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## CONTENTS

The names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.</td>
<td>Asoka’s Sahasram, Kupamat and Raiyat Edicts</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Crooke, C.S.</td>
<td>Folktales of Hindustan: No. 4.—The Gadariya and the Habit of Lalpur. No. 5.—The Luckey Herdsman. No. 6.—Princess Fireflower. No. 7.—Why the Fish laughed. No. 8.—The Princess who loved her Father like Salt. Santal Folktales, translated from the Santali by A. Campbell</td>
<td>21, 75, 259, 321, 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shankar B. Dikshit</td>
<td>The Date of Sundara-Pandita-Jatavarman</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge. Fr. d’Engha</td>
<td>Folklore in Sylhet: No. 15.—The Parrot’s Tale and the Maima’s Tale. No. 15.—The Prince and the Kambala. No. 17.—A Cinderella Variant.</td>
<td>53, 245, 270, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Mabel Duff</td>
<td>The Chronology of the Kaktiya Dynasty</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Hultsch, Ph.D., bangalore</td>
<td>Danish Come from Tranquebar</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. a. Macdonnell</td>
<td>Kalhana’s Rajatarangini, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, edited by M. A. Stein, Ph.D.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Kanakasahbhai Pillai, B.A., B.L.</td>
<td>Tamil Historical Texts. No. 4.—The Vikrama-Cholas-Ula.</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Venkayya, M.A.</td>
<td>Madras Museum Plays of Jatilavarman.</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. A. Waddell, M.B.</td>
<td>Note on some Ajania Paintings. Froo-Worship amongst the Newara, with a Note on Etymology of the Word ‘Nepal’. The Traditional Migration of the Santal Tribe.</td>
<td>9, 297, 294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putli Bai D. H. Wadia</td>
<td>Persian and Gujarati Hindu Nuptial Songs. Folklore in Western India. No. 18.—The Sleeping Naib. No. 19.—Surya and Chandra.</td>
<td>103, 214, 293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Note on the Name “Shwe-Dagon,” by R. C. Temple</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Evil Eye, by Bernard Houghton</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Short Account of Six Unpublished Inscriptions, by F. Kielhorn</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pansha Samvatsara in the Kasika-Vrattis on p. iv, 21, by F. Kielhorn</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Dates from Inscriptions and MