, etc. False sandhi: *dēvō samantēna*, fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup> (for *dēvah sa°*), *Kōlakō Apalāla=cha*, fl. IIIb<sup>1</sup> (for *Kōlakō 'pa°*), *Bhōgavān Srāmāpérakah*, fl. IIIb<sup>1</sup> (for *Bhōgavān Srām°*), *duchchāyā*, fl. IIa<sup>1</sup> (for *duchchāyā*). Omission of visarga: before *s*: fl. Ia<sup>5</sup> *Ānanda Svātir*, fl. IIIb<sup>3</sup> *Kumbhīra Sūchilōmas*; before *k*: fl. IIb<sup>1</sup> *karmmaṇa karḥhōrdō*; before *p*: fl. Ia<sup>3</sup> *bhikshu prativasati*; in *pausa*: fl. IIIa<sup>5</sup> *mahardhikā*, etc. Some among the above given instances might have been also classed as examples of anomalous grammar.

II. — In Grammar: (a) Declension: nom. sing.; fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup> *dēvō*, fl. Ia<sup>2</sup> *bhikshu*; instr. plur., fl. IIIb<sup>6</sup> *śirshāhi*, *tēhi*; abl. sing., fl. Ib<sup>3</sup> *grahātō*, fl. IIa<sup>2</sup> *chaturthakā*, fl. IIa<sup>3</sup> *jvarā*; abl. plur., fl. IVb<sup>1</sup> *upāyābhyah* (possibly a clerical error); loc. sing., fl. Ia<sup>1</sup> *ēkasmī*, fl. IIb<sup>4</sup> *gōlāya*, *śēlāya*, fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup> *parivēlāya*.

(b) Conjugation: 3. plur. pres., fl. IVa<sup>3</sup> *bhōntu*; 3. sing. opt., fl. IVa<sup>4</sup> *ācharē*; 2. sing. imp., fl. Ib<sup>3</sup> and Ib<sup>3</sup> *harōhi*; 2. sing. aor., fl. IVa<sup>1</sup> *hiṇsi*; part. pres., fl. Ia<sup>6</sup> *vāhayamantam*.<sup>6</sup> Most of these anomalies are more or less pure Prākriticisms; so is also the spelling of *śēlāya* with *ē* (for Skr. *śaila*), also of *dvēṭiya* fl. IIa<sup>2</sup> and *dēvāsura* fl. IIIa<sup>4</sup>. With regard to the forms *parivēlāya*, *gōlāya*, *śēlāya*, they may be either taken as anomalous locative forms of feminine nouns in *ā*, and this is supported by the fact that *gōlā* certainly occurs as a feminine noun on fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup> in the genitive singular *gōlāyāḥ*. Or they may be taken as datives of masculine nouns in *a*, used anomalously in the place of locatives, and for this makes the fact that *śēla* (Skr. *śaila*) is usually a masculine noun.

(c) In Syntax: exchange of cases: instr. for loc., fl. Ia<sup>1</sup> *Srāvastyā* (for *Srāvastyām*), fl. Ia *samayēna*: instr. and loc. used promiscuously, fl. IIIa<sup>3</sup> *Virūpākshēshu*, but *Maṇinā*. False concord: nom. and acc., fl. Ia<sup>5</sup> *Svātir-bhikshum* (for *Svātīn bhikshum*, perhaps a clerical error); sing. and plur., fl. Ia<sup>5</sup> *sa sravanti* (for *sravati*), fl. IVa<sup>3</sup> *sukhō bhōntu* (for *sukhā*, perhaps a clerical error).

(d) Composition: fl. IIa<sup>1</sup> *kṛitya-karma* (for *kṛityā*), fl. IIa<sup>4</sup> *makshi-rōga* (for *makshī*), fl. IIa<sup>6</sup> *ūrū-śūla* (for *ūru*), fl. IVa<sup>6</sup> *Yasa-mitra* (for *Yasō*); fl. IIIa<sup>3</sup> *nāga-rājan* (for *nāga-rāja*, but also in Sanskrit); perhaps fl. IIa<sup>4</sup> *pari-m-apanaya* (for *pary-apanaya*).

III.—In Prosody: false quantity, fl. IIb<sup>1</sup> *mama*, fl. IIIa<sup>4</sup> *cha*, see also fl. IIIb<sup>2</sup>, IIIb<sup>3</sup>, IIIb<sup>5</sup>, IVa<sup>1</sup>. One syllable in excess, see fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup>, IIIa<sup>5</sup>, IIIa<sup>6</sup>, IIIb<sup>3</sup>, IIIb<sup>5</sup>; two syllables in excess, see fl. IIIa<sup>6</sup>; one syllable short, see fl. III. b<sup>4</sup>; two syllables short, see fl. IIIb<sup>6</sup> (probably a clerical error).

<sup>6</sup> The scribe had originally written *vāhayamānam*.



## IV.—In Vocabulary : new words or new meanings ;

- avadhūta*, 'injury,' 'destruction,' fl. IIa<sup>2</sup>.  
*āglāna*, 'exhausted,' fl. Ia<sup>6</sup>.  
*Ugātima*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>3</sup>.  
*Ēlapatra*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>4</sup> (usually *Ēldpatra*).  
*Ōkīraṇa* 'destruction,' fl. 2a<sup>1</sup> (for *avakīraṇa*).  
*Kavkhōrda*, a kind of sorcery, fl. 2a<sup>1</sup>.  
*Karṇaka*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>3</sup>.  
*Kāṭṭi*, probably Prākritic for *Kārttiki*, fl. IIb<sup>3</sup>.  
*kritya*, 'witchcraft,' fl. IIa<sup>1</sup> (usually *krityā*).  
*Kōlaka*, a Nāga, fl. IIIl<sup>4</sup>.  
*gupta*, 'protection,' fl. Ib<sup>2</sup> (for *gupti*).  
*gōlā*, 'district,' fl. IIb<sup>4</sup>, IIIa<sup>2</sup>.  
*Chhibbasuta*, a Nāga, fl. IIIa<sup>6</sup> (Pāli *Chhabbāputra*).  
*Daṇḍapāda*, a Nāga, fl. IIIa<sup>4</sup>.  
*dushaṇa*, 'destroying,' 'antidote' (for *dūshaṇa*).  
*dustāraka*, 'the evil eye,' fl. Ib<sup>6</sup> (opp. *sutāra*).  
*nīrita*, 'inhabiting,' fl. IIIb<sup>5</sup> (only *nīraya* 'dwelling-place' noted in dictionaries).  
*Nairācaṇa*, a Nāga, fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup> (Skr. *Vairavaṇa*).  
*paritra*, 'defence,' 'protection,' fl. Ib<sup>2</sup> (Pāli *paritta*, from √ *pri* + *tra*).  
*parivēlā* (or *parivēla* ?), 'circumference,' fl. IIIa<sup>2</sup>.  
*Pīthila*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>4</sup>.  
*Puṇḍarika*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>1</sup>.  
*makhi-rōga*, a kind of skin disease, fl. IIa<sup>4</sup>.  
*mahōrātra*, 'the time after midnight,' 'midnight,' fl. IIb<sup>1</sup> (perhaps an error for *mahārātra*).  
*Rishika*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>3</sup>.  
*Lambura*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>4</sup>.  
*Vātsūputra*, a Nāga, IIIb<sup>4</sup> fl. (Petersburg Dict., *Vātsūputra*).  
*Vāsumukha*, a Nāga, fl. IIIa<sup>6</sup>.  
*cāhita*, 'enunciated,' 'put forth,' fl. IVa<sup>6</sup>.  
*Vēgudī*, a kind of goddess, fl. IIb<sup>2</sup>.  
*Sakāṣamukha*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>3</sup>.  
*Saṅkhaṇḍa*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>2</sup>.  
*Srāmaṇēra*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>1</sup>.  
*Saṅhāraka*, a Nāga, fl. IIIa (comp. *Saṅhāra* in Petersburg Dict.).  
*Sākētaka*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>2</sup>.  
*Smaṇḍa*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>4</sup>.  
*Sūchīlōma*, a Nāga, fl. IIIb<sup>2</sup> (on the Bharaut Stūpa).

One more point should be noted. For the purpose of interpunctuation a small hook, very much resembling the modern comma is used. In the portion of the manuscript, published in my second instalment, a small stroke or 'dash' is employed. In the Nāgarī transcript, I have represented the hook by a dash, for clearness sake; but in the Roman transliteration I have used commas. In the concluding salutations, the visarga seems to be occasionally employed as a mark of interpunctuation, alternating with the usual comma, and resembling the modern semi-colon; thus after *Buddhāya* fl. IVa<sup>6</sup>, after *Muktāya* fl. IVa<sup>6</sup>. After *rakṣaṇtū* in fl. IVb<sup>2</sup> the visarga is employed in addition to the usual mark of a double stroke, to indicate the "full stop." I have seen the visarga occasionally used in this way in modern Hindī manuscripts, as noted in my *Gaudīan Grammar*.

In the following transcript, transliteration and translation I have followed the same system as in my previous instalments; see *ante*, pp. 134, 135.



## TEXT.

## 1, Transcript.

## First Leaf: Obverse.

1. एव मया श्रुतमेकस्मि समये भगवा ऋष्यावस्था विहरति जेतवने अनाथपिण्डवस्याराम . . . . .
2. समयेन आवस्था जेतवने अनाथपिण्डवस्यारामे—स्वातिर्नाम निक्षु प्रतिवसति स्म—नवो बहरः स्तर-
3. णः अचिरप्रव्रजितः अजिरागतः इमं धर्मविनयं संघस्यार्थे जेन्ताकवारुणि पाठयमानो न्य-
4. तरात्पुतिवारुसु प० निष्क्रम्य महता कृष्णसर्पेण दक्षिणे पादांशुटे दष्टः स ह्यन्तकायः भूमौ प-
5. तितः केन सावंत्यक्षीणि च परिवर्त्तयमानः आब्राक्षीदायुध्मानानन्द स्वातिर्निक्षुमनाधिकं बादा-
6. शानं केन वाहयमन्तमक्षीणि च परिवर्त्तयमाणं स्वपत दृष्ट्वा च पुन स्रि . स्रि ० ० . . .

## First Leaf: Reverse.

1. तस्याहं भगवं कथं प्रतिपद्यामि—एवमुक्ते भगवानायुध्मन्तमानन्दमेतदवाच—गच्छ त्वमानन्द . . . . .
2. वचनेन—अनया महामायुर्या विद्याराजाया स्वातिर्निक्षो रक्षा करोहि शुभं परिचं परिपहं  
परिपालनं शान्ति-
3. स्वस्त्ययनं षण्डपरि० रं विष्वक्पणं विषनाशनं सीमाबन्धं धरणीबन्धं च करोहि—देवमहातो  
—नागम-
4. हातो—असुरम . . —मरुतमहातो—गरुडमहातो—गन्धर्वमहातो—किन्नरमहातो—महोरगमहातो
5. यक्षमहातो—राक्षसमहातो—प्रेतमहातो—पिशाचमहातो—भूतमहातो—कुंभाण्डमहातो—पूतनमहातो
6. कटपूतनमहातो—स्कन्दमहातो—उन्मादमहातो—च्छायामहातो—अपस्मारमहातो—ओस्तारकमहातो

## Second Leaf: Obverse.

1. कृत्यकर्मण कण्वोर्दोकिरण—वेताडविषमप्रेकदुर्भुक्तदुच्छईत—दुच्छाय ओम . . . . .
2. वधूतातो ज्वरादेकाहिकद्वैतीयकत्रैतीयकाद्यातुर्थका समाहिकार्धमासिका मासिकादेव सकृन्म० त-
3. नित्यज्वराद्विषमज्वराद्वैतज्वरान्मानुषज्वराद्वैतमानुषज्वरा—वातिकपैत्तिकश्लेष्मिकसज्जिपातिकात्सर्वज्वरा
4. शिरिषोन्ति परिमपनय अर्धोवभेदकं—अरोचकं—मक्षिरोगं नासारोगं मुखरोगं कण्ठरोगं हृदयरोगं
5. कर्णशूलं—दंतशूलं—हृदयशूलं—पार्श्वशूलं—पृष्ठशूलं—उदरशूलं—गण्डशूलं—वस्तिशूलं—ऊरुशूलं
6. जंघाशूलं—हस्तशूलं—पादशूलं—अंगप्रत्यंगशूलं—चापनय—रात्रौ स्वस्ति दिवा स्वस्ति स्वस्ति मङ्गदिने

## Second Leaf: Reverse.

1. स्थिते—स्वस्ति सर्वमहोरात्रं सर्वबुद्धा कुर्वन्तु—मम ॥ इडि—विडि—हिबिडि—निडे—अडे—याडे—
2. इगडे—हरिवेगुडि—पांसुपिशाचिनि—आरोहनि—ओरोहणि—एले—मेले—तिले—किले—तिले—मेले मिले
3. तिमि—बुमिपे—इडि—मिडि—विटब्धे—विमले—इह—इह—अश्वमुखि—काडि—महाकाडि—प्रकीर्ण-
4. कोशी—कुल—कुल—वस्कुल—कोल—कोल—धोसादुम्बा—शोदुम्बा—दुम—दुम्ब—गोलाय—शोलाय—हिद्यु—
5. हिलि—हि—मिलि—मिलि—तिलि—तिलि—जुलु—जुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—इह—इह—  
. . . — ह .
6. इह—बवा—बवा—बवा—बवा—बवा—जल—जल—जल—जल—जल—जल—दम . . ० . . . . .

## Third Leaf: Obverse.

1. दुन्नुभी—गर्जनी—वर्षणी—स्कोटनी—पतनी—पाचनी—हारिणी—कपन—मवन—मड . . . . .
2. न्क मे—गोलायाः परिवेलाय वर्षन्तु देवो समन्तेन—इलि किसि स्वहा ॥ मैत्री मे अत्रितारेषु  
मैत्री मैरा-
3. वनेषु च—विरूपाक्षेषु मे मैत्री कृष्णगौतमेकेषु च—मणिना नागराज्ञा मे मैत्री वासुकीना
4. मपि—षण्डपात्रेषु . गेषु पूर्णभद्रेषु च सहा—नन्दोपनन्दो ये नागा वर्णवन्तो यशस्विनः देवा-
5. सुरं पि संपाममनुवंति महर्षिका—अनवतसेन वरुणेन मैत्री संहारकेन च—तक्षकेन अनन्तेन
6. तथा वासुमुखेन च—अपराजितेन मे मैत्री मैत्री च्छिब्बसुतेन च—महामनास्विना नित्यं तथैव च.



*Third Leaf: Reverse.*

1. मनस्विना—कालको अपलालश्च भोगवान्भ्रामणैरकः दधिमुखो मणिश्चैव पुण्डरीको दिशां पति-  
ककोटक
2. शंखपादः कंबलाश्वतरावुभौ—एतेष्वपि च मे मैत्री नागराजेषु नित्यशः—साकेतकश्च कुंभीर सुचीलो-
3. मस्तर्धेन च—उगातिमेन कालेन मैत्री मे रिषिकेषु च—तथा पूरणकर्णक मैत्री शकटमुखेन च
4. कोलकेन सुनन्देन वस्तीपुत्रेण च सदा—एलपत्रेण मे मैत्री मैत्री लङ्घरेण च—पिपिलश्च महानागो
5. मुचिलिन्दश्च विश्रुतः प्रियीवीचराश्च ये नागा तथैव जलनिधृता—अंतरीक्षचरा ये च मेहसमा-
6. श्रिताः एकशीर्षद्वीशीर्षाहि मैत्री तैहि . नित्यशः अपादेषु मे मैत्री मैत्री ॐ हि . ॐ . . . . .

*Fourth Leaf: Obverse.*

1. देषु मे मैत्री मैत्री बहूपदेषु च—मा मे अपादको हिसि मा म . . . . .
2. च मे बहूपदकः सर्वनागेषु मे मैत्री ये नागा जलनिश्रिताः सर्वभूतेषु मे मैत्र य स ॐ . . . . .
3. सर्वसत्त्वेषु मे मैत्री ये सत्त्वा चासत्थावराः जंगमा सर्वे सत्त्वा सुखो भान्तु सर्वे भान्तु  
अनामया—सत्त्व
4. भद्राणि पश्यंतु मा कश्च पापमाचरे—मैत्रचित्तं समासाय करोमि विषवुषणं—रक्षां परिमहं चै-
5. च तथैव परिपालनं ॥ नमो बुद्धायः नमो स्तु बोधये नमो विमुक्ताय—नमो विमुक्तये—नमो स्तु  
शान्ताय—न-
6. मो स्तु शान्तये—नमो स्तु मुक्तायः नमो कृतये—ये ब्रह्मणा वाहितपापा धर्मास्तेषां नमस्ते  
च यश्चमिचस्व

*Fourth Leaf: Reverse.*

1. . र पालयंतु स्वाहा—सर्वभवेभ्यः सर्वोपद्रवेभ्यः सर्वोपसर्गापायाभ्यः सर्वैर्ज्वरेभ्यः
2. सर्वैर्व्याधिभ्यः सर्वैर्महेभ्यः सर्वैर्विषेभ्यः रक्षंतुः ॥

## II. Transliteration.

*First Leaf: Obverse.*

1. @ Éva[m] mayā śrutam=ēkasmi samayē Bhagavā ch=Chhrāvastyā<sup>7</sup> viharati Jēta-  
vanē Anāthapiṇḍadasy=(ā)r[ā]m[ā] [tēna] . . . .
2. samayēna Śrāvastyā Jētavanē Anāthapiṇḍadasy=āramē, Svātir=nāma bhikṣhu prati-  
vasati smu<sup>8</sup> navō daharaḥ s-taru-
3. pah<sup>9</sup> achira-pravrajī(ṭaḥ) ajir-āgataḥ imaṁ dharmma-vinayaṁ saṁghasy=ārthē  
jēntāka-dārūṇi pātayamānō nya-
4. tarāt=pūti-dārusu pa[ri]nishkramya mabatā kṛishṇa-sarpēṇa dakṣhiṇē pādāṁgushtō  
dashtāḥ sa klānta-kāyaḥ bhūmau pa-
5. titāḥ phēṇaṁ srāvaṁty=akṣhiṇi cha parivarttayamānaḥ āvrākshīd=āyushmān=  
Ānanda Svātir=bhikṣhom=anadhikaṁ bādhā-
6. g[l]āna(m) phēṇaṁ vāhayamaṇtam<sup>10</sup>=akṣhiṇi cha parivarttayamānaṁ sva(pa)m(ṭa)<sup>11</sup>  
d(ri)sh(tv)ā (cha) p[u](na) s(ū)ri. s□□□□m □□ . . .

*First Leaf: Reverse.*

1. tasy=āhaṁ Bhagavaṁ katham pratipadyāmi, ēvam=uktē Bhagavān=āyushmantam=  
Ānandam=ētat=avācha,<sup>12</sup> gachchha tv(am=Ānanda) (T)[a](th)[ā](g)[atas](y)=[aiva]
2. vachanēna, anayā mahā-māyūryā vidyā-rājāyā<sup>13</sup> Svāti-bhikṣhō rakṣhā<sup>14</sup> karōhi  
guptaṁ paritraṁ parigrahaṁ paripālanaṁ śānti-

<sup>7</sup> Read Bhagavān-Chhrāvastyā or Bhagavaṁ-ch-Chhrāvastyā, or possibly Bhagavā is the Pāli form of the nom. sing., though this would not account for the change of the following initial ś to chchh.

<sup>8</sup> Read sma.

<sup>9</sup> Read either daharas-tarunaḥ or daharaḥ tarunaḥ.

<sup>10</sup> Here the original writing seems to have been vāhayamaṇam which was corrected afterwards to vāhayamaṇtam.

<sup>11</sup> Read svapamānaṁ.

<sup>12</sup> Read uścha.

<sup>13</sup> Read rājāyā.

<sup>14</sup> Read rakṣhā.



- 3 svastyayanam daṇḍa-pari[h]āram visha-dushapam visha-nāsanam simā-bandham  
dharāṇi-bandham cha karōhi, Dēva-grahātō, Nāga-gra-  
4 hātō, Asura-gra[hātō], Maruta-grahātō, Garuḍa-grahātō, Gandharva-grahātō, Kiṇara-  
grahātō, Mahōraga-grahātō  
5 Yaksha-grahātō, Rākshasa-grahātō, Prēta-grahātō, Pisācha-grahātō, Bhūta-grahātō,  
Kumbhāṇḍa-grahātō, Pūtana-grahātō  
6 Kaṭa-pūtana-grahātō, Skanda-grahātō, Unmāda-grahātō, ch=Chhāyā<sup>15</sup>-grahātō, Apasmāra-  
grahātō, ōs(t)āraka<sup>16</sup>-g[r]ah(āt)ō

## Second Leaf: Obverse.

- 1 kṛitya-karmmaṇa kavkhōrd<sup>17</sup>-ōkirāṇa, Vētāḍa-chichcha-prēshaka-durbhukta-duchehhar-  
dd[i]ta, ducehch(ā)y[ā], (ōpra) . . . . .  
2 vadhūtātō jvarād=ēkāhika-dvētiyaka-traitiṇyākāch=chāturthakā saptāhikād=ardha-māsikā  
māsikād=<sup>18</sup>aiva sakri(n)-m[au](h)ū[r]tt[ikā]  
3 nitya-jvarād=vishama-jvarād=(bh)[ū]ta-jvarān=mānusha-jvarād=a-mānusha-jvarā, vātika-pai-  
ttika-slēshmika-sannipātikāt=sarvva-jvarā  
4 śirishō-rtti<sup>19</sup>-pari-m-apanaya ardh-āvabhēdakaṁ, arōchiakaṁ, makshi-rōgaṁ nāsā-rōgaṁ  
mukha-rōgaṁ kaṇṭha-rōgaṁ hṛdaya-rōgaṁ  
5 karṇa-sūlām, dānta-sūlām<sup>20</sup> hṛdaya-sūlām, pārśva-sūlām,<sup>20</sup> prishṭha-sūlām, ndara-  
sūlām, gaṇḍa-sūlām<sup>20</sup> vasti-sūlām ūrū-sūlām  
6 jaṅghā-sūlām, hasta-sūlām pāda-sūlām, aṅga-pratyāṅga-sūlām ch=āpanaya, rātrau  
svasti divā svasti svasti maddhya-dinē

## Second Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 sthitō, [i] svasti sarvva-mahōrātram<sup>21</sup> sarvva-buddhā kurvvaṁtu, mama<sup>22</sup> || Iḍi,  
viḍi, hiviḍi, niḍē, aḍē, yāḍē,  
2 dṛigaḍē, Hari-vēguḍi, Pāmsu-pisāchini, ārōhani, ōrōhani,<sup>23</sup> ēlē, mēlē, tilē, kilē,<sup>24</sup>  
tilē, mēlē milē  
3 timi, dumipē, iṭti, miṭṭi, viṣṭabdhē, vimalē, huhu, huhu, Aśva-mukhi Kāṭṭi,  
Mahākāḍi<sup>25</sup> Prakīrṇa-  
4 kēśi, kulu, kulu, vaspala, kōlu, kōlu, Dhōsā-dumbā, Dō-dumbā, duma, dumba,  
gōlāya, śēlāya, hiṣu,  
5 hili, hi, mili, mili, tili, tili, chulu, chulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu,  
mulu, mulu, huhu, huh[u], [huhu], h[uhu]  
6 huhu, babā, babā, babā, babā, babā, jala, jala, jala, jala, jala,  
(d)[u](ma) . . □ī . . . . .

## Third Leaf: Obverse.

- 1 Dundubhi, Garjanī, Varshaṇī, Spōṣaṇī, Patanī, Pāchanī, Hāriṇī, Kampan[i]  
Madan[i], M[au]ḍ[anī], . . . . .  
2 kta<sup>26</sup> mē, Gōlāyāḥ parivēlāya varshatu dēvō samantēna,<sup>27</sup> Ili Kisi svahā<sup>28</sup> ||  
Maitri mē Dhritarāshṭrēshu maitri Nairā-

<sup>15</sup> Or perhaps *chhaya*, with short *a*; the akshara is indistinct; the *Vyutpatti* seems to read *chhaya*; see App. I.  
<sup>16</sup> Perhaps read *darāra*.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps intended for *kakkhāra*; see App. III.  
<sup>18</sup> Read *śāli*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *ēva*.

<sup>20</sup> See footnote to translation.

<sup>21</sup> Read *mahārātram*.

<sup>22</sup> From *rātrau* to *mama* is a śloka, but the 4th pāda has one syllable in excess. Between *mama* and the two strokes of interpunctuation, there appears to have been originally a longish scroll which is now nearly washed out.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Skr. *crarīhaya*.

<sup>24</sup> Or perhaps *bhilē* or *tilē*. The first akshara is blurred.

<sup>25</sup> For *Mahākāḍi*.

<sup>26</sup> The akshara *ka* is written on the margin, outside the line; and the exact relation in which it stands to the text is doubtful. The full word may have been *prayukta*.

<sup>27</sup> From *gōlāyā* to *samantēna* are two pādas of a śloka, but the second of them has one syllable in excess.

<sup>28</sup> Read *svahā*. The first *ā*-stroke is not "abnormally short," but is entirely wanting. I have noticed the faulty form *svahā* also in modern Tibetan Buddhist scripts.



- 3 varuṣṣhu cha, [1] Virūpākṣhēṣhu mē maitrī Kṛishṇa-Gautamākēṣhu cha, [11 1 11]  
 Maṇinā nāga-rājñā mē maitrī Vāsukinā<sup>29</sup>  
 4 m=api, [1] Daṇḍapādēṣhu [nā]gēṣhu Pūrṇabhadreṣhu cha<sup>30</sup> sadā, [11 2 11] Nand-  
 ōpanandō<sup>31</sup> yē nāgā varuṇavantō yaśasvināḥ [1] dēv-ā-  
 5 suraṁ pi saṁgrāmaṁ=anubhāvaṁti<sup>32</sup> mah-ardhikā,<sup>33</sup> [11 3 11] Anavataptēna  
 Varuṇēna<sup>34</sup> maitrī Saṁhārakēna cha, [1] Takṣhakēna Anantēna  
 6 tathā Vāsumukhēna cha, [11 4 11] Aparājitēna mē maitrī<sup>35</sup> maitrī ch=Chhib-  
 basutēna cha, [1] Mahāmanasvinā nityaṁ tath-aiva cha

## Third Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 Manasvinā, [11 5 11] Kālakō Apalāś=cha Bhōgavān=Śrīmaṇḍarakāḥ [1] Dadhimukhō  
 Maṇiś=ch=aiva Puṇḍarikō diśāṁ patiḥ [11 6 11] Karkōtaka  
 2 Saṁkṣhapādah<sup>35</sup> Kāmbal-Āsvatārāv=ubhau, [1] ētēṣhv=api cha mē maitrī nāga-  
 rājēṣhu nityaṁ, [11 7 11] Sākētakaś<sup>36</sup>=cha Kumbhira Sūchīlō-  
 3 mas=tath=aiva cha, [1] Ugāti(m)ēna<sup>37</sup> Kālēna maitrī mō Rishikēṣhu cha, [11 8 11]  
 tathā Pūrāṇa-Karṇaka<sup>38</sup> maitrī Sakatamukhēna cha<sup>39</sup> [1]  
 4 Kōlakēna Sunandēna Vatsiputrēṇa cha salā, [11 9 11] Ēlapatrēṇa<sup>40</sup> mē maitrī  
 maitrī Lamburēṇa cha,<sup>41</sup> [1] Pithilāś=cha mahā-nāgō  
 5 Muchilindāś=cha viśrūtāḥ [11 10 11] Prithivī-charāś=cha yē nāgā<sup>42</sup> tath=aiva jala-  
 niśritā, [1] amṭarikṣha-charā yē cha Mēru-samā-  
 6 śritāḥ<sup>43</sup> [11 11 11] Ēka-śīrṣha-dvi-śīrṣhāhi<sup>44</sup> maitrī tēhi mē<sup>45</sup> nityaṁ [1] A-pādēṣhu  
 mē maitrī mai(tr)ḥ [m]ē (d)[v]i-[pad]ē[shu] cha [11 12 11] [Chatuś-pa-]

## Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

- 1 dēṣhu mē maitrī maitrī bahu-padēṣhu cha, [1] mā mē a-pāḍak(ō) h(im)si mā  
 (m)[ē] hīṁsi [d]v[ipāḍakāḥ] [11 13 11] [Mā mē chatuśpadō hīṁsi na]<sup>46</sup>  
 2 cha mē bahu-pāḍakāḥ [1] sarvva-nāgēṣhu mē maitrī yē nāgā jala-niśritāḥ  
 [11 14 11] Sarvva-bhūtēṣhu mē m(ai)tr[ī] (y)[ē] (s)[at](v)[ā] . ∪ — ∪ — [1]  
 3 sarvva-satvēṣhu mē maitrī yē satvā trāsa-sthāvarāḥ jaṁgamā<sup>47</sup> [11 15 11] Sarvv-  
 satvā<sup>48</sup> sukḥō bhōntu sarvvō bhōntu anā(ma)y(ā), [1] sa[r]vv[ē]  
 4 bhadraṇi paśyāntu mā kaś=cha pāpam=ācharē, [11 16 11] Maitra-chittam samādāya  
 karōmi visha-dūṣhaṇam, [1] rakṣhām parigrahaṁ ch=ai-  
 5 va tath=aiva paripālanam [11 17 11] Namō Buddhāya<sup>49</sup> namō stu bōdhayē, namō  
 Vimuktāya, namō vimuktayē, namō stu Śāntāya, na-  
 6 mō stu śāntayē, namō stu Mukṭāya: namō ktayē,<sup>50</sup> yē Brahmānā<sup>51</sup> vābitha-pāpā  
 dharmās=tēṣhām namas=tē cha Yaśamitrasya

## Fourth Leaf: Reverse.

- 1 (p)[ā](r)[am] pālayāntu svāhā, sarvva-bhayēbhyāḥ sarvv-ōpadravēbhyāḥ sarvv-ōpasarg-  
 ōpāyābhyāḥ<sup>61</sup> sarvva-jvairēbhyāḥ  
 2 sarvva-vyādhibhyāḥ sarvva-grahēbhyāḥ sarvva-vishēbhyāḥ rakṣhāntu : 11

<sup>29</sup> Read Vāsukinā, m. c.<sup>30</sup> The quantity of this foot is false.<sup>31</sup> Read Nand'ōpanandō.<sup>32</sup> Read saṁgrāmaṁ=anubhāvaṁti.<sup>33</sup> This pāda has one syllable in excess.<sup>34</sup> This pāda has two syllables in excess.<sup>35</sup> This pāda scans irregularly.<sup>36</sup> Or possibly Sākētakaś=cha.<sup>37</sup> The penultimate consonant is mutilated, but is only suggestive of m.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps read Pūrāṇa-Karṇaka.<sup>39</sup> Usually spelled Ēlapatra.<sup>40</sup> This pāda is short by one syllable; insert mē after maitrī.<sup>41</sup> This pāda has one syllable in excess. Read prithivī, m. c.<sup>42</sup> This pāda is short by two syllables. Read m'ru-prithivī or m'ru-kāṭa-samāśritāḥ.<sup>43</sup> Read dviśīrṣhāhi, m. c.<sup>44</sup> Mē is nearly washed out and obliterated; moreover read mē tēhi, m. c.<sup>45</sup> Compare the Pāli version in Appendix II. <sup>46</sup> Jaṁgamā is superfluous. <sup>47</sup> Read here and throughout sat-ā.<sup>48</sup> Probably read namō stu Buddhāya.<sup>49</sup> Read stu mukṭayē.<sup>50</sup> Read Brahmānā.<sup>51</sup> Read ōpāyābhyāḥ.



## TRANSLATION.

Thus it has been related to me: Once upon a time the Blessed One was staying in Jētavana, the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in Srāvastī. At that time there lived in Jētavana, the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in Srāvastī, a mendicant, called Svāti, (who was) new, fresh (and) young, (and) had but lately joined the Order, and but recently submitted to this (*i.e.*, the Buddhist) Doctrine and Discipline.

While he was chopping fire-wood for the dry hot bath of the congregation, he was bitten in the great toe of his right foot by a large black snake (*i.e.*, cobra), which had crept out from another side among the logs of deodār-wood.<sup>52</sup> He fell exhausted to the ground, foamed at his mouth, rolled his eyes, and tore his flesh. The venerable Ānanda seeing the mendicant Svāti as he lay in an unconscious state, utterly and thoroughly exhausted, foaming at his mouth and rolling his eyes, inquired of the master:

*First Leaf: Reverse.*

"O Blessed One, how can I effect this man's recovery?" When he said this, the Blessed one spoke thus to the venerable Ānanda: "Go thou, O Ānanda, (and) in the name of the Tathāgata<sup>53</sup> save the mendicant Svāti with the following spell, the most excellent of the magic art! Grant him guard,<sup>54</sup> defence, assistance, protection, a charm for recovery, preservation from danger, counteraction of the poison, destruction of the poison, and apply a ligature to the wound,<sup>55</sup> a ligature to the vein! Deliver him from seizure by a Dēva, from seizure by a Nāga, from seizure by an Asura, from seizure by a Maruta, from seizure by a Garuḍa, from seizure by a Gandharva, from seizure by a Kinnara, from seizure by a Mahōraga, from seizure by a Yūksa, from seizure by a Rākshasa, from seizure by a Piṣāka, from seizure by a Piśācha, from seizure by a Bhūta, from seizure by a Kumbhāṇḍa, from seizure by a Pūtana, from seizure by a Katapūtana, from seizure by Skanda, from seizure by mania, from seizure by night-mare, from seizure by epilepsy, from seizure by the evil eye,<sup>56</sup>

*Second Leaf: Obverse.*

from the exercise of witchcraft, from destruction by kakkhōḍa, from injury by Vētālas that attend at burning-places,<sup>57</sup> bad food, bad vomiting, bad night-mare,<sup>58</sup> from fever, such as comes on every day or every second day or every third day or every fourth day or every seventh day, or every half-month, or every month, or even only once for a moment, from continued fever, from remittent fever, from fever such as spirits or such as men or such as non-human beings are subject to, from fever such as arises from derangement of the air or of the bile or of the phlegm or of all three combined, in short, from every kind of fever down to

<sup>52</sup> *Pāti-dāru* I take to be the same as *pāti-kāshṭha* which is said to be a species of pine, the Deodar; but perhaps it may here mean 'rotten logs of wood.' The Pāli version (see App. II) has *pāti-rukka*, Skr. *pāti-vṛkṣa*; this is said in the Petersburg Dictionary to be *Colosanthus Indica*, but that would hardly yield fire-wood.

<sup>53</sup> There are here slight traces visible of the letters *t*, *th*, *g* and subscribed *y*. With these and the known number of missing aksharas, I propose to fill up the lacuna, as given in the transliterated text.

<sup>54</sup> *Gupta* for *gupti*, just as *jāta* for *jāti* in the Aśoka inscriptions, see Journ. Germ. Or. Soc., Vol. XLII., p. 69.

<sup>55</sup> *Simā* is properly the line of junction of the lips of a wound or puncture.

<sup>56</sup> I do not know *ūstāraṇa*; it should be the name of some mysterious evil; it may be a Prākṛitized form of *avastāraṇa* or *apastāraṇa*, but these words themselves are unknown. I am disposed to consider it a misspelling for *dustāraṇa*; the letters *ū* and *du* have considerable likeness; there is probably a similar misspelling in fl. IIa' *du-pra* or *du-pra* . . . , whatever the full word may have been (*duh-pramēḥa*?). *Dustāraṇa* might be the 'evil eye,' opp. *autāra*, or 'good eye.'

<sup>57</sup> I take *chichcha* to be a Prākṛitized form of Skr. *chitya*.

<sup>58</sup> The MS. puts a comma after *kirāṇa* as well as after *duchchharddita*; but as all these nouns are in the crude base, while the context requires the ablative case, it would seem that they are all in composition with the ablative *vidhātito* (*avadhātito*), abl. sing. of *avadhāta*. *Okirāṇa* stands for *avakirāṇa*, lit. 'sweeping off'; the Charaka has *avakirāṇa* for 'sweepings'; it is a synonym of *avadhāta*; or it may be derived from root *kṛi* (*kṛiṇāti*) 'to kill.' On *kakkhōḍa* see Appendix III. *Kṛitya* I take to stand for *kṛityā*; but it might be "demons who dig out corpses," see Hiuen Tsiang, Vol. I., p. 156, note 119).



headache.<sup>59</sup> Remove (from him) also hemicrania, indigestion, fly-like diseases of the skin,<sup>60</sup> diseases of the nose, diseases of the mouth, diseases of the throat, diseases of the heart, pains in the ear, pains in the teeth, pains in the heart, pains in the side, pains in the back, pains in the belly, pains in the cheek, pains in the bladder, pains in the thigh, pains in the legs, pains in the hands, pains in the feet, pains in any limb, whether large or small.

Health<sup>61</sup> at night; health in the day; health while midday lasts;

*Second Leaf: Reverse.*

health all the time after midnight<sup>62</sup>; may all the Buddhas grant (it) to me! Iḍi, viḍi, hiviḍi! Niḍe, aḍe, yāḍe, dṛigaḍe! Oh ye Vēguḍis of the sun-rays, ye dust-Piśāchinis that ascend and descend!<sup>63</sup> Elē, mēlē, tilē, kilē, tilē, mēlē, milē! Timi, dumipē! Itṭi, mitṭi! In a well fixed, spotless place! Huhu, huhu! O thou horse-faced-one Kāṭṭi,<sup>64</sup> Mahākālī, with dishevelled hair! Kulu, kulu, vaspala, kōlu, kōlu! Dhōsā-dumbā, Dō-dumbā,<sup>65</sup> dama, dumba! In the district,<sup>66</sup> on the mountain! Hiśu, hili, hi. Mili, mili, tili, tili! Chulu, chulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu! Huhu, huhu, huhu, huhu! Babā, babā, babā, babā, babā! Jala, jala, jala! Duma . . . . .

*Third Leaf: Obverse.*

(May) the goddesses of rambling, thundering, raining, crashing, falling, ripening, captiva-ting, waving, delighting, adorning (grant me prosperity<sup>67</sup>). May the dēva send rain all round over the borders of my district! Īi Kisi! Svāhā!

<sup>59</sup> I do not quite understand the construction of this passage. There is no verb to govern *jeard* and the other ablatives, except *apanaṇa*, which also belongs to *śirishārtti*. The construction of *pari* also is puzzling: it seems here to mean "from-to;" i.e., 'remove all diseases from the fevers down to the headache.' Moreover *pari* seems to be compounded with *śirishārtti* (like *upari*), and the whole compound declined in the accusative case *śirishārttiparim*, instead of *śirishārttipari*. But *m* might also be a mere connecting consonant.—*Śirishārtti* is a curiously blundered compound, for Skr. *śirōrtti*; for *śirisha* is a prakritised form of Skr. *śirsha*, and the compound should be *śirishārtti*. Perhaps *śirishārtti* is a mere clerical error for *śirishārtti*.

<sup>60</sup> *Makhi-r'ga* is not noticed in any dictionary accessible to me. But as *makhiḥ* is a synonym of *maṣka*, I take *makhi-r'ga* to be the same disease as *maṣka*.

<sup>61</sup> Here the *Mahāmdyōri* or 'great spell' commences.

<sup>62</sup> The text has *maḥā-rātram* "the night of the festival;" but the context rather suggests *maḥārātram* "midnight" or "the time after midnight." The vowels *ō* and *ā* are occasionally confused in this part of the MS, compare *śirishārtti* for *śirishārtti* in I b\* (note 59), *sukhō* for *sukhā* IVa\*.

<sup>63</sup> On the *Pāṇu-piśāchini* or "the female Piśāchas of the dust" see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *Piśācho*. They are one of the four kinds of *Prētas*. The phrase reminds one of the particles of dust that dance up and down in the rays of the sun. *Vēguḍi* I take to be a vernacular (Pāli or Prakrit) form of the Skr. *śākṛi*, which is given in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary as an epithet of the *Apsaras*. *Hari* I take to be here the "sun" or "the rays of the sun."

<sup>64</sup> *Kāṭṭi* I take to be a vernacular form of Skr. *Kārttikī*, the spouse or Śakti of *Kārttikēya* (Skanda or Śiva), the same as *Mahākālī*.

<sup>65</sup> *Dhōsā-dumbā* and *Dō-dumbā* are probably also vernacular appellatives; but I cannot identify them in Sanskrit.

<sup>66</sup> *Gōlā* occurs again on fl. IIIa\* *gōlāyā parivēlāya* 'on the circumference of the district.' In Hémachandra's Grammar, II, 174, it is noted as a vernacular form of the river name *Gōdāvarī*; and in this sense it is taken by Prof. Bühler in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, V, p. 106 and 107, footnote, who refers it to the well-known *Gōdāvarī* of the Dekhan. Dr. Stein, however, points out, *ibidem*, p. 343, that there is also a small river, *Gōdāvarī* in Kaśmīr, "which enjoys considerable sanctity and is still at the present time visited by pilgrims." If *gōlā* should have to be interpreted here as a river name, the Kaśmīr *Gōdāvarī* has undoubtedly a better claim to consideration, as the character of the letters in which the MS. is written shows that it cannot have been produced in South India. But Dr. Stein adds that he has "not yet in Kaśmīr texts come across the shortened form of *Gōlā* for *Gōdāvarī*;" and it seems to me most improbable that the word can be here a river name. It is placed by the side of the word *śāla* (or *śālā*), which is clearly the Sanskrit *śāla*, 'mountain,' and is not the proper name of any particular mountain. Similarly *gōlā* (or *gōlā*) should be a mere common noun, and, accordingly, I take it in the sense 'circle,' 'district.' This meaning also fits in better in the other phrase *gōlāyā parivēlāya*, for *parivēlā* properly means 'circumference,' which can hardly be applied to a river. I prefer, therefore, adhering to my original translation in *Proceedings*, As. Soc. Beng., for 1891, p. 61. I may add that in the Abridged Petersburg Dictionary *gōlā* is noted with the meaning of 'disc,' 'circle,' and that the word is still used in the Indian Vernaculars in the sense of 'circle,' 'district.'

<sup>67</sup> I agree with Mr. Morris that we have here no "mantra for an oblation" (Prof. Bühler), and that the list of words does not contain the names of "various plants," but "epithets of Śiva's female counterpart Durgā."



(Verse 1) I hold friendship with Dhṛitarāshṭra and his race, and friendship with Nairāvaṇa and his race<sup>69</sup>. With Virūpākṣa and his race I hold friendship, and with Kṛishṇa and Gautama and their races. (Verse 2) With Maṇi, the king of Nāgas, I hold friendship, also with Vāsuki, and with the Nāgas Daṇḍapāda and Pūrṇabhadra and their races at all times. (Verse 3) With the Nāgas Nanda and Upananda, the beautiful (and) glorious, who with their supernatural power assist even in the war of the dēvas with the Asuras, (Verse 4) with Anavatapta, Varuṇa and Saṁhāraka I hold friendship; likewise with Takṣhaka, Ananta, and Vāsumukha. (Verse 5) With Aparājita I hold friendship, and friendship with Chhibbasuta,<sup>69</sup> likewise with Mahāmanasvin always and

*Third Leaf: Reverse.*

with Manasvin. (Verse 6) Also Kālaka, Apālāla, Bhṛḡavanta, Srāmaṇāraka, Dadhimukha, Maṇi, and Puṇḍarika, the lord of the quarters, (Verse 7) Karkōṭaka, Sankhapāda, and both Kambala and Aśvatarā: with these kings of Nāgas also I hold friendship perpetually: (Verse 8) and (with) Kumbhīra (and) Śākṛtaka, and likewise (with) Sūchilōma. With Ugātima<sup>70</sup> (and) Kāla I hold friendship and with Rishika and his race. (Verse 9) Likewise with Pāraṇa and Karṇa I hold friendship and with Śakaṭamukha, and with Kōlaka, Sunanda (and) Vatsiputra at all times. (Verse 10) With Elipatra I hold friendship, and friendship with Lambura, and (with) Pithila, the great Nāga; and Muchilinda,<sup>71</sup> the famous. (Verse 11) The Nāgas that live on land, likewise those that inhabit the water, and those that live on high, dwelling on Mēru's summit; (verse 12) those with one head and those with two heads, — with them I hold friendship perpetually. With the footless I hold friendship; I hold friendship with the two-footed; (Verse 13) with the four-footed

*Fourth Leaf: Obverse.*

I hold friendship, and friendship with the many-footed. The footless shall not do harm to me, nor shall the two-footed; (Verse 14) (the four-footed shall do no harm to me), nor shall the many-footed. With all Nāgas that inhabit the water I hold friendship; (Verse 15) with all living beings that live and shall live<sup>72</sup> I hold friendship; with all beings, whether movable or immovable, I hold friendship.<sup>73</sup> (Verse 16) May all beings enjoy happiness, may all enjoy health; may all experience pleasures, and may no one practise sin. (Verse 17) In the exercise of a friendly spirit I give a remedy counteracting the poison, (I grant) safety and assistance and protection.<sup>74</sup>

Reverence be to the Buddha! Reverence be to the Truth! Reverence be to the Emancipated one, reverence be to the Emancipation! Reverence be to the Peaceful one, reverence be

I think, they are *dēvas*, or perhaps *Nāgas*. It looks like a description of a thunderstorm in summer. First the distant rumbling of thunder, then the near thunder and pouring rain, interspersed with crashes of thunder; then the gentle fall of rain; followed by the ripening of the crop, which waves in the breezy sunshine and delights men and adorns the landscape. The missing syllables may be thus supplied: *samiddhiṃ prayukta me*, "may they grant me prosperity."

<sup>69</sup> With regard to the plurals of the names, see a note in Appendix II., so also with regard to Nairāvaṇa.

<sup>70</sup> Chhibbasuta occurs under the Pāli form Chhabbyāputta in Jāt. II, p. 145. See Appendix II.

<sup>71</sup> The word *ugātima* is puzzling. In the Tibetan *dhāraṇī* there is a snake-king, called Ugatē. Ugātima may, therefore, be a name; but I am rather disposed to suggest that *gi* is a clerical error for *grā*, and that the whole stands for Skr. *ugrātama*, being an epithet of Kāla, "the most terrible Kāla." See however Appendix I.

<sup>72</sup> Muchilinda, the seven-headed snake, was the guardian of the Mandākinī waters, and is famous on account of the protection afforded by him to Buddha at the time of his trial. On him and the other Nāgarājas mentioned in the spell, see the notes in Appendix I.

<sup>73</sup> The missing portion of the text I would propose to supply by *yē sattā bhūta-bhāvaṇā*. The Pāli version (see Appendix II.) has *sattā*, *pāṇā*, *bhūtā*. Of these *sattā* corresponds to our *sattva*, and *pāṇā* and *bhūtā* would seem to correspond to our *bhūtā*. The Pāli commentary explains *pāṇā* *ti* *bhūtā* *bhāvaṇā* *ni* *bhāvaṇā* *vaśā* *bhūtā* *ti* *vaśā* *maṭṭi* *vaśā* *vaśā* *vaśā*, i.e. "between *pāṇā* (*prāṇa*) and *bhūtā* there is only a verbal difference, they mean: what lives and what will live through the principle of re-birth."

<sup>74</sup> The text here adds *janaganā*. This is not only in excess of the metre, but is also a synonym of *trāsa*. I conjecture that it is a gloss, added by the copyist, to explain *trāsa* which should properly be spelt *trasa*. The latter means "movable," while *trāsa* means "terrifying."

<sup>75</sup> Here ends the spell.



to the Peace! Reverence be to the Delivered one, reverence be to the Deliverance! The principles of evil and good which have been declared by the Brahma (i. e., the Buddha), to them be reverence, and may they safeguard Yaśōmitra's welfare! Svāhā.<sup>75</sup> May they save (him) from all fears, all troubles, all temptations and allurements, all fevers, all diseases, all seizures, all poisons!

## APPENDIX I.

### The Nāgarājas.

I append a list of the Nāgarājas, Nāgas, Dēvis, and the other supernatural beings invoked in the foregoing spell. To this I add such references and information as I have been able to gather. Of the *Tibetan Dictionary*, called the *Mahāvīyutpatti* the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a Manuscript translation, prepared by Csoma de Kőrös. This is referred to in my notes as *Vy.* Dr. Waddell, to whom we owe some valuable papers published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, has given me several lists of Nāga names, extracted from Tibetan Nāga Dharaṇīs or rain-charms. These are referred to as *Wd.* In either case, I preserve the spelling of the respective informants. The *Abridged Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary* is quoted as *P. Dy.*, Childers' *Pāli Dictionary* as *Pāli Dy.*, the *Mahābhārata* as *M. Bh.*, and Hsien Tsiang from Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. The Chinese *Sūtra*, = *Ch. S.*, is the *Vardha Varsha Sūtra* quoted by Mr. Morris in the *Academy*.

(I) **Nāgas and Nāgarājas:** 1, Dhṛitarāshṭra, 2, Nairāvaṇa, 3, Virūpāksha, 4, Kṛishṇa, 5, Gautamaka, 6, Maṇi, 7, Vāsuki, 8, Daṇḍapāda, 9, Pūrṇabhadra, 10, Nanda, 11, Upananda, 12, Anavatapta, 13, Varuṇa, 14, Saṃhāraka, 15, Takshaka, 16, Ananta, 17, Vāsumukha, 18, Aparājita, 19, Chhibbasuta, 20, Mahāmanasvin, 21, Manasvin, 22, Kālaka, 23, Apalāla, 24, Bhōgavān, 25, Śrāmaṇera, 26, Dadhimukha, 27, Maṇi, 28, Puṇḍarika, 29, Karkōṭaka, 30, Saṅkhaṇḍa, 31, Kambala, 32, Aśvatara, 33, Sākēṭaka, 34, Kumbhīra, 35, Sūchilōma, 36, Ugātima, 37, Kāla, 38, Rishika, 39, Pūraṇa, 40, Karṇaka, 41, Śakaṭamukha, 42, Kōlaka, 43, Sunanda, 44, Vatsīputra, 45, Ēlapatra, 46, Lambura, 47, Pithila, 48, Muchilinda.

There are altogether 48; among them Nos. 8, 10 and 11 are expressly called Nāgas, and Nos. 6 and 22-32, Nāgarājas; No. 47 is called a Mahānāga. The nature of the others is not specified, but they are, no doubt, all intended to be some species of Nāga. The *Vyutpatti* gives a list of 79 Nāgarājas, and 55 common Nāgas. Among the former occur Nos. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 45, altogether 13, and four others (Nos. 21, 27, 40, 44) that are uncertain. Among the latter occur No. 22, and probably Nos. 2 and 19. The *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, Chap. XXXV, (P. Ch. Roy's transl., p. 113) has a list of 78 Nāgas. Among these occur our Nos. 1, 6 (or 27), 9, 15, 18, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39, 45 and perhaps Nos. 2, 30, 36, altogether 14.

No. 1, Dhṛitarāshṭra is not mentioned by the *Vy.* among any of the Nāgas, but as the first in the list of Gandharvas; nor is he accounted a Nāga by the Tibetan Lamas; but in the *M. Bh.*, *Ch. S.*, the *P. Dy.*, and by Morris he is stated to be a Nāgarāja.

No. 2, Nairāvaṇa. At first I doubtfully suggested that this might be the same as Airāvaṇa. This view was supported by Professors Bühler, Leumann, and Stein, who took the initial *n* to be a connecting consonant (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., p. 345). Nevertheless I now feel certain that Mr. Morris is correct in identifying Nairāvaṇa with Vaiśravaṇa (see *Academy*, Aug. 29, 1891, p. 179). In the first place, the use of *n* as a connecting consonant is very unusual; in fact, I do not recollect ever having met with a well-authenticated instance. Next, as Mr. Morris points out, Dhṛitarāshṭra and Virūpāksha are respectively the regents of the East and West, and accordingly one expects Vaiśravaṇa, the regent of the North, in the place of Nairāvaṇa. Virūpāksha, the regent of the South, is omitted, because he was not regarded as a snake-king, while all the three others were accounted Nāgarājas. The four Lōkapālas have their position at the entrance, e. g., of a temple; and the Nāgarājas among them may be expected to be invoked in the commencement of a spell. There is also sufficient suggestiveness in the similarity of the two names. Lastly, what seems to me decisive is that

<sup>75</sup> Svāhā in such connections practically corresponds to our 'Amen.'



Airāvata is actually invoked in the concluding part of the list, under the form of *Ēlāpatra*; see the note below on the latter name. It cannot be supposed that the same *Nāgarāja* would be invoked twice. I cannot account for the curious transformation of *Vaiśravaṇa* into *Nairāvata*. It may be owing to a mere want of attention in the scribe, who confused *Vaiśravaṇa* with *Airāvata*. The *M. Bh.*, l. c., however, enumerates both *Airāvata* and *Ēlāpatra*.

No. 3, *Virūpāksha*. In the *Vy.* he is not named among the *Nāgas* or *Nāgarājas*, nor indeed among any of the special classes of spiritual beings. The only place where he is named is in the general class of "the gods inhabiting this world." Among these "gods," No. 31 is *Lōkapāla*, No. 32 *Vaiśravaṇa*, No. 33 *Dhṛitarāstra*, No. 34 *Virūdhaka*, No. 35 *Virūpāksha*; and from among these No. 32 is again enumerated at the head of the *Yakshas*, No. 33 at the head of the *Gandharvas*, No. 34 at the head of the *Kumbhāṇḍas*; but No. 35 is not referred to any special class. These four, Nos. 32-35, as is well known, are considered to be the four "Guardians of the World" (*Īkapāla*). As such, "their frescoes are found in the verandah of every Lamaic temple or *gumpa*; but none of them, not even *Virūpāksha*, is considered a *Nāga*, by any Lama" (*Wd.*). But among other Buddhists, *Virūpāksha* would seem to have been placed at the head of the *Nāgas*; see *P. Dy.* and Mr. Morris' note; and in the *Khandhavatta Jātaka* (Vol. I., p. 143) he is mentioned as one of the *Nāgarājas*. In any case, these facts would disprove any connection of our MS. with the Lamaism of Tibet. The list of names of the *Lōkapālas*, compared with the three first names in our list, is rather suggestive of *Nairāvata* being a misspelling for or confusion with *Vaiśravaṇa*.

No. 4, *Kṛishṇa* and No. 5 *Gautamaka* "are mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* as two snake kings" (Morris), also in the *Khandhavatta Jātaka* (Vol. I., p. 145). *P. Dy.* has *Gautamaka*.

Nos. 6 and 27 *Maṇi*. This name occurs twice. Whether by mistake, or as two different *Nāgas*? The *M. Bh.*, l. c., and *P. Dy.* give *Maṇi*.

No. 7, *Vāsuki*. *Vy.* spells *Vāsukā*; *Wd.* gives *Basuga* in one *Dharaṇi* and *Bāsuki* in another. Also in *Ch. S.*

No. 8, *Daṇḍapāda* is not mentioned anywhere.

No. 9, *Pūrṇabhadra* occurs in the *M. Bh.* He is also known to the Jains. The *P. Dy.* has him.

Nos. 10 and 11, *Nanda* and *Upananda*. "These *Nāgarājas* assisted the *Dēvas* in a struggle with the *Asuras*" (Morris). That struggle is narrated in the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (Jat. I., p. 203, 204), where it is stated generally that the *Urugas* or *Nāgas* helped to guard *Sakra's* residence, but neither *Nanda* nor *Upananda* are named. The reference in our spell would seem to refer to an occasion where these two *Nāgas* distinguished themselves above the others. In the *Vy.*, *Nanda* is enumerated by himself as the 15th of the *Nāgarājas*, and again *Nandōpananda* is mentioned as the 50th among them. It is not clear in the latter place whether one or two *Nāgas* are meant. In our spell clearly two individuals are intended. The *Ch. S.* and *P. Dy.* give both. In *Wd.* lists there is an *Upanta* and an *Unanta*. See also (*Hien Tsiang*, Vol. II., p. 166, note 77).

No. 12, *Anavatapta* is the *Nāgarāja* of the *Sarik-kul* lake in the *Himālayas*, the source of the *Ganges*, *Indus*, *Oxus* and *Zarafshan* (*Hien Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. 11, 12). He is No. 13 in *Vy.* Also in the *Lalitā Vistara*, p. 249, 14. (*P. Dy.*), and in *Ch. S.*

No. 13, *Varuṇa*. In *Vy.* he is No. 9. Also in *P. Dy.* and *Ch. S.*

No. 14, *Saṃhārakā*. The *P. Dy.* gives *Saṃhāra* as the name of an *Asura*. Mr. Morris suggests a misreading for *Sāṃgara* = *Sāgara*, which is very improbable.

No. 15, *Takshaka*. *Vy.* No. 8, *M. Bh.*, l. c., No. 4, also in *P. Dy.* and *Ch. S.*

No. 16, *Ananta*. *Vy.* No. 7, also in *Wd.*, *P. Dy.*, *Pāli Dy.*

No. 17, *Vāsumukha*, not found anywhere else.

No. 18, *Aparājita* in the *M. Bh.*, l. c., also in *P. Dy.*

No. 19, *Chhibbasuta*, as Prof. Bühler first pointed out, is mentioned in the *Khandhavatta Jātaka* (Vol. I. p. 145) under the form *Chhabbyā-putta*. See Appendix II.



Nos. 20, and 21, Mahāmanasvin and Manasvin. The latter in *Ch. S.* and in *P. Dy.* The *Vy.* has Manasti (sic) as No. 57.

No. 22, Kālaka. The *Vy.* gives Kālaka as the 17th of the common Nāgas, and a Kālikō as the 31st of the Nāgarājas. The *P. Dy.* has it as the name of a Rākshasa and an Asura.

No. 23, Apālāla is mentioned by (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. 122, 123, 126, note) as the Nāga of the spring which forms the source of the Swāt river in Udyāna. He was prevailed upon by Buddha to desist from annually inundating the country. He is No. 45 in *Vy.* In *P. Dy.* it is the name of a Rākshasa.

No. 24, Bhōgavan, according to *P. Dy.*, occurs in the *Suparṇādhyaṃya*, p. 9, 1.

No. 25, Srāmaṇēra is probably the Nāgarāja whose story is told by (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. 63, 64). He was originally a Srāmaṇēra, or Buddhist novice, but became the Nāga king of a lake on the summit of a snowy mountain in the Hindu Kush. The *Vy.* has a Sramaṇa as the 19th in the list of common Nāgas.

No. 26, Dadhimukha, in the *M. Bh.*, l. c., also according to the *P. Dy.*, in the *Harivaṃśa* (Calcutta ed.), v. 9503.

No. 28, Puṇḍarika, not mentioned elsewhere. The *Vy.*, however, has a Padma, as the 4th of the Nāgarājas.

No. 29, Karkōtaka is No. 2 of the Nāgarājas in *Vy.* and No. 5 in the *M. Bh.*, l. c. *Wd.* gives Karākotaye in one *Dharaṇi* and Karkoṭa in another. The *P. Dy.* has it.

No. 30, Saṅkhapāda. The *Vy.* has 'Sankhapālo as the first of the Nāgarājas; there is also a 'Sankho as No. 22. *Wd.* gives "Shangkapāla" in all *Dharaṇis*. It can hardly be doubted that all these are intended for the same name. The *M. Bh.*, l. c., has Saṅkhapiṇḍa.

Nos. 31 and 32, Kambala and Aśvatara are enumerated in the *Vy.* under one No. 65, though stated to be two separate Nāgarājas. They are Nos. 34, 35 in the *M. Bh.*, l. c. The *Pāli Dy.* has Kambala.

No. 33, Sākētaka is not found elsewhere. It might be not a name, but an epithet of No. 34 Kumbhira, meaning 'a native of the town of Sākēta' (= Ayōdhya in Oudh), and if all these names are those of sacred springs, we should here have the name of a spring in the centre of North India. It is just possible that the name may be Sāmkētaka: but the apparent anusvāra is attached to the foot of the letter in the line above sākētaka, and is, in all probability, part of that letter.

No. 34, Kumbhira is, in *Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. II., p. 49, the name of several Nāgas of pools near Benares. In the *P. Dy.* it is the name of a Yaksha.

No. 35, Sūchilōma occurs in No. 74 of the inscriptions on the Bharaut Stūpa as the name of a Yaksha (see *ante*, Vol. XXI., p. 233).

No. 36, Ugātima. *Wd.* gives Ugate. The *M. Bh.*, l. c., has Ugraka. See note 70.

No. 37, Kāla is the 24th Nāgarāja in *Vy.* He stood before Buddha and sang his praises just before his contest with Māra (*Nidāna Kathā*, p. 97, in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*). Also in *P. Dy.* and *Pāli Dy.* (s. v. Nāgo).

No. 38, Rishika; not found elsewhere.

No. 39, Pūraṇa is No. 9 in the *M. Bh.*, l. c. The *P. Dy.* quotes a Nāga Pūraṇaka from the *Harivaṃśa* (Calcutta ed.), v. 9502.

Nos. 40-43. Karṇaka, Sakaṭamukha, Kōlaka, Sunanda are not found elsewhere. The *Vy.*, however, gives Kulika, as the name of the 3rd Nāgarāja.

No. 44, Vatsiputra, also spelled Vātsiputra, and quoted by the *P. Dy.*, as the name of a Nāga, from the *Kāraṇḍa Vyūha* 2, 13.

No. 45, Ēlapatra, also spelled Ēlāpatra. With the latter spelling it occurs as the name of the 43rd Nāgarāja in *Vy.*, and as No. 11 in the *M. Bh.*, l. c.; also in *Ch. S.* and *P. Dy.* Another spelling is Ērāpata (in Skr. Airāvata) or Ērāpatha, with the conjunct *tr* simplified into *t* or *th*



(as in *ētha* for *atra*). The former (with *t*) occurs in Nos. 59 and 60 of the inscriptions on the Bharaut Stūpa (see *ante*, Vol. X., p. 258 and Vol. XXI, p. 232). The other (with *th*) is the commoner one, and occurs in the *Khandhavatta Jātaka* (Vol. I, p. 145); see also *Pāli Dy.*, s. v. *Nāgo*. A third spelling is *Ēlāpana* or *Ērāvapa*, of which the former is given by Mr. Morris from *Ch. S.*, while the other corresponds to the Sanskrit form *Airāvapa*. There was a *Nāgarāja* of this name both near Takshaśilā and Banāras, see *Hsüen Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. LXVIII. and p. 137.

No. 46. Lambura may be the *Nāgarāja* of the lake on the crest of the mountain of "Lan-po-lu," in Udyāna, whose story is given by (*Hsüen Tsiang*, Vol. I. p. 128 ff). *Vy.* gives *Lambuka* as the name of the 12th *Nāgarāja* (also in the *P. Dy.*)

No. 47. Pithila, not found elsewhere.

No. 48. Muchilinda, (or Muchalinda), was the blind *Nāga* king of the Mandākinī lake near Gayā, who, after Buddha's enlightenment, shielded him in seven folds during a storm (*Hsüen Tsiang*, Vol. I, p. LXIII, Vol. II, 128, *Nidāna Kathā*, p. 109). Also in *Ch. S.*, *P. Dy.* and *Pāli Dy.*

II.—Black *Nāgas*. Dr. Waddell informs me that the *Nāgas* invoked in Tibetan rain-charms are of three kinds: white, black, and angry. The names of the black and the angry *Nāgas* are mostly such unintelligible words, as *Hili*, *Mili*, *Jala*, &c. Many of these occur in our spell. I believe they are really mere unintelligible jargon, interspersed here and there with a real name, such as *Pāmsu-pisāchini*, or a real word, such as *gōlāya*. It was only pedantic subtlety that made them into names of *Nāgas*. In the *Krahāmanta-nāma Dharanī* occur the following names of black *Nāgas*: *Limi Limi*, *Hili Hili*, *Tsili Tsili*, *Jala Jala*, *Putā Puta*, *Brara Brara*, *Kuti Kuti* (*Wd.*). In another *Dharanī* are found the following angry *Nāgas*: *Mili*, *Hili*, *Jala Puta*, *Brara*, *Kuti*, *Takra*, *Hala*, *Hulu*, *Siti*, *Kuru*, *Egate*, *Arare*, *Madhaye*, *Patini*, *Apare*, *Shibate*, *Ture*. Of these *Hili*, *Jala*, *Mili* also occur in our spell; and *Tsili*, *Brara*, *Hulu*, *Kuru*, *Arare* may be respectively compared with our *Chula*, *Baba*, *Huhu*, *Kulu* or *Kōlu*, *Aḍḍ*. A few unintelligible names are also given in the *Vyutpatti* among those of the *Nāgarājas*: thus its No. 36 *Ēḍḍ*, No. 51 *Hulaḍḍ*, No. 52 *Uluḍḍ*, No. 71 *Dramadro*. With these may be compared our *Ēlḍ*, *Huhu*, *Duma* or *Dumba* or *Dōdumbā*.

Dr. Waddell gives me from the *Klu-i-sde* or 'classes of *Nāgas*' in the *Mdo-mang* or 'collection of sūtras' the following list of *Nāga* kings and *Nāgas*:—

"Om *Nāgarāja* Ananta svāhā! *Nāgarāja* Upanata, Takshaka, Karkoṭa, Ulika, Anantā, Basuki, Muliki, Shangkapāla, Panaye, Kanale, Babute. Om murzang *Nāga* Gayana, *Nāgarāja* Ugate, *Nāga* Mujiki, Majalasho, Prashanaye, *Nāga* Garuneye svāhā; *Dukuri* svāhā; *Shona* Mujalasho, *Prashona*, *Kurapi*, *Dukari* (No. 2), *Marupi*, *Debaya*, *Gayu*, *Bhanajayu*, *Bayuma*, *Ragashayu*, *Ratsayu*, *Debayu*, *Nāgarāja* Yu, *Nāga* Nafe, *Nāgarāja* Debayu, *Ja hung bam ho!* *Nāgarāja* Ye svāhā! *Nāgarāja* Naye, *Nāga* Ragashaye, *Yunaye*, *Upaye*, *Ghanagudeye*. Om *Nāgarāja* Ananta Svāhā! *Nāgarāja* Unanta, *Upanatana*, *Tagnan* svāhā! *Nāgarāja* Karkoṭa, *Ulika*, *Bāsuki*, *Mulika*, *Shangkala*, *Nāga* Kili kili svāhā! *Mili* *mili* svāhā! *Jala*, *jala*; *Pata pata*, *Dhama dhama*, *Phara bhara*, *Kuti kuti*, *Hara hara*, *Tara tara*, *Hula hula*, *Hulu hulu*, *Siti siti*, *Svati svati*, svāhā! *Nāga* Gura guru svāhā! *Agete*, *Arate*, *Murate*, *Badane*, *Apara*, *Shabde* svāhā! *Turi turi*, *Buri buri*, *Hutse hutse* svāhā! Salutation to all the *Nāga* kings, including Ananda!"

III.—*Dēvis* or *Nāgis*. Of the 10 names mentioned on fl.IIIa<sup>1</sup> I have only noticed one which is similar in Dr. Waddell's list. It is *Patini*, which appears, however, as the name of an angry *Nāga*, in a *Dharanī* of the latter *Nāgas*. The *Vyutpatti* gives no list of names of *Dēvis* or *Nāgis*.

IV.—*Grahas* or *Seizures*. Twenty-one are enumerated in our MS.: 1, *Dēva*, 2, *Nāga*, 3, *Asura*, 4, *Maruta*, 5, *Garuḍa*, 6, *Gandharva*, 7, *Kinnara*, 8, *Mahōraga*, 9, *Yaksha*, 10, *Rākshasa*, 11, *Prēta*, 12, *Pisācha*, 13, *Bhūta*, 14, *Kumbhāṇḍa*, 15, *Pūtana*, 16, *Kaṭapūtana*, 17, *Skanda*, 18, *Unmāda*, 19, *Chhāyā*, 20, *Apasmāra*, 21, *Dustāraka*. Nearly the same list is given in the *Vyutpatti*: the nine first mentioned, together with No. 14 *Kumbhāṇḍa* constitute its entire 156th chapter of names of supernatural beings, viz., 1, *Dēva*, 2, *Nāga*, 3, *Yaksha*, 4,



Gandharva, 5, Asura, 6, Daitya (instead of our Maruta), 7, Garuda, 8, Kinnara, 9, Mahōraga, 10, Kumbhāṇḍa. The remainder, with the exception of Dustāraka, are mentioned in the 200th chapter on the Yidags or 'evil spirits,' in nearly the same order: Prēta, Kumbhāṇḍa (here again enumerated), Piśācha, Bhūta, Pātana, Kaṭapātana, Unmāda, Skanda, Apasmāra, Chhayā, Rakshasa. Skanda is here explained to mean an evil spirit that "makes dry or causes consumption," and Chhayā (spelled thus), one that "causes defilement." In the *Suśruta* (*Uttara-tantra*, chapter 27), however, Skanda is said to be the Grahādhipati, or 'Chief of the Grahas' which affect children. In the *Suśruta* and the *Vangasēna* (p. 910), *skanda-graha* is explained as 'convulsions' (*gātrasya spandana-kampanam*, and *saṁrabdhah kara-charanais=cha nrityati*), &c. *Chhayā* is generally said to mean 'nightmare.' *Unmāda* 'mania' and *apasmāra* 'epilepsy' are treated in the *Charaka* and other medical books as ordinary diseases. After the *grahas* the spell proceeds to mention ordinary ills or diseases.

## APPENDIX II.

## The Khandavatta Jātaka.

There is such a remarkable agreement of portions of this *Jātaka* with the story of our MS. that a translation of the substance of it may be welcome for comparison.<sup>76</sup>

The commentary of the *Jātaka* narrates the occasion of giving it thus:

The Master related this *Jātaka* concerning a certain monk, while he was staying in Jētavana. That monk was chopping wood at the door of the firing-room (*jeṭāghara-dvārē*), when he was bitten in a toe (*pādāṅgulīya*) by a snake which came from out a Pūti tree (*pūtirukkh-antarā*); and he died then and there. The fact of his death became known in the whole monastery. In the religious assembly the monks began to discuss the occurrence among themselves. The Master on entering asked them what they were talking about; and when he was told what it was, he said to the monks: "if that monk had cultivated the friendship of the four snake-kings and their races, the snake would not have bitten him; for Buddha in a former ascetic existence cultivated the friendship of the four snake-kings and their races, and thus, so far as those snake-kings were concerned, he was not exposed to the risk of a re-birth (through being bitten to death by a snake)." He then proceeded to relate the following legend:

In the past, when Brahmādatta was king of Banāras, the Bōdhisattva was born in the family of a Kāśī Brāhman; but when he came of age, he retired from the world and made for himself a hermitage in a bend of the Ganges in the interior of the Himālayas, where, in the company of other Rishis, he devoted himself to a life of meditation. That place was infested by snakes of various sorts, and in consequence the death of a Rishi was a thing of frequent occurrence. The ascetics represented this state of things to the Bōdhisattva. He advised them that they should cultivate the friendship of the four Snake-kings and their races, then no snake would bite them; and for this purpose he taught them the following gāthā (*ślōka*) verses:

- 1, Virūpakkhēhi<sup>77</sup> mē mettāṁ mettāṁ Ērūpathēhi mē |  
Chhabbyāpattēhi mē mettāṁ Kanhā-Gōtamakēhi cha ||
- 2, Apādakēhi mē mettāṁ mettāṁ dipādakēhi mē |  
chatuppadēhi mē mettāṁ mettāṁ bahuppadēhi mē ||
- 3, Mā maṁ apādakō hiṁsi mā maṁ hiṁsi dipādakō |  
mā maṁ chatuppadō hiṁsi mā maṁ hiṁsi bahuppadō ||
- 4, Sabbē sattā sabbē pāyā sabbē bhūtā cha kēvalā |  
sabbē bhadrāṇi passantu mā kṛñ=chi pāpaṁ āgamā ||

<sup>76</sup> There appears to be a similar passage in the *Chulavogga* V, 6 (see *Jāt.*, *Introd.*, p. LII. and *Academy*, 29th August 1891, p. 178), but that book has not been accessible to me here (Darjeeling).

<sup>77</sup> This and the other plurals are explained in the Pāli commentary to include the races (*kula*) of the respective Snake-kings. The Tibetan *Vyutpatti* gives Dhritarāshtra as the first, or at the head, of the race of (eleven) Gandharvas, and places Śaṅkhaśāla as the first, or at the head, of the Nāgarājas. See Appendix I.



i. e. "With the race of Virūpāksha I keep friendship, and friendship with the race of Ērāpatha; with the race of Chhabbyāputta I keep friendship, and with the race of Kṛishṇa and Gôtamaka. (2) With the footless I keep friendship, and friendship with the two-footed; with the four-footed I keep friendship, and friendship with the many-footed. (3) Let not the footless harm me, nor harm me the two-footed; let not the four-footed harm me, nor harm me the many-footed. (4) All that exist, all that live, all that will live hereafter, one and all, may they experience the good things, may none of them fall into sin."

Buddha explained to them that by the first verse they would establish friendship with the four Nāgarījas and their races, and by the second, with snakes and fishes, men and birds, elephants, horses and all other quadrupeds, scorpions, centipedes and other multipedes, and thus they would become proof against being bitten or injured by any of them. The third would serve them as a request, by reason of that friendship, to be saved from all danger from those different classes of beings. The fourth would show their feeling of goodwill to all creatures.

He then proceeded to explain how all safety (*parittā*) was ultimately to be ascribed to the transcendent power of the three gems, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, and concluded by teaching them the following hymn:

"My safety is secured, my protection is secured!  
Let all creatures leave me in peace!  
So I will praise the Blessed One;  
I will praise all that through him are saved!"

In this manner the company of Rishis found protection; and thenceforward, by the virtue of the charm taught by the Bôdhisattva, the snakes left them in peace. The Bôdhisattva himself in due time went to heaven.

The incident related in the *Jātaka* book is clearly the same as that narrated in our Manuscript. But what is there given in the form of a *Jātaka*, an incident from a former existence of Buddha, is here related as an Avadāna, an incident from his last existence. There the monk (Svāti) is represented as dead, and the spell as having been given on a long-past occasion. Here Svāti is represented as only being near death, and as going to be saved by the spell given on that very occasion. The spell, moreover, is here given in a very expanded form. To the first verse of the spell in the *Jātaka* correspond ten verses (1—10) in our MS.; to the second and third verses there, correspond five verses (11—15) here, while the fourth verse there, corresponds to the sixteenth verse here.

Some portions of the spell in our Manuscript look very much like direct translations from the Pāli. Our verses 12b, 13, 14a and 16 are Sanskrit versions of verses 2, 3, 4 in the *Jātaka*. Verse 13a has actually preserved, in *hūsi*, a fragment of the original Pāli. But the different wording of verse 16a would seem to show that the Sanskrit version in our Manuscript is based on a Pāli recension different from that contained in the Southern Buddhist *Jātaka* book.

Other Pāli fragments are scattered, here and there, through the whole of our Sanskrit version; thus we have *karōhi* on fl. 1b<sup>2</sup> and *tēhi* on fl. IIIb<sup>6</sup>. This would seem to indicate that the Northern Buddhism possessed an original Pāli recension co-extensive with the Sanskrit recension in our Manuscript.

To my mind, the transformation of the story from a *Jātaka* to an Avadāna form, as well as its expansion in the latter form, is an evidence of the story in this form being of a later age than that in the *Jātaka* book. This in itself is an evidence of the genuineness and the antiquity of the story in the *Jātaka* form as preserved by the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon.

### APPENDIX III.

#### The Mahāmāyūrī Spell.

I was at first disposed to suggest that this spell may have received its name *Mahāmāyūrī* from the fact, that some part of the peafowl (*māyūra*) was used along with it. As a matter of



fact the quills of its tail-feathers, or its feet, burned and powdered, and its bile, form the ingredients of several medicines and antidotes prescribed in the older Indian medical works. Thus a powder containing burned quills (*śikhi-nādaṣ dagdham*) occurs in the larger medical treatise of the Bower MS. on fl. I 6<sup>2</sup>. A very similar powder or tincture is given in the *Charaka*, p. 726 (*mayūra-nālaṁ dagdhvā*), in the *Suśruta*, p. 850 (*barkhi-patra-prasutash bhasma*, i. e., 'ashes of peacock-feathers'), in the *Vangasēna*, p. 288 (*barkhi-pādaṁ dagdhau* i. e. 'burned peacock's feet'), and in the *Chakradatta*, p. 277 (*śikhi-puchehha-bhūti*, i. e., 'ashes of peacock's tail-feathers').<sup>78</sup> This, however, is not prescribed as an antidote; but an antidote against snake-poison, containing the powdered quills of the tail-feathers of the peacock (*śikhi-barha*) is given in the *Charaka*, p. 764. This powder is to be mixed with clarified butter and set fire to; and with it one's house, bed, and clothes are to be fumigated. Again in *Charaka*, p. 774, the broth (*rasa*) and tail-feathers (*pārshata*)<sup>79</sup> of the peafowl, in *Charaka*, p. 760 its bile (*śikhi-pitta*), and in *Charaka*, p. 773, its eggs (*barhiṇ-āṇḍa*) are prescribed to be taken, with other things, as an antidote against snake-poison, and in *Charaka*, p. 776, the peafowl is, therefore, directed to be kept on one's premises. Similar prescriptions occur in the *Suśruta*; see, e. g., p. 632, 650, and in the *Vangasēna*, p. 935 (*mayūra-pitta*, i. e., bile of a peacock). I cannot find any such prescriptions in the *Ashāṅga Hridaya*.

But while searching for these references, I came across a much more curious circumstance. The *Charaka* describes an antidote against the poison of snakes as well as poisons generally, which exhibits some striking features resembling those of the spell in our manuscript. It is given on pages 762—764.<sup>80</sup> It is called the *Mahā-gandhahastī* (lit. 'the great scent-elephant'), and is described as very powerful. This antidote consists of 60 drugs which are to be made up with the bile of cows (*pittena gavām*) into pills (*guḍikā*) for internal, or into a liniment (*pralēpa*) for external use. Used internally, the patient will quickly recover from poisoning; if applied externally, a person will be proof against poison, he may handle snakes or eat poison without any risk. It may also be smeared on various musical instruments and these sounded, or on umbrellas or flags, and these exhibited; in that case, they will act as a protection against infantine seizure (*bāla-graha*), *khārkhōḥa*,<sup>81</sup> witchcraft, *Vētūlas*, magic spells (*atharvaṇā mantrāḥ*), every kind of seizure (*sarva-graha*), fire-arms (*agni-śāstra*), kings (*nṛipa*) and robbers (*chaurā*). In short there will be prosperity, whenever this antidote is present. During the process of grinding its ingredients, the following spell (*māntṛa*) should be pronounced:—

"To my mother success and glory! success and glory to my father! To me success, to my son success, may I be successful! Reverence to the Perfect (*Purusha-simha*) Viṣṇu, the Creator (*viśvakarman*), the Eternal Kṛishṇa who upholds and renews the world! may his wonderful control be at once seen over Vṛishākapi,<sup>82</sup> Brahma and Indra, so that I may not witness the discomfiture of Vāsudēva, nor the marriage of my mother, nor the drying up of the ocean. May this antidote be made efficacious by means of this true spell! Hili, Mili! With this all-healing powder protect me! Svāhā!"

What appears to be intended for the same antidote is given in the *Suśruta*, p. 641, 642, under the name *Mahā-sugandhī* ('the great sweet-scented one'), but it is made to consist of 85 ingredients. It is given as one of those antidotes, which are "to be sounded with drums" (*duṇḍubhi-svantiya*). On p. 629 the *Suśruta* says, that drums (*duṇḍubhi*) which are smeared with an antidote, are to be sounded in the presence of the patient (see also p. 633). There is this difference, however, that the *Suśruta* prescribes no particular spell to be said during the preparation of the *Mahā-sugandhī* antidote.

<sup>78</sup> I quote Jivānanda's editions of the *Charaka* and *Suśruta*. The editions of the *Vangasēna* and *Chakradatta* are specified in my first instalment, in *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XL., p. 149, 150.

<sup>79</sup> *Pārshata* means the "parti-coloured part," and is in that place of the *Charaka* applied to the skin of the antelope (*śva*), the feathers of the peafowl, quail and partridge (*śikhi*, *śva*, *tailīri*), and the bristles of the porcupine (*śvāśikhi*).

<sup>80</sup> In the Bengālī edition, it is in Vol. III., pp. 495, 496.

<sup>81</sup> For this the Bengālī recension reads *rakshāsini* 'Rākhasas,' and for *Vētūlas* it reads *mantrā* 'spells.'

<sup>82</sup> The Beng. recension reads *viśva-kṣayā* 'wonderful in its destruction of poison.'



Further, the *Ashṭāṅga Hṛidaya* gives an antidote under the name of *Chandrōdaya* ('moon-rise'), which it praises as a most excellent protection against poisons of every kind, as well as against Vetālas, seizures, witch-craft, *pāpma* ('disaster'), plague, disease, famine, and war. It is made up of 28 drugs mixed in honey, and is to be applied to the patient by a pure virgin, while the physician is to pronounce the following spell during the process of preparing and applying it:—

"Reverence to the Purusha-simha! reverence to Nārāyaṇa! So may I not witness the discomfiture of Kṛishṇa in the strife! May through this true spell my antidote be made efficacious! Huhu, Huhu! Protect me from all poisons, O Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Chaṇḍāll, Mātangi! Svāhā!"

It appears that according to the *Charaka* and *Suśruta*, spells (*mantra*) are to be used along with important operations in cases of poisoning. But the *Suśruta*, on p. 626, prescribes this expressly at the time of the application of the ligature to the bitten part. That operation is called the *arishṭā-bandhana* or *dhamanī-bandha* (*Chakradatto*, p. 689). It is the first thing to be done, and is afterwards followed by the administration of antidotes. In the preparation or administration of the latter, the use of a spell was not prescribed. Out of a very large number of antidotes, the *Mahā-gandhahastī* and the *Chandrōdaya* are the only two to which spells are annexed, which circumstance would show that they were exceptions, being considered antidotes of magical efficacy.

Now there are three points to be noted. In the first place, the spell in our Manuscript is clearly intended to be a spell to be used at the time of tying the ligature. This is shown by the direction: *śimā-bandhanā dharanī-bandhanā karōhi*, 'apply a ligature to the wound and to the vein,' followed by the spell. I do not now, therefore, think it probable, that the spell had its name of *Mahā-māyūrī* from any ingredient in an antidote used along with the spell. An additional reason is that there is no indication in the spell and its story of the use of any antidote.

In the second place: there is a considerable resemblance in the enumeration of evils which the spell is supposed to counteract, as given in our Manuscript and in the *Charaka* and the *Ashṭāṅga Hṛidaya*. This is shown in the following table:—

Bower MS.	Charaka.	Ashṭāṅga.
1. Graha (21 kinds).	{ bāla-graha. sarva-graha.	graha.
2. Kṛtyā-karman.	kārmaṇa.	kārmaṇa.
3. Kavkhôrd-ôkirāṇa.	khârkhôda.	pāpman.
4. Vêtâḍa, &c.	Vêtâla.	Vêtâla.
5. Durbhukta, &c.		dur-bhiksha.
6. Jvara, &c.		maraka.
7. Iôga (various).		vyâdhi.

The *Charaka* and *Ashṭāṅga* add a few other ills, such as war, oppression and robbery, but these are covered by the second list of evils at the end of our spell. It seems to me impossible to avoid the impression that there is some connection between the three versions.

In the third place: there is a curious verbal coincidence between the word *khârkhôḍa* in the *Charaka* and *kavkhôrdâ* in our MS. The abridged Petersburg Dictionary gives a various reading *kharkhôda*. The word appears to have been unintelligible in later times; for the *Ashṭāṅga Hṛidaya* substitutes *pāpman*, and the Bengālî edition of the *Charaka*, *rakshôṁsi*. It is, so far as I know, only known to occur in one other place; viz., in the *Rājatarangīnī*, V. 239 (in Dr. Stein's new edition). There it is related that the treasurer of king Gopāla Varman, in order to conceal his delinquencies, caused a person Rāmadêva, who was a proficient in *khâr-khôḍa*, to compass the death of the king by his sorcery (*abhichâra*). This story shows, that by



*khārkhōda* a deadly kind of charm was understood. While preparing the present instalment, however, I have received another ancient manuscript; and in this I have been lucky enough to discover the same word in two places. The manuscript was dug out of a ruined house, near the town of Kugiar, not far from the Yarkand frontier. It is written on Daphne paper, and contains apparently six or seven separate treatises. These are written in two entirely different types of characters. One portion is written in the well-known North-Indian Gupta characters, very closely resembling those in the Bower MS.; but the other portion is written in the Central-Asian type of characters, a specimen of which has lately been published by Mr. S. d'Oldenburg in the *Records of the Oriental Transactions* of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, Vol. VII. 81-82. These latter have a close resemblance to the so-called "Wartu" characters, which are said to have been brought into Tibet early in the seventh century A.D. from Linyul or Khoten.<sup>83</sup> One of the treatises of this second portion, in the Central-Asian characters, contains the story of a charm, apparently given by Buddha to a Senāpati. In it the word, which is here spelled *kakkhōrda* or *kākkhōrda*, occurs twice. Unfortunately the manuscript is much mutilated; but the better preserved of the two passages runs thus; . . . . *daṇḍēna parimuchchishyati . . . .* *evaṃ=eva parimu(choh)[ishyati] . . . . śāstra[m] kramati na vishā n=āgni n=āśi-visha<sup>84</sup> na kakkhōrda na Vaitāla na . . . . . (ma)[hāba]laṃ karōti*, i.e., "he will be delivered from danger by . . . . , even so he will be delivered . . . . , no weapon hurts (him), no poison, no fire, no snake-poison, no *kakkhōrda*, no Vaitāla, no . . . . . has any overpowering effect." The other passage has . . . . *kritya-kākkhōrda-putanaiḥ . . . . . [parimuchchish]yati*, i.e., "he will be delivered from witchcraft (or demons who dig out corpses), *kākkhōrda* and Pūtanās (=Vaitālas)." The spelling slightly differs; the first passage spells the word with a short *a*, the second with a long *ā*. The dental *d* (not cerebral *ḍ*), and the position of *r* in the second syllable (not in the first) would now seem to be the correct spelling. The variation in the spelling of the initial letter (*k* or *kh*) is possible; a similar instance is *kakhaṭa* and *khakhaṭa* 'hard,' both given in the Petersburg Dictionary. The spelling *kavkhōrda* in the Bower Manuscript I take to be a clerical error for *kakkhōrda*; the *v* is not well made.

There is another curious verbal coincidence in the word *sānti-svasīyānam* 'mystic spell for recovery,' which is used both in our Manuscript and the *Ashṭāṅga Hridaya*. The latter applies this term to the *Chandrōdaya* spell, which I have above quoted as parallel to our *Mahāmāyūrī* spell.

## WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Concluded from page 156.)

**XLVI. Fourth mūlasūtram, piṇḍaniryukti.** There is no text of this name in Berlin. We find MSS. of it mentioned in Kielhorn (Report 1881) pp. 9, 26—29, 95, and Peterson's Palm-leaf 166.<sup>81</sup> According to what I have cited on page 79 from the Vidhiprapā, [81] the piṇḍan. is connected with the fifth chapter of the third mūlasūtra. It is surprising that a niryukti text should appear as a part of the Siddh., (see above p. 41). It deserves to be noticed that the piṇḍan. is not mentioned in the anāgavipatti list of the Nandī (see p. 11 ff). In the list of Raj. L. Mitra and Kāśīnāth Kuntē piṇḍaniryukti appears as the name of their fourth chhēdasūtra; Kāśīnāth says that its contents is "on the cause of hunger and the nature and kind of food to be taken." A piṇḍaniryuktivṛitti is ascribed to the old Haribhadra (see p. 458<sup>a</sup>). Kielhorn, l. c., cites a vṛitti of Vīragāṇa, (see above pp. 44, 51). According to his account its extent is 61 leaves, four or five lines on a page, each line 50 aksh. and in all about 900 ślōkas.

<sup>83</sup> This appears to be the correct Tibetan tradition, as Babu S. C. Dās now informs me. They were not brought from Magadha. See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LVII., Part I., p. 41.

<sup>84</sup> *Āśi* is a serpent's fang; in the abridged Petersburg Dictionary, s.v.

<sup>81</sup> It begins according to Peterson—as follows:—*piṇḍa uggamaṃ uppiyāpāṇaṃ samjōgappamāpeyaṃ*, and concludes: *nijjaraphalā ajjhatthā viśohijuttassa*.



It remains for us to give a brief account of those texts quoted as parts of the Siddhānta in the Ratnasāgara, and by Rājendra Lāla Mitra, and Kāśināth Kuntē — see pp. 226, 227 — which do not appear in Bühler's list.

In the first place in reference to the jītakalpa<sup>92</sup> cited in the Ratnasāgara as the sixth chhēdasūtra and in reference to the gachhāyāra called *ibid.* the eighth paṇnam. Cf. pages 478 and 445.<sup>93</sup>

[82] The third variation in the Ratnasāgara from Bühler's list which we find there has reference to the fourth mūlasūtram whose place is taken by the oghaniryukti<sup>94</sup> and in fact as No. 3.

We have already seen (p. 61) from Āv. Nijj. 6, 22, that a text of this name ought strictly to be cited there as a constituent part of the text of the Āv. Nijj. in P. π it is actually cited as such and from the scholia on it and on Uttarsijh. 26, above p. 48, that tradition regards it as an excerpt made by Bhadrabrahmasvāmin from pūrva 9, 3, 20. This is confirmed by the introduction of the avachūri to the oghan. We have also seen (p. 357) that this composition cannot be referred to the old Bhadrabāhu († 170 Vira), since in the introductory verse cited in the Āv. 6, 22 the dasapuvvi, dasapūrvī are honored besides the arihaṃta and the chaūddasapuvvis. It is quite surprising that this verse also refers especially to the ikkārasaṃgasuttadhārā; a fact diametrically opposed to the tradition just mentioned that regards a part of aṅga 12 as the source of the ogh. Further on in our present ogh. we find a direct reference in v. 14 to aṅga 12: sāmāyārī dhē; nāyājhayānām (aṅga 6 P) dīṭṭhivā a; lōiyakappāsāi aṇukkamā kāragā chaūrō || It is, however, *sub judice* whether or no this verse belonged to the original text. That this was quite a different text from that which the present ogh. as an independent work presents, is proved by the fact that the two Āvāsyaka-MSS. P. π, which [83] cite it as integral part of the Āvāsy. nijj. and allot to it but 58 (P.) or 79 (π) verses (cf. above p. 62). The oghanijj. which exists in detached form embraces, according to its last verse, 1,160 gāthās:<sup>95</sup> ikkārasēhi sēhi saṭṭhāhihihi saṃgahiya.<sup>96</sup> The contents is stated in vv. 4, 5 to be as follows:—

vaya (vrata) 2 samapadhamma 10 sañjama 17 veyāvachchaṃ 10 cha bambhaguttī 9 ;  
nānātiyaṃ 2 tava 12 kōhaniggahāi 4 charaṇam ēyaṃ || 4 ||

piṇḍavisōhī<sup>97</sup> 4 samī 2 bhāvaṇa 12 paḍimā 12 ya imdiyanirōhō 2 ; paḍilēhaṇa 23 guttī 3  
abhiggahā 4 chēva karaṇam tu || 5 ||

The contents consequently refers to a right name of living; charaṇakaraṇātmikā is the designation of the oghaniryukti in the introduction of the avachūri on it, and it calls itself at the end (vv. 1156-57) sāmāyārī (see above p. 48).

The beginning of the avachūri<sup>98</sup> contains several accounts in reference to the connection of the text with the Āvāsyaka, and sāmāyikādhyayana.<sup>99</sup> These accounts are very obscure because

<sup>92</sup> Fifth "kalpasūtra" in Rāj. L. M. and Kash.

<sup>93</sup> I add that a Jītakalpasūtram is mentioned by Kielhorn, l. c. p. 51 and a jītakalpachūri on p. 17; also in Peterson's Palm-leaf 101, where the beginning and the conclusion are given, the total contents being 202 (102 P) gāthās. It begins siddhisahayāramāyāraṇibhavadavamaṇapadibhaḍḍa karmā | kramā sraṇā niraṇā viraṇā namāṇā mahāviraṇā || 1 || vochehhaṇa paṇchagaparihāṇipagarāṇā, — closes; gaṇḍa || jītakalpasūtram namāptān.

<sup>94</sup> Fifth chhēdasūtra in the list of Rāj. L. M. and Kash., who says that the contents is "on the duties of Sadhus."

<sup>95</sup> The MS. shews but 1,158 and the text belonging to the avachūri has but 1,132 vv.

<sup>96</sup> In the palm-leaf MS. 165 of Peterson these words run: ekkārasaṇi sēhiṇā aṭṭhaṇi (P) aṭṭhiṇā saṃgahiya; the number of verses is stated to be 1,156 (P).

<sup>97</sup> A text of this name by Jinavallabhagaṇi appears in the account of Kielhorn, p. 36 (with commentary) 95 and in the list of Peterson's Palm-leaf 86m. 104c. 177d.

<sup>98</sup> Composed by Jñānasāgara sādivat 1439, and belonging to the vṛitti of Drōpāchārya.

<sup>99</sup> prakāśitō 'yam āvāsyakānuyōgas, tatra sāmāyikādhyayanaṃ anuvartatō, tasya chatvāry anuyōgādvārāṇi (cf. p. 24): upakramō nikshēpō 'nugamō nayaḥ; ādyau dvāu uktau, anugamō dvidhā: niryuktyanugamō sūtrā-niryuktyanugamō 'nugatō vakhyamāṇas cha, upodghātaniryuktyanugamas tv ābhyāṇ dvārāgāthābhyāṇ anugān-tavyaḥ; uddēś niddēś (see p. 67a) ity-ādi . . .



we do not possess any of the immediate sources whence they are taken. [84] *À propos* of v. 1 several interesting statements are made concerning the relations of the *daśapūrvin* to the *chatardaśapūrvin* (*trayōdaśapūrvin* are said to have never existed). The *daśap.* are said to be *upakāra-kāḥ*, *upāṅgādi* (*dinām C*)—*saṅgrahanyuparachanēna* (*°nēna hētunā C*).

I have found no other trace of the *dēvavijjīyā*, see p. 43; cited in the *Ratnasāgara* as the sixth *paṇnam*. The *jyōtiṣhakarandam* which is the ninth *paṇnam* in the *Ratnasāgara* is at least mentioned in the *paṇna* list in *Āvi*, see p. 417.

As regards the texts enumerated by Rājendra Lāla Mitra and Kāśināth Kuntē, I refer to pages 392 and 11 for the *mahāpannavayā* mentioned by K. K. as the sixth *upāṅgam*.

In both the above authorities we find the second *mūlasūtram* called *viśeṣhāvaśyakasūtra*; and a text of this name exists according to Kielhorn's Report, pp. 36 to 38. In the beginning of Ratnasekhara's commentary on the *śrāddhapiṭikarāṇasūtra* it is cited as a work of a Jinabhadra (see above p. 70): *yad āhaḥ śrī Jinabhadragaṇikṣamaśramanapādāḥ śrī viśeṣhāvaśyakē* (then two *gāthās* in *Prākṛit*). According to Klatt 247<sup>b</sup> and Kielhorn, p. 37 Jinabhadra is merely author of a commentary on this work. A *ṭikā* by Kōtyāchārya is cited by Kielhorn, the MS. dating *saṃvat* 1138 (A. D. 1082). According to Klatt Kōtyāchārya is another appellation of *Silāṅka*, whose commentary on *aṅga* 1, see p. 29 dates A. D. 876. Kielhorn mentions [85] an anonymous commentary on the text itself, which bears the much sought for name *śiṣyāhitā* (see pp. 44, 51, 81). This MS., too, is very old *saṃvat* 119—(?) i. e. dates at least from A. D. 1134. The *viśeṣhāvaśyakam* is often cited in the *Vichārāṃpitasaṅgraha*. According to Kāśināth Kuntē it contains "a detailed explanation of what is written in the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*."

The fourth *mūlasūtram* in the list of Rājendra Lāla Mitra, by name *pākshikasūtram*, contains (with some independent additions) the same enumeration of the *aṅgabāhira* texts, etc., which is found in the *Nandī*. See p. 10 ff. According to an introduction<sup>100</sup> consisting of 4 *gāthās* it deals in prose especially with the 5 *mahāvayās* to which as the sixth the *rāṭhōyanā vēramanam* is joined. See p. 78. Then follows a metrical discussion of the same subject in 41 (13, 7 and 23) *āryā*. Thereupon (*ēsa khalu mahāvaya-ucchhāraṇā kayā, icchāmo sutra-kittayam! kāum*) reverential salutations (*nama*) for the *khamāsamanā* by which partly *imaṃ vaiyaṃ chhavvimaṃ āvassayaṃ bhagavaṃtāṃ*, partly: *imaṃ vaiyaṃ aṅgabāhiraṃ kāliyaṃ*, or *ukkāliyaṃ*, *bhagavaṃtāṃ*, and partly: *imaṃ vaiyaṃ dūvalasaṅgaṃ gaṇipidagaṃ*. According to Kāśināth Kuntē the work gives "an account of all what is to be done by the *Sādhus* in every fortnight." Perhaps the name is derived from the fact that it is to be recited every fortnight.

[86] The work stated to be the third member in the group of *Kalpasūtras* and which has the specific title *Kalpasūtram* is, according to the statements in *Kaś.* the text which claims this title *kar' ḥḥḥḥ*. It appears as the *daśō* section of the fourth *chhēdasūtra*.

The first three members of the group of "*Chhēdasūtras*" in *Rāj. L. M.* cf. p. 227:—the *bṛihat*-, *laghu*- and *madhyama-vāchanā* of the *mahānīśītha*, are stated by Kāśināth to "treat of the penances to be performed by the *Sādhus* in a detailed, abridged and middling manner respectively." I have not found any other mention of this work.

The sixth member of the same group *paryuṣaṇakālpa*, contains, according to Kāśināth: "directions as to the manner of observing fasts and hearing the *Kalpa Sūtra* from the twelfth day of *Bhādon* [*Bhādrapada*] *Badi* (dark fortnight)<sup>2</sup> to the 4th or 5th day of *Bhādon Sudi* (lunar, i. e. light, fortnight)." Is this the *paryuṣaṇakālpanijjuttī* in 66 *āryā* belonging to the

<sup>100</sup> The first verse: *titthāṇakare atitthē atitthasiddhē ya titthasiddhē ya | . . . vadhāmi || 1 ||* glorifies strangely enough the *atittha*, or *atitthasiddha* too. According to an *avachāri* on it this refers to the *dharma-vyavachāra* "*Suvidhīprabhṛtīnām tīrthakṛitāṃ saptaśv antareṣu*," see p. 211 fg. 242, 348.

<sup>1</sup> *śrūtōtkīrtanam* in the *avachāri*, perhaps *antakī*.

<sup>2</sup> *badi*, *bahuladina*, as *sudi*, instead of *śudi*, *śuddhadina* (or *śukladina*). See my treatise on the *Kṛishṇa-janmāṣṭam*! p. 326n.



third part of "Kalpasūtra" (Jacobi, pp. 86—95)? This paryush. was commented on (see p. 476) by Jinaprabha at the end of his saṃdēhaviśaṃśadhi.

See p. 82 on *auḡhaniryukti* and pp. 427, 429 on *maraṇasamādhī*.

I give in conclusion a list of the texts which are either found in the Siddhānta itself (1—29), or are mentioned elsewhere (30 fg.) as belonging to the Siddhānta but which at present are no longer extant, at least as independent texts.

[87] 1. *dīvasāgarapannatti*, aṅga 3, 3, 1, 4, 1, see pp. 268, 389, also in the *pañña* list in *Āvi*. see pp. 427, 429 (where there is but one *saṃgahaṇī* on it).

2. *kammavivāgadasāu*,<sup>3</sup> ten *ajjhayaṇas*, aṅga 3, 10,<sup>4</sup> see p. 270; cf. Nos. 7, 10.

3. *baṃdhadasāu*, ten *ajjh.*, aṅga 3, 10, see p. 273.

4. *dōgiddhidasāu*, ten *ajjh.*, *ibid.*

5. *dīhadasāu*, ten *ajjh.*, *ibid.* (cf. np. 8—12).

6. *saṃkhēviyadasāu*, *ibid.*, ten *ajjh.* viz.: — 1. *khuddiyā vimāṇapavibhatti*, 2. *mahalliyā vim.*, 3. *aṃgachūliyā*, 4. *vaggachūliyā*, 5. *vivāhachūliyā*, 6. *Araṇḍavavāḍ*, 7. *Varaṇḍavavāḍ* (*Dha°*), 8. *Garulōvavāḍ*, 9. *Vēlaṃdharōvavāḍ*, 10. *Vēsamanōvavāḍ*. All these titles recur in essentially the same order in the *Nandī* among the *apaṃgapaviṭṭha* text, group *kāliya*; see pp. 13, 14. In the *kārikās* quoted on pp. 223, 224 we find the statement that 1—5 belong to the fifth, and 6—10 to the twelfth year of study.

7. *kammavivāgajjhayaṇa*, aṅga 4, 43, see p. 280; cf. Nos. 2, 10.

8. *isibhāsiyā dēvalōgachnyabhāsiyā*, 44 *ajjh.*, aṅga 4, 44; the *isibhāsiyāim* also in the *Nandī* in the list of *apaṃgapaviṭṭha* texts; see pp. 230, 232, 272, 402, 410, 432, 442, above pp. 13, 57, 58; on *ṛishibhāshita* see also p. 446 n. 2.

9. *dēvalōgachnyabhāsiyā*, see just above and also p. 280.

[88] 10. *pāvaphalavivāgāim*, 55 *ajjh.*, *Kalpas. Jinach.* § 147,<sup>5</sup> see p. 474; cf. Nos. 2, 7.

11. *mahākappam*, *Āvāsy.* 8, 55, as first *chhēasuttam*, see pp. 440, 449; in the *Nandī* among the *apaṃgapaviṭṭha* texts, see p. 11 (*mahākappasuam*).

12. *kappiyākappiam*, N among the *apaṃgap.*, p. 11.

13. *chullakappasuam*, *ib.*, p. 11.

14. *mahāpannavāṇā*, *ib.*, pp. 11, 84; see p. 302.

15. *pamāyappamāyam*, *ib.*, p. 11.

16. *pōrisimaṇḍalam*, *ib.*, p. 12.

17. *maṇḍalappavesō*, *ib.*

18. *vijjacharaṇaviṇichchhaō*, *ib.*

19. *jhāṇavibhatti*, *ib.*, and in the *Vidhiprapā* among the *pañña*, see p. 422.

20. *marāṇavibhatti*, in N among the *apaṃgap.*, p. 12.

21. *āyavisohī*, *ib.*

22. *vīyarāyasuam*, *ib.*

23. *saṃlēhaṇasuam*, *ib.*

24. *viḥārakappō*, *ib.*

25. *cbaraṇavihi*, *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> We possess several texts on *kammavivāga*; thus 167 *Prākṛit-gāthās* by Jipavallabha in Peterson's *Palm-leaf* 42 f.; also 168 ditto by Garga *ibid.* Nos. 52, 81b, — and, without the name of the authors, Nos. 88b, 106, 161d. There is a *bālāvabodha* on it by Matichandra, see Kielhorn p. 93.

The *āyāradasāu* mentioned there are identical with *chhēdasūtra* 4.

<sup>4</sup> The *aputthavāgarapāim* in 36 *ajjh.* mentioned *ibid.* are doubtless identical with *mūlasūtra* 1, see p. 43.



26. *dēvimdōvavāḍ*, in N among the *aṇaṃgap.*, p. 14.
27. *uṭṭhāpasuṇam*, *ib.*; *uṭṭhāpasuṇāyā* *chaūrō* in the *kārikās* quoted p. 224 as the subject of the study of the thirteenth year.
28. *samuṭṭhāpasuṇē*, p. 14.
29. *nāgapariyāvaliyāḍ*, *ib.*
30. *āśīvisabhāvaṇāḍ* in the *Pākshikasūtra* and the three *sīmāchārī* texts, *ib.*; in the *kārikās* cited p. 214 as designed for the fourteenth year.
- [89] 31. *diṭṭhīvisabhāvaṇāḍ*, *ib.*, for the 15th year.
32. *chāraṇabhāvaṇāḍ* (*chāraṇasamaṇabh°*), *ib.*, 16th year.
33. *mahāsuvīṇa*(*sumiṇa*)*bhāvaṇāḍ*, *ib.*, 17th year.
34. *tēganisaggā*, *ib.*, 18th year. According to *Vidhiprapā* title of the 15th book in *aṅga* 5, see p. 301.
35. *maraṇavisōḥi*, in *Vidhiprapā* among the *aṇaṃgap.*, see p. 12.
36. *rāhaṇapaḍāga*, in the *paṇṇa* list in *Āvi.*, see p. 427.
37. *aṇḡavijjā*, *ib.*
38. *jōisakaraṇḍaṃ*, *ib.*, and in the *paṇṇa* list of the *Ratnasāgara*, see p. 431; cf. p. 84.
39. *maraṇasamāhl*, in the *paṇṇa* list in *Āvi.* and in *Rāj. L. M.*, see p. 427; p. 86.
40. *tiṭṭhōgālī*, in the *paṇṇa* list in *Āvi.*, see p. 427.<sup>6</sup>
41. *naravibhattī*, *ib.*
42. *dēvavijjīyā*, in the *paṇṇa* list of the *Ratnasāgara*, see p. 431; cf. p. 84.

Corresponding to the number of the 46 āgamas which exist or are recognized as parts of the *Siddhānta*, we have 42 texts which are at present not extant. If we add *pañchakalpa*<sup>7</sup> and the two special *vāchanās* of the *mahānisiha*, and if we count singly the ten titles comprised in No. 6 (as is always the case in *aṅga* 3 and elsewhere) — then the number of the texts no longer extant [90] is eight greater than the number of those in existence. It must, however, be confessed that the ten pieces collected in No. 6 are very brief in compass, since they are each counted as one *ajjhayaṇam*; and the same may be the case as regards others of the texts now no longer extant. Nevertheless in the *Siddhānta* there are short texts and among the *aṅgas* there is one and that is not small (*aṅga* 4) which has but a single *ajjh.*

If we take into consideration the conclusions which we were obliged to adopt in regard to the loss of the *mahāpariṇā* chapter in *aṅga* 1, in regard to the changes which *aṅgas* 5, 7—11, up. 8—12 are proved to have undergone, and in regard to the total loss of *aṅga* 12 etc., etc. — it is at once evident that great uncertainty reigns in this department of Indian literature, despite its seemingly firm articulation. The beginning of our knowledge is here contemporary with the beginning of our doubts. One fact is of cardinal importance: — Nos. 6, 27, 30—34 of the above list existed at the date of the *kārikās* cited on p. 224, and formed an integral part of the sacred study. The portion of the extant *Siddhānta* that is mentioned in p. 224 besides these is but trifling in comparison. The ultimate significance of this last assertion cannot, however, be seen at the present day. Cf. p. 225.

In conclusion, I desire to extend my most hearty thanks to Dr. E. Leumann for the generous assistance he has rendered in reading the proof of this treatise. This assistance comprises very numerous corrections made on the basis of MSS. and printed matter which were not accessible to me. I have also used to great advantage Kielhorn's Report and especially Peterson's Detailed Report.

\* The *siddhapāhuḍapaṇṇam* *ib.* belongs to *aṅga* 12, see pp. 355, 361.

<sup>7</sup> In Kielhorn's report p. 94 there is mention made of a *pañchakalpasūtrachūpi* by *Āmradevachārya*. See p. 477.



## FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

## No. 13.—The Ill-treated Daughter-in-law.

There once lived an old woman with her son and his wife, and after a few years of married life the wife became pregnant. The old woman's son, about this time, fitted out a ship to go to another country, but before going he asked his mother to take care of his wife as she was pregnant, and said : — "*Mālā sōkrā hōil tē māñjē tārvāvar sōniachā pāññā parēl, ani sōkrā hōil tē rūpiachā pāññā parēl*; If a son be born to me a shower of gold will fall on my ship, but if a daughter then there will be a shower of silver."

Then bidding farewell to his wife and mother he went away. After a few months had passed the wife felt her time of delivery approaching, and so she asked her mother-in-law if she might take her cot into the sleeping-room (*kāmbṛā*), but the old woman objected, saying : — "*Kāmbṛā hāi tō dēvāñ dharmāchā*; The sleeping-room belongs to the gods and religious rites."

Then the daughter-in-law asked if she might place it in the hall (*sāl*), and the mother-in-law again objected, saying : — "*Sāl hāi tē ūṭṭā baisāvchāñ*;<sup>1</sup> The hall is meant for people to sit in."

Upon this the daughter-in-law asked if she might place her cot in the verandah (*ōñṭā*), and for the third time the old woman objected, saying : — "*Ōñṭā hāi tō ētiañ zātiañchā*;<sup>2</sup> The verandah is meant for passers-by to rest themselves."

The poor daughter-in-law saw that there was no place in the house to be spared for her confinement, and at length resorted to a jungle, and there, under a mango-tree, was delivered of a boy. She left the child under the tree and went home, occasionally going back to give suck to the child. On the day the boy was born a shower of gold fell on his father's ship, upon which he distributed sugar to the crew and returned home. His mother, however, told him tales against his wife, and showed him an *ōrōṇṭā* (spice-grinding-stone), saying she had given birth to that stone! The husband's anger was roused against his wife, but he saw that he could do nothing and kept quiet.

A few more years passed and the wife was again pregnant. This time also her husband proceeded on a voyage. He again asked his mother to take care of his wife, which, of course she promised to do; and saying : — "*Mālā sōkrā hōil tē māñjē tārvāvar sōniachā pāññā parēl, ani sōkrā hōil tē rūpiachā pāññā parēl*; If a son be born to me there will fall on my ship a shower of gold, but if a daughter is born there will be a shower of silver," he went away.

Some months after, when the time of her labour commenced, the wife again asked her mother-in-law if she might use the sleeping-room, but she met with the same objection as before : — "*Kāmbṛā hāi tō dēvāñ dharmāchā*; The sleeping-room belongs to the gods and religious rites."

She then asked for the use of the hall, but again came the objection : — "*Sāl hāi tē ūṭṭā baisāvchāñ*; The hall is meant for people to sit in."

Then the use of the verandah was asked for, and again the old woman said : — "*Ōñṭā hāi tō ētiañ zātiañchā*; The verandah is meant for such as come and go."

The poor woman, for the second time, was refused a place for her confinement, and again went into the jungle and was delivered under a *kāñṭā* tree (catchu-nut tree), where she left the child and went home, occasionally going back to the tree to suckle it. For the second time there fell a shower of gold on her husband's ship, and, again distributing sugar to the crew, he returned home with great joy; but only to be disappointed, for the old woman again told him a lot of

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'the hall is for rising and sitting.'

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'the verandah is for such as come and go.'



tales, and produced a *bôvâtrâ* (Goa broom), saying that his wife had given birth to it! The husband was very much incensed against his wife, but cooled his ire, and had patience with her.

When a few more years had passed his wife again became pregnant, and for the third time her husband went on a voyage, leaving his wife to the care of his mother, who promised all care and to take every precaution that would ensure a successful delivery. Before he went away, he said: — "*Mâlâ sôkrâ hôil tē mājē târôdear sôniachâ pânîh parêl, ani sôkrâ hôil tē rūpiachâ pânîh parêl*; Should a son be born to me there will fall on my ship a shower of gold, but if a daughter hen a shower of silver."

Now in due time the wife felt her time approaching, and, therefore, asked her mother-in-law if she might use the sleeping apartment, but she only got the same old answer: — "*Kâmbrâ hái tē dēoân dharmâchâ*; The sleeping-room is assigned to the gods and religious rites."

So also when she asked for a place in the hall, she was told: — "*Sâl hái tē ūtâ baisâvchâh*; The hall is meant for people to sit in."

She now pleaded for the verandah, but was put off by the same answer: — "*Ônâ hái tē etiân zâtianchâ*; The verandah is meant for passers-by."

The poor woman saw no alternative, but had again to resort to the jungle, and was delivered this time of a daughter, under a tamarind tree (*chinch*). After her delivery she left the child there and went home, occasionally going back to suckle it. Her husband witnessed a heavy shower of silver, and, after again distributing sugar to the crew, returned home; but only to be disappointed for the third time, for he was now shewn a *môvâli* (date-palm broom).

Now, this time the old woman told him so many tales that he was mad with rage. She told him to get rid of his wife, and said she would get him married to another. Her son believed every word that was told him, and having chastised his wife most brutally, went and hanged her on an *ôr tree* (*Ficus religiosa*), and left her there a long time. Fortunately for her, however, there passed that way some *gôvîlâs* (cow-herds) who felt deeply for her, and thought within themselves: — "*Bichârisân kâ gâniâ kâlêi hôn zânê: pân âpân sôrvîh tîlâ*; What offence the poor woman may have committed, who can say? But we will, nevertheless, set her free."

So they set her free, and went their way to graze their cattle. She now went and fetched together her children. The two boys were pretty well advanced in years, and the girl had made wonderful progress in her growth. So they built a hut, and lived in it.

The old woman, in the meanwhile, made arrangements for getting her son married to another girl, and on the appointed day our hero was dressed up ready to go to the Church. But his former wife, who came to know that her husband was about to go to Church to be married to some one else, called to her children and taught them to say: —

*Âmbiâ bûrchiâ âmbayâ dâdâ, kâzû bûrchiâ kâzûyâ dâdâ, chinché bûrchê sâlôp bâyê, lâl tôpîvâlâ âmchâ báp, ôrâvar fânglêi âmchâ âi, dharam kar gô kausâlnê âjê*; Brother Mango from under the mango tree; Brother Catchu-nut from under the catchu-nut tree; Sister Sâlôp from under the tamarind tree; the man with the red hat is our father; our mother is hanging on the banian tree; give alms, oh tale-telling grandmother!"

When they were able to repeat this by heart, she told them to go and say it near their father's house. The children went and standing before the house repeated what their mother had taught them. Their father, who had never seen them before, was taken by their faces, and, as he did not understand what they had said, he told them to repeat it again, upon which they said: —

*Âmbiâ bûrchiâ âmbayâ dâdâ, kâzû bûrchiâ kâzûyâ dâdâ, chinché bûrchê sâlôp bâyê, lâl tôpîvâlâ âmchâ báp, ôrâvar fânglêi âmchâ âi, dharam kar gô kausâlnê âjê*; Brother Mango from under



the mango tree; Brother Catchu-nut from under the catchu-nut tree; Sister Sâlôp from under the tamarind tree; the man with the red hat is our father; our mother is hanging on the banian tree; give alms, oh tale-telling grandmother!"

Their father called to his mother and told her to give them some *ôré*.<sup>3</sup> She came out, but, suspecting who the children were, refused to give them anything. Their father, however, himself went to the cook-house, and fetched some *ôré* and gave them to the children. He then made them repeat what they said over and over again several times. At last he thought there must be some meaning attached to what they said, and asked them where they had learnt it. The children told him that their mother had taught them. Upon this he told them to call their mother (his own wife), and when she came in his presence, he asked her whose children they were that were standing before them, and she said: — "These children are yours and mine."

When she said this, he told her to explain what it all meant. She then told him all: — How she had been prevented from being delivered in the house on the plea that "*kámbrá hái tô dēvān dharmāchā*, the sleeping-room belongs to the gods and religious rites: *sāl hái té ātā bāisāchān*, the hall is meant for sitting in: *ôhā hái tô ôtiān zātiānchā*, the verandah belongs to passers-by;" and how she had resorted to the jungle, where she was delivered first of a boy under a mango tree, a second time of another boy under a catchu-nut tree, and the third time of a girl under a tamarind tree; and how each time she was wont to go home leaving the children there, occasionally going to them to give them milk; and how his mother, whenever he came home, shewed him first an *ôrōṅṅā* (spice-grinding-stone), secondly a *bōvātrā* (Goa broom), and thirdly a *mōvāli* (date-palm broom); and how, not content with these tricks, she had told him a great many tales. Upon this he embraced his wife and children, and asked her why she did not tell him all this long ago, even at the risk of her life. Then in a rage he took hold of his mother, cut her into three pieces, and hung the pieces up on three roads.

After this he lived happily with his wife and children.<sup>4</sup>

#### MISCELLANEA.

##### TIBETAN FOLKLORE.

###### 1.—Cats.

The Cat is treated by Tibetans with the most marked attention and forbearance. Even when it spills milk, breaks or destroys any valuable object or kills some pet bird, it is never whipped or beaten in any way; but merely chid, and gently driven away by the voice: — while were a dog or child to commit these offences they would be soundly thrashed.

Such very mild and considerate treatment might lead one to suppose that the cat is esteemed holy. But such is not the case. It is indeed regarded as a useful animal to the extent that it contributes to the preservation of sacred pictures, robes, books, and sacrificial food and the like, by killing the rats and mice which consume and

destroy these. But otherwise the cat is considered to be the most sinful being on earth, on account of its constant desire for taking life, even when gorged with food, and its torture of its victims. Its mild treatment is due to the belief that whoever causes the death of a cat, whether accidentally or otherwise, will have the sins of the cat transferred to his shoulders. And so great is the burden of its sins that even were one *sfr* (2 lbs.) of butter for each hair on the cat's body offered in feeding the temple lamps before Buddha's image, the crime would not be expiated. Hence everyone is most careful to avoid incurring this calamity. And when a cat dies its body is carried outside the village and deposited, if possible, at a place where two paths cross.

L. A. WADDELL.

<sup>3</sup> The process of making these *ôré* (singular *ôrd*) is similar to making *pôl* (see ante, p. 143). But while *pôl* are made in the shape of ordinary hand-bread, *ôré* are made by putting lumps of wheaten dough, thicker than that used for *pôl*, into boiling oil. *ôré* are generally made on occasions of weddings and feasts.

<sup>4</sup> [This story is valuable as shewing where the second part of the extraordinary story of Bāpkhādī (ante, p. 142 ff.) comes from. — Ed.]



NOTES ON AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR THROUGH RAMANNADESA  
(THE TALAING COUNTRY OF BURMA).

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

UNDER instructions from the Government of Burma, I left Rangoon for Moulmein on the 5th December, 1891. As it was my intention to explore the whole of the country, which constituted the ancient Talaing kingdom of Rāmaññadēsa, with special reference to the elucidation of the history of the places mentioned in the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions, I went down to Amherst by boat and returned to Moulmein by land, and the notes now published are those that I was enabled to make by the way.

The Mun or Talaing language is still spoken in the villages between Amherst and Moulmein, and is still taught in the monastic schools there; but, owing to there being no Government grants-in-aid given for the encouragement of its study, it is not taught in the lay schools. The Talaing language has a unique literature of its own; numbers of inscriptions are recorded in it; and certain questions relating to the ethnography, history, antiquities, and languages of the peoples inhabiting Burma are awaiting solution, because the Talaing literature is still a *terra incognita*. Considering that the study of the insignificant dialects of the Karen language, which has no indigenous literature, and whose alphabet was invented by Doctor Wade, an American Missionary, in 1832, receives considerable encouragement, it would be well if the Education Department could see its way to recognize Talaing in the curriculum of studies for indigenous schools in those parts of the Tavoy, Amherst, Shwēgyin, and Pegu districts, where it is still spoken and studied. This measure would, no doubt, be pleasing to the Talaings, and would be a token of gracious, although late, recognition of the services rendered by their fellow-countrymen to the British in the first and second Burmese Wars.<sup>1</sup>

About 20 miles from Amherst is Wāgarū, originally founded by King Wāgarū near the close of the 13th Century, A. D. The site of the old city is now completely covered with jungle; but traces of its walls and moat still exist. It is said that its walls were of laterite, and that images of the same material existed in its vicinity. But I saw neither the walls nor the images; apparently the laterite walls have served as road-metal for the contractors of the Public Works Department, and the images are hidden by jungle. I am not sure whether any excavations carried out at Wāgarū would bring to light any inscriptions or objects of archaeological interest.

On the 11th December, Pāgāt was visited. There are caves of great historical interest in its neighbourhood. Pāgāt is the birth-place of Wāgarū, who restored the Talaing monarchy after Rāmaññadēsa had been subject to Burmese rule for over two centuries, and is full of historical associations. It was here that Dālābān,<sup>2</sup> the 'Hereward the Wake' of the Talaings, utilized the strategic position of the place, and for long defied the Burmese forces of (Aṣaṅg'p'ayā) Alompra's son and immediate successor, Naungdōgyi.<sup>3</sup> The caves are natural openings in hills of submarine limestone rock. Some of them are over 1,000 feet in height and have precipitous sides. It is reported that large boxes of Talaing palm-leaf manuscripts, which were originally hidden by patriotic Talaings to escape destruction from the ruthless hands of the Burmese conquerors, are decaying<sup>4</sup> in the sequestered parts of these caves.

<sup>1</sup> [I fully endorse this plea for the preservation of the Talaing language. It is rapidly disappearing before Burmese, and it is pitiable to note the absolute ignorance of many Talaings of their distinctive language. But historically it is quite as valuable as Burmese, if not more so. It is not desirable, speaking practically, to revive Talaing, but academically its preservation would be invaluable and a chair in the Rangoon College might well be devoted to Talaing and its epigraphy and literature.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> d=ss in Italian coin.

<sup>3</sup> d=aw in 'law.'

<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, I learnt from a priest of the Mahāyān kyaung (monastery) at Kadō, that complete sets of Talaing manuscripts are being preserved in the Royal Libraries at Bangkok. It would be a good thing to obtain a set for the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. Perhaps the British Consul could be moved to prefer a request to



There are now few persons, who can read and understand these manuscripts; but, whenever they shall have been interpreted by a trained scholar, they will throw a flood of light on Talaing history, and on the history of learned, religious, and commercial relations between Ramañña-dêsa, Ceylon, and Southern India. They will also solve certain questions connected with Pāli and Saṁskṛit philology and literature.

Owing to want of time only two caves, namely, the Kògun and Pàgàt, could be visited. The former presents a splendid sight. Its precipitous side facing the Kògun village is completely covered by painted terra cotta tablets arranged symmetrically in the form of terraces and spires. Inside the cave are lying images of various sizes in different stages of decay and ruin. They are found to be made of the following substances: lead, brass, wood, stone, brick, and lacquerware. The majority of them bespeak their antiquity, as they differ from modern ones in the following particulars:—the head is surmounted by a spiral truncated cone representing the Buddhist nimbus; the bristles of the hair are represented; the ears do not touch the shoulders; the forehead is prominent, but remarkably narrow; the eyebrows, eyes, and lips are the most prominent features of the face; the body is short and stout and the head is disproportionately big; the limbs are full and large; the sole of the right foot is not displayed.

No history is known to exist about the caves of this neighbourhood; nor is there any person, layman or priest, who can relate anything historically true about them. But, judging from the fact that Ramaññadêsa was subject to Cambodian rule from the 6th to the 10th century A. D., and again to Siamese rule in the 14th century, it may be safely inferred that most of the images are of Cambodian or Siamese origin. The general architectural effect of the cave, and the resemblance of these images to those of Siam, favour this view. A closer examination in detail, however, might reveal the fact that some of the images were dedicated to Brahmanical worship, which was favoured by the ancient Kings of Cambodia, that others are of Sinhalese or Dravidian origin, and that there is some relationship, historical, religious, and architectural, between the caves in the Amherst district and the cave temples of Cambodia and India. I brought away three small wooden images with legends, now illegible, but conjectured to be in the Siamese characters inscribed on their pedestals. (See plate.)

The Pàgàt Cave was next visited. It contains nothing of interest. It is now the home of bats, whose dung yields an annual revenue of Rs. 600. It would appear that the contents of this cave have been made away with in order to make room for the more valuable dung!

Near this cave is a monastery, now occupied by a priest from Upper Burma. Since the annexation of that province to the British Crown, numbers of Buddhist priests from it have settled down in this district. Owing to their reputed learning and their conversational powers, they are highly esteemed and are abundantly supplied with the necessities of life. The Talaing priests are, as a rule, somewhat lax in their observance of strict precepts: *e. g.*, they are possessed of boats and landed estates, drive about in bullock-carts, drink tea in the evenings, and smoke cigars in public! Such conduct is now being followed by the priests from Upper Burma, who appear to be imbued with the truth of the proverb: "At Rome, do as Rome does." The burden of supporting the priests, who do very little in return for their maintenance, and who idle away most of their time, because the educational work is better and more efficiently done by the lay schools, is in the Talaing Country indeed a heavy one. On an average about 100 houses support a *kyaung*, and every village that has any pretence to piety must have a *kyaung* of its own. The standard of material comfort of the villagers,

this effect to His Siamese Majesty. The late Dr. Forchhammer succeeded in procuring a number of ancient Talaing manuscripts from the caves in the neighbourhood of Pàgàt. I understand some of them, if not all, are now lying in the Bernard Free Library. [The Chief Commissioner, Barmah, has addressed the British Consul at Bangkok on the subject.—ED.]



INSCRIBED WOODEN IMAGES FROM THE KOGUN CAVE.









who maintain the *kyaung*, may be a low one, but the *pôngyi* in charge of the *kyaung* is fed on the fat of the land.

On the 14th December, I visited *Kôkarêk*, which is inhabited by Burmans, Talaings, Shâns, Karens, and Taungdûs. The Taungdûs are an interesting people. They have a literature<sup>5</sup> of their own, and I obtained a copy of a poetical work called *Suttanippan* (*Suttanibbâna* or *Nibbânasutta*).<sup>6</sup> The language of the Taungdûs contains words bodily borrowed from the languages of the peoples by whom they are surrounded. The Taungdûs resemble their congeners, the Karens, in physical appearance; their build is thick-set, and they have full, round, and heavy features. At *Kôkarêk* the Taungdû language is purer than at *Thatôn*, although there have been many inter-marriages between the Taungdûs and the Shâns.

The meaning of the word 'Taungdû' is **Highlander**, in contradistinction to the people of the lowlands. A similar distinction obtains in Cambodia, the ancient Kingdom of the Khmers.<sup>7</sup> The latter M. Mouhot describes thus:—"Having a great taste for music, and being gifted with ears excessively fine, with them<sup>8</sup> originated the *tam-tam*, so prized among the neighbouring nations; and by uniting its sounds to those of a large drum, they obtain music tolerably harmonious. The art of writing is unknown to them; and as they necessarily lead a wandering life, they seem to have lost nearly all traditions of the past. The only information I could extract from their oldest chief was, that far beyond the chain of mountains which crosses the country from north to south, are other people of the high country (such is the name they give themselves; that of *savage* wounds them greatly), that they have many relations there, and they even cite names of villages or hamlets as far as the provinces occupied by the Annamite invaders. Their practice is to bury their dead." The above description would, with slight modifications and with the exception of the part relating to their ignorance of the art of writing, answer very well for that of the Taungdûs.

The Taungdûs call themselves *Phâô*, i. e., ancient fathers, and have a tradition that large numbers of them emigrated years ago from their original seat of *Thatôn* to a State of the same name in the Shân country. Since then they have borrowed largely from Shân literature: in fact, their books, most of which have been translated from Shân, contain a large admixture of Shân words.<sup>9</sup>

The Taungdû alphabet appears to have a closer affinity to that of the Talaings or the Burmans than to that of the Shâns, as it recognises the medial letters, which are absent in Shân. The one peculiarity deserving of notice in the pronunciation of the letters is the Indian sound accorded to the letters of the palatal class, e.g., ञ is pronounced *ch* and not *s*, as the Tibetans, Burmans, and Talaings pronounce. This is a remarkable fact showing the probability of the Taungdûs having received their alphabet direct from Indian colonists.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "My authority for this is the following extract of a note from a gentleman of the American Mission to Lieutenant Newmarch:—

"The Tounghthoos have a written language and books, and kyoungs and priests. I have seen their books, and on the fall of Sebastopol I printed the Governor-General's proclamation for Lieutenant Burn in Tounghthoo, but I confess it was the first and only thing that was ever printed in Tounghthoo."—Yule's *Mission to Ava*, Appendix M., page 383.

<sup>6</sup> [This is now in the British Museum. Dr. Cushing informs me that Taungdû MSS. are frequently to be met with in Shân monasteries, and that the commonest text of all is the *Suttanippan*.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Vide Mouhot's *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China, Cambodia, and Laos*, page 24.

<sup>8</sup> Savages to the East of Cambodia, called by the Cambodians their elder brothers.

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The Taungḍûs call themselves Pháo, i. e., ancient fathers, and have a tradition that large numbers of them emigrated years ago from their original seat of Thatôn to a State of the same name in the Shân country. Since then they have borrowed largely from Shân literature: in fact, their books, most of which have been translated from Shân, contain a large admixture of Shân words.<sup>9</sup>

The Taungḍû alphabet appears to have a closer affinity to that of the Talaings or the Burmans than to that of the Shâns, as it recognises the medial letters, which are absent in Shân. The one peculiarity deserving of notice in the pronunciation of the letters is the Indian sound accorded to the letters of the palatal class, e.g., *च* is pronounced *ch* and not *s*, as the Tibetans, Burmans, and Talaings pronounce. This is a remarkable fact showing the probability of the Taungḍûs having received their alphabet direct from Indian colonists.<sup>10</sup>

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The Taungŏu language, as evidenced by the comparative vocabulary shown below, has closer affinity to Burmese than to Shân or Talaing :

Taungŏu.	Burmese.	Meaning.
Ta-pá <sup>11</sup> ... ..	Ta, tit ... ..	One.
Ni-pá ... ..	Hna, hnit ... ..	Two.
Sôn-pá ... ..	bôn : <sup>14</sup> ... ..	Three.
Lit-pá ... ..	Lé : ... ..	Four.
Ngat-pá ... ..	Ngá : ... ..	Five.
Sú-pá ... ..	Chauk ... ..	Six.
Niv-pá ... ..	Khuhnit... ..	Seven.
Sôt-pá ... ..	Shit ... ..	Eight.
Kut-pá ... ..	Kô : ... ..	Nine.
Tachi : <sup>12</sup> ... ..	Tasè <sup>15</sup> ... ..	Ten.
Mi : <sup>13</sup> ... ..	Nê ... ..	Sun.
Lá ... ..	Là ... ..	Moon.
Chá ... ..	Kyè <sup>16</sup> ... ..	Star.
Phá ... ..	Phà ... ..	Father.
Mê : ... ..	Mi ... ..	Mother.
Lô ... ..	Lú ... ..	Man.

On the 28th, I started for Thatôn and reached it on the same day. Datôn, as the name spelt Thatôn, Thahtun, and Thatone, is pronounced, has been identified by Burmese and Talaing writers as the *Suvannabhūmi* of the Buddhist books, and the *Aurea Regio* of Ptolemy and others. It is bounded on the east by the Dīnganēk Range, which is about 12 miles long, and trends from north to south. On the west is an immense rice plain, which is about 15 miles in breadth, and beyond that is the sea. In the rainy season the plain is covered by water and navigation over it by boat is possible.

According to a Talaing tradition, Thatôn was founded by Siharājā, a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. In choosing the site of the new city he consulted his foster-father, the Rishi of Zingyaik, and was advised to select a spot where gold was found, and to which a large population would be attracted in a short time. The spot where the Jubilee Memorial Fountain, erected in 1888, is now playing, is still pointed out as the site of the palace of Siharājā and Manuhā, the first and last kings of Thatôn. Close by is the gold-bearing stream of the Shwēgyaung Sān, which is perennial and issues from the Dīnganēk (Singanika) Hill. Gold is still worked by isolated individuals at the beginning and close of the rainy season, but the quantities obtained are not commensurate with the amount of labour involved.

There are five Talaing inscriptions at Thatôn : four in the enclosure of the Shwēzāyān Pagoda, and the remaining one under a banyan tree at Nyaungwaing. Their palæography indicates that their age is about 400 years.

Three brick buildings near the Shwēzāyān Pagoda are known as the libraries, whence Andrat'āzò, King of Pagàn, is said to have removed the "five elephant-loads of Buddhist scriptures" in 1057 A. D.

<sup>11</sup> Pá denotes an individual unit. Its cognate form, pronounced with the heavy tone, is employed as a numeral co-efficient in Burmese.

<sup>12</sup> Ch in Taungŏu is interchangeable with s in Burmese.

<sup>13</sup> This word means fire in Burmese ; but the primitive conception of the sun as the source of heat may have possibly existed.

<sup>14</sup> The sign : denotes that the syllable to which it is affixed should be pronounced with the heavy tone.

<sup>15</sup> é as ai in 'pair.'

<sup>16</sup> Ky = ch in Burmese as often as not.



Terra cotta tablets, inserted in niches in the *Dagyap'aya* (pagoda) within the same enclosure are of considerable interest. Most of them have been destroyed, and the meaning of the representations is not accurately understood. But they appear to indicate that the people, whoever they were, who constructed these tablets, undoubtedly professed Brahmanism or Hinduism, and that they had attained to some degree of civilization. Siva with his trident is the predominant figure; conveyances are drawn by single ponies, and women wear their hair in big knots at the back of the head. The features of the persons represented are of Mongolian cast, and resemble those of the Karens and Taungdûs of the present day.<sup>17</sup>

The *Dagyap'aya*, in common with other sacred edifices built by the Talaings, is constructed of hewn laterite; and the existence of several tanks in its vicinity indicates the source whence this building material was obtained.

There are three sculptures in bas-relief on stone, representing Vaishnava symbols, lying in the enclosure of the Assistant Commissioner's Court-house. These have been removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon.<sup>18</sup>

*Nât* (i.e. spirit) worship is still, as in other parts of Burma, one of the prevailing forms of belief at Thatôn. I visited the temple of the *Nât* called *Phô-phô* = Grandfather. Tradition, which is, in this case, *prima facie* palpably false, says that, when this *Nât* was a human being, he was charged by *Sôna* and *Uttara*, the Buddhist missionaries who visited *Râmañadêsa* in the third century B.C., to safeguard Thatôn against the attacks of the *bilds* or ogres. The image of *Phô-phô* represents an old man of about 60 years of age, sitting cross-legged, with a white fillet round the head, and a moustache and pointed beard. The forehead is broad and the face bears an intelligent expression. The upper portion of the body is nude, and the lower is dressed in a *chék pasô*, or loin-cloth, of the zigzag pattern so much prized by the people of Burma. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left is in the act of counting the beads of a rosary. The height of the figure is about five feet. In the apartment on the left of *Phô-phô* is an image representing a benign-looking *wun*, or governor, in full official dress. Facing the second image in a separate apartment is the representation of a wild, fierce-looking *bô*, or military officer, in uniform. The fourth apartment on the left of the *bô* is dedicated to a female *nât*, who is presumably the wife of *Phô-phô*. But there is no image representing her. It is a noteworthy fact that, as it would be if in India and Ceylon, this temple is held in veneration by various nationalities professing different creeds. The images of the *nâts* are in a good state of preservation, as they are in the custody of a medium, who gains a comfortable livelihood thereby. An annual festival, which is largely attended, is held in their honour. These *nâts* are to my mind clearly an embodiment of hero-worship, representing some benevolent and sympathetic Burmese governor and his relatives, who left behind them a kindly memory.<sup>19</sup>

On the 31st December, I visited the *Kôkbônnayôn Hill*, which is about eight miles to the west of *Bilin*. On the top of the hill are two images representing the Buddhist missionaries, *Sôna* and *Uttara*, in a recumbent posture and with their hands clasped towards a stone vessel placed between them. The vessel is reputed to contain a hair of *Gautama Buddha*. Around *Sôna* and *Uttara* are the figures of *yahândas*, or Buddhist saints, with full, round, and heavy features. The foreheads of these figures are broad and prominent, but retreating; the nose is big and long; and the mouth large. At the four corners of the platform on the top of the hill, are figures of a strange monster, half man, half beast, called, by a false Palicism, *Manussihâ*.

<sup>17</sup> A description of these tablets is given at pages 716 and 717 of the *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II. [I do not personally quite agree with the statements in the text and will endeavour to show, in a paper now preparing for publication in this *Journal*, that all the Thatôn sculptures are quite compatible with the Buddhist cult.—Ed.]

<sup>18</sup> [Though of a most interesting Indian character, it is probably yet premature to state their precise nature.—Ed.]

<sup>19</sup> [I may note that, when I was in Thatôn, I was told that they represent a Portuguese governor and his staff, and that they are consulted before entering on any kind of project. If they smile the project will succeed.—Ed.]



There is no such Pāli word, but the term has been coined to designate a monster with one human head and two lions' bodies. The 'origin' of the *manussīha* is thus recorded in the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions:—

"The town (Gōlamattikanagara= the modern Ayetbèma in the Shwēgyin district) was situated on the sea-shore; and there was a *rakkhasī*, who lived in the sea, and was in the habit of always seizing and devouring every child that was born in the king's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two *thēras*, the chief queen of the king gave birth to a child. The *rakkhasī*, knowing that a child had been born in the king's palace, came towards the town, surrounded by 500 other *rakkhasas*, with the object of devouring it. When the people saw the *rakkhasī*, they were stricken with terror, and raised a loud cry. The two *thēras*, perceiving that the *rakkhasī* and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the *rakkhasī*, and these monsters chased the *rakkhasas* and obstructed their further progress. When the *piśāchas* saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two *thēras*, they cried out: 'Now we shall become their prey, and being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea.'"

Fergusson, in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (page 622), makes the following pertinent remarks on the origin of this monster: "This illustration (of the Shwēdagōn Pagoda at Rangoon) is also valuable as showing the last lineal descendant of these great human-headed winged lions that once adorned the portals of the palaces at Nineveh; but after nearly 3,000 years of wandering and ill-treatment have degenerated into these wretched caricatures of their former selves."<sup>20</sup>

In an image-house at the foot of the hill is a brass bell on which the old Talaing inscription has been effaced, and a modern Burmese one engraved. It is, perhaps, hopeless to recover a copy of the ancient inscription.

On the 1st January 1892, I visited the Tisaung Pagoda at Zókthók village, which is about 6 miles to the north of Bilin. The basement of the pagoda is constructed of blocks of laterite, each about 2 feet by 1½ feet by 1 foot in dimension. Some of the images, as well as the receptacles for offerings, &c., placed around it are of the same material, and bear traces of ornamentation. In the neighbourhood are sculptures in relief engraved on large laterite blocks, which are so arranged as to form panels on the face of a wall or rampart of earth 450 feet long and 12 feet high. They are known as the *sindāt-myindāt* (elephants and horses of war); but the representations are those of elephants and tigers, or lions, alternately with those of *nāts* interspersed between them.<sup>21</sup>

The Kēlābā (Kēlāsa) Pagoda — the Kēlāsabhapabbatachētiya<sup>22</sup> of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions — was visited on the 2nd January. It is situated on a steep hill about 2,000 feet high, and appears to have been renovated. It derives its sanctity from the tradition that, like the Kyaiktiyō and Kōkbōnnāyōn Pagodas, it contains one of the three hairs given by Gautama Buddha to the Rishi Kēlāsa. Near the pagoda are two stone inscriptions cut by King Dhammachēti. They are in the Talaing character. The engraved portion of one has been entirely destroyed and only the socket remains standing, while half of the other has been broken. Only one *manussīha*, facing seawards, is found on the pagoda platform. Numbers of square bricks with the representation of a lotus flower impressed upon them are lying about the place.

<sup>20</sup> [The very remarkable resemblance of the *chinṣē* of Burma (out of which, no doubt, grew the *manussīha*) to the winged Lion of Nineveh, down to the very beard, has often impressed me. So also has that of the *lō* of Burma to the winged bull. An intermediary form of the *chinṣē* is perhaps to be seen in the two lions couchant (= *chinṣē*) from the Amarāvati Tope in the British Museum.—Ed.]

<sup>21</sup> [They probably were intended to represent a military expedition. See below, note 23.—Ed.]

<sup>22</sup> [The syllable *bā* in this word is remarkable, and occurs, apparently as a local peculiarity, in other Palicisms of the Talaings. Eg., Tikumbhachēti = the modern Palicized name of the Shwēdagōn Pagoda.—Ed.]



The Kêlâsa Hill abounds in plants used in Burmese medicine. The plant, called *maukk'adô*, is employed as an antidote against snake-poison, and another, called *k'wêgaungzawet*, is used in curing hydrophobia.

On the same day, the village of *Ayetbômâ*, which is four miles off, was visited. It is the ancient *Taikkulâ* and the *Gôlamattikanagara* of the *Kalyâni* Inscriptions. Dr. Forchhammer in his *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, II. page 7, says: "Though the seashore is now about twelve miles<sup>23</sup> to the west, this place was still an important seaport in the 16th and 17th centuries; it is marked on the map of Professor Lassen as *Takkala*, but erroneously placed a few miles north of *Tavoy*. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of sea-going vessels are still frequently dug up about *Taikkulâ*."<sup>24</sup>

As to *Gôlamattikanagara* (for *Gôla* read *Skr. Gauḍa*), if the evidence afforded by the *Kalyâni* Inscriptions can be relied on, the settlement in *Suvannabhûmi* was apparently colonized from Bengal during one of the struggles for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism and possibly Jainism also.<sup>25</sup> At the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council it was remembered by the mother-country, and missionaries were sent to it in order to re-establish community of faith.

There used to be a *Talaing* inscription near *Ayetbômâ*, but it was removed to the *Phayre Museum* at Rangoon about eight years ago. Traces of a wall and moat still exist, and fragments of pottery and of glazed tiles are found in the neighbourhood.

*Pegu* was reached on the night of the 3rd January. Extensive ruins are extant on the east and west face of the town. The ruins at *Zaingganang*, on the west side, comprise those of *Kalyânisimâ*, *Mahâchêti*, *Yabêmyô*, *Kyaikpun*,<sup>26</sup> and *Shwêgûyi*. There are ten inscriptions at *Kalyânisimâ*, one at *Yabêmyô* and twenty-two at *Shwêgûyi*. Between *Kalyânisimâ* and *Mahâchêti* is an enormous image of *Gautama Buddha* in a recumbent posture, measuring about 181 feet in length. Treasure-hunters have been hard at work among these ruins, and I am told that their acts of vandalism are countenanced both by the *pôngyis* and the native officials, who expect a share in the "finds." Most of the stone inscriptions have been broken by treasure-hunters, or by pagoda slaves, who were anxious to obliterate the record of their origin. In some cases, the names of persons dedicated as pagoda slaves have been carefully chiselled out.<sup>27</sup>

*Pegu* is the *Thebaid* of *Râmanâdêsa*, as *Pagân* is of *Burma Proper*, and its ruins have great claim to a detailed archæological survey. The *Kalyânisimâ* is the most interesting of all. (See plate No. 1.) It is an ancient Hall of Ordination, to which Buddhist priests from all parts of *Burma*, and even from *Ceylon* and *Siam*, used to flock to receive their *upasampadâ* ordination. Close by are ten stone-slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides. All of them are more or less broken, but the fragments, which are lying scattered about are

<sup>23</sup> Of late, the sea has been encroaching on the land. At the time of my visit, the sites of many villages, which derived their wealth and prosperity from the rice trade, were under water.

<sup>24</sup> The subject of the identification of this place with the *Takôla* of *Ptolemy* and the *Kalah* of *Arabian Geographers* is discussed, *op. cit.*, at pages 12—16, and at pages 198 and 199 of *McCrimble's Ancient India described by Ptolemy*.

<sup>25</sup> The *Kalyâni* Inscriptions (1476 A. D.), obverse of first stone, say "this town is called to this day *Gôlamattikanagara*, because it contains many mud and wattle houses resembling those of the *Gôla* people."

<sup>26</sup> Four colossal images of *Buddha* sitting cross-legged, back to back, and facing the cardinal points. The height of each image is about 90 feet; the thumb measures 8 feet, the arm from the inner elbow-joint to the tip of the middle finger 33 feet, the distance from knee to knee 62 feet. The images represent the four *Buddhas*, who have appeared in this *Kalpa*, namely, *Kakusandha*, *Kôṇagamana*, *Kassapa*, and *Gautama*. Similar images are found at *Pagân*, the prototype being probably those of *Angkor Thôm*. [These peculiar images are clearly *Cambodian*, and form a tower of the ordinary *Cambodian* type. Terra cotta tablets, much mutilated unfortunately, found in the neighbourhood clearly represent *Cambodian* figures, such as are common in *Pnom-Penh*.—Ed.]

<sup>27</sup> [A common and unfortunate practice all over *Burma*.—Ed.]



capable of restoration. Their average dimensions are about 12 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot and 3 inches thick. They were set up by King Dhammachêti after he had founded the Kalyāṇisimā in 1476 A. D. The language of the inscriptions is partly Pāli and partly Talaing. (See plate No. 2.) Numerous copies of the Pāli portion on palm-leaf are extant, and from two of them I have prepared a text transcribed in the Roman character.<sup>28</sup> The great value of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions rests on the detailed information they give of the manner in which *simās* (*bēngs*) should be consecrated in order to secure their validity, of the intercourse of Pegu and Burma with Ceylon and Southern India in the 15th century A. D., and of the Burmese view of the apostolic succession of the Buddhist priesthood.

The Mahāchêti Pagoda is a huge pile of brick and laterite, built by Hānpawadi S'inbyūyin about the middle of the 16th century A. D. Only the square basement now remains, measuring about 320 feet wide at the base, and about 170 feet high.

Nothing definite is known about the ruins of Yabēmyō, Kyaikpun, and Shwēgūgyi. In the neighbourhood of the last-named Pagoda, glazed terra cotta tablets exhibiting, in relief, figures of human beings and animals were found lying scattered about. A number of such tablets have been collected in Mr. Jackson's garden near the Kalyāṇisimā. All these should be acquired by Government and sent to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon. They appear to have been manufactured by colonists from India.<sup>29</sup>

The religious buildings at Pegu suffered greatly at the hands of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito y Nicote, alias Maung Zingā, who held his Court at Syriam at the beginning of the 17th century, and also at the hands of Alompra's soldiery, who, being incensed at the acts of sacrilege committed by the Talaings during their ephemeral conquest of Burma Proper, wreaked their vengeance when their turn came. It is said that Maung Zingā, who was originally a ship-boy, and was stationed at Syriam to watch events and to represent his master, the King of Arakan, entertained ambitious designs of holding Pegu as a dependency of the Crown of Portugal and of converting the Peguans to Christianity. For the attainment of this object, he allied himself with Byinnyā Dalā, the Governor of Martaban, who was tributary to Siam, and opened communications with the Viceroy of Goa. He failed in his object and met with his death, because he had alienated the sympathy of the people by breaking down their religious buildings and shipping off to Goa the treasures obtained therefrom in "five ships." In the plaintive words of the *ḡamaing* or *history* of the Shwēmōddō Pagoda: "Maung Zingā was a heretic, who, for ten years, searched for pagodas to destroy them. Religion perished in Rāmañña, and good works were no longer performed."

The Shwēgūgalō Pagoda is in a good state of preservation. Its basement consists of a gallery containing 64 images of Buddha, each 4 feet 8 inches high, which were apparently constructed by Siamese architects. It is octagonal in shape, and is a remarkable structure. On each side is an entrance, 6 feet high by 3 feet 2 inches wide, and 7 feet 2 inches long; these entrances lead to an interior gallery, 5 feet 2 inches wide and 7 feet 3 inches high; the entire gallery, passing round the central portion, measures 246 feet.

Close to the Mazinchaung, is the Shwēnabā Pagoda. It contains an image sculptured in relief on a tablet of sandstone measuring 5½ feet by 4 feet. The image has an Indian cast of features, and is fabled to be shackled with fetters owing to its having once fled from Pegu. It is said that this image, as well as a similar one of the same name on the eastern face of the

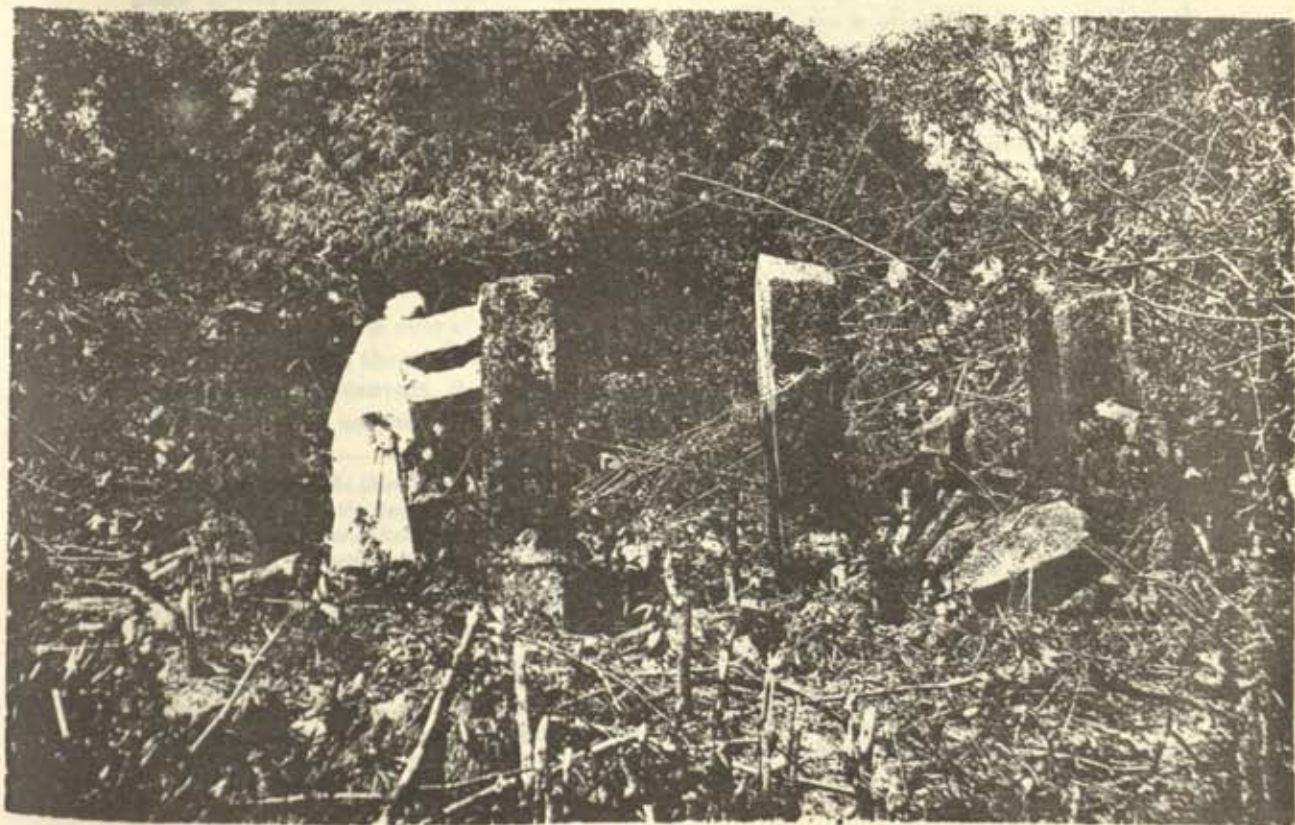
<sup>28</sup> [To be published later in this Journal. With help from the Government, generously accorded, I am making an effort to restore these invaluable documents to their original condition and to preserve them from further injury.—Ed.]

<sup>29</sup> [Through Mr. Jackson's kindness and as a result of a visit by myself to the spot, over 100 of these tablets have been secured for the Phayre Museum. Four are in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford and two in the British Museum. They represent the march, battle and defeat of a foreign (ogre) army. Those found at the other spot mentioned in this article, represent what I take to be Cambodian figures of nobles, and perhaps, ancient Siamese also. A few are inscribed in the Kyauksā (Kiousa) character. Personally, I should doubt their Indian origin.—Ed.]





No.1. THE KALYÂNÎ SIMA AT PEGU,



TAW SEIN KO

No. 2. THE STONES ON WHICH THE KALYÂNÎ INSCRIPTIONS ARE CUT.







city, were brought away from Taikkulā. The resemblance between them and the figure of Avalōkitēśvara<sup>20</sup> is very striking, and suggests the idea that they have probably been modified from an Indian original to suit new surroundings.

Near this image was picked up a small terra cotta tablet bearing a Sanskrit legend which, with other old images lying about the place, was apparently obtained by ransacking the relic-chambers of ancient pagodas. This tablet, now in the British Museum, is of peculiar interest. Some years ago half dozen similar tablets were presented to that museum, which were found at Buddha Gayā; and the probable history of the specimen found at Pegu is that it was brought from Gayā as part of the collection of relics procured by the Mission sent thither by king Dhammachēti in the latter half of the 15th Century, A. D., and deposited in the relic-chamber of some pagoda erected after their return. The legend is said to be the formula of the "three refuges." The general character of the tablet, independently of the inscription on it, is distinctly Indian.<sup>21</sup>

The eastern face of Pegu was visited on the 5th January. The Shwēmōdō Pagoda, said to contain two hairs of Gautama Buddha enshrined by Mahāsāla and Chūlasāla, sons of Piṇḍakamahāsētti of Zaungtū, was being re-gilt under the supervision of its trustees. The Pagoda was last repaired by Bōdōp'ayā, about a hundred years ago, and a broken inscription recording this meritorious act is lying on the Pagoda platform. There is also an ancient brass bell said to have been presented by Byinn'yā Dalā after his conquest of Avā in 1752 A. D.<sup>22</sup>

Like the Shwēdagōn Pagoda at Rangoon, the Shwēmōdō is a Buddhist shrine of great sanctity. Successive kings of Burma and Pegu lavished their treasures on it in repairing and enlarging it. When originally built, it was only 75 feet high, but as it now stands, it is about 288 feet high, and about 1,350 feet in circumference at the base.

A little to the north-east of the Shwēmōdō is a small hill, fabled to have been the resting-place of two *hansa* birds, when the region about Pegu was under the sea. At the foot of this hill are two octagonal pillars of fine granite. The length of one is about 11 feet and that of the other is about 5. They bear no inscriptions, but a tradition is current that they were erected by *kulā*, i. e., foreign or Indian, merchants, who subsequently claimed the country as their own by virtue of pre-occupation, and that they were driven out by a Talaing prince. However, the true history of the pillars appears to be that, like a similar granite pillar in the ancient town of Tenasserim (Taninḍāyī) in the Mergui District, they were erected when Rāmañḍādesa was subject to Siamese rule, to mark the centre of the ancient city of Hamsāvati, and that most probably human beings were buried alive below the pillars, in the belief that the spirits of the deceased would keep an unrelenting watch over the city.

A good panoramic view of Pegu and its suburbs is obtained from the Shwēaungyō Pagoda, which is situated at the south-east corner of the city walls. At about 700 yards from the southern face is Jētāvati, the encampment of Alompra, who beleaguered Pegu in 1757 A. D. Within the walls are visible the sites of the palaces of the great kings of Hamsāvati, such as

<sup>20</sup> Plate LV. of *The Cave Temples of India*, by Fergusson and Burgess.

<sup>21</sup> [The legend of the Pegu specimen is by itself mostly illegible, but a nearly identical specimen from Gayā at the British Museum the inscription is legible enough. It probably is some well-known formula, but it is not that of the "three refuges." There must either have been some reciprocity in the production of these votive tablets between Gayā and other places whence pilgrims came, or the pilgrims must have induced the local artists to copy inscriptions on their particular gifts in their own various tongues, because among the British Museum specimens is one which has what appear to be imitations of the Kyauksā characters of Burma, much resembling those on the Tenasserim medals figured by Phayre in the *International Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. III., Plates III. and IV., and another has illegible imitation characters on it of some tongue unknown to the artist who made it. Sir Alexander Cunningham has figured some of these tablets, which, he calls seals, in his new book, *Mahabodhi*, Plate XXIV. These are apparently from his own collection of finds at Buddha Gayā, and there are other good samples at the South Kensington Museum, Indian Section, which are wrongly labelled there for the most part.—Ed.]

<sup>22</sup> It is said that the Shwēdagōn was raised to its present height in the last century by the Burmese in order to overtop the Shwēmōdō of the Talaings.



Hanbawadi S'inbyayin known to European writers as Branginoco,<sup>23</sup> Yázadarit,<sup>24</sup> and Dhammachêti. Traces of a double wall and moat are also seen, the walls being in good condition.

I have now traversed through the whole of the ancient Talaing Kingdom of Rāmaññadēsa proper. The stone inscriptions are the chief of many objects of archaeological value and should, if practicable, for the purpose of preservation, be removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon. In the case, however, of inscriptions, whose size and weight render their removal to Rangoon unadvisable, they should be collected at some convenient and central place and arrangements should be made to protect them from the weather. If they remain *in situ* they are liable to become defaced or weather-worn. Manuscripts of historical interest are extremely scarce; the architectural structures have in too many cases been renovated in the modern style; and the religious buildings worthy of conservation are being looked after by the people. No true *stūpas* or *topes*, like those of India, were met with, and the enquiries instituted failed to elicit any information regarding the existence of any records, lithic or otherwise, in the Aśoka character. The absence of any records in this character, both in Rāmaññadēsa and at Pagān, whither it is supposed the Burmese conquerors removed their spoils of war, throws considerable doubt on the authenticity of the account relating to the mission of Sōṇa and Uttara at the conclusion of the Third Council, as stated in the Mahāvamsa and other Buddhist books. The question, however, may be considered to be an open one, until the information afforded by Talaing, Cambodian, and Siamese records, shall have helped its solution.

<sup>23</sup> ["Branginoco" represents the title Bayin Naung, perhaps then pronounced Bhurin Nōng. It is spelt Bhurañ Nōñ.—Ed.]

<sup>24</sup> [This word *Yázadarit* is spelt *Rājādīrāj* and seems to clearly equal *Rājādhirāja*. I may as well note that *Yād-di-badi*, *Narā-di-badi*, *Sēnā-di-badi*, and similar titles in books about Burma are simply the familiar *Rājādhipati*, *Narādhipati*, *Sēnādhipati*, etc., in disguise. The *Di-ba-di* title, which has puzzled so many writers, is really always the latter part of some title, which includes the term *adhipati*, 'ruler, regent, king,' and means that the holder called himself 'overlord of ———,' whatever the first part of the word might mean.—Ed.]



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## ERRATA IN VOL. XXI.

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p. 157, line 26, *for* and "built, read and built. | p. 347, lines 43 and 52, *for* "Horse and Bull Coins"  
" " 27, *for* there," read "there." | read "Cock and Bull Coins."

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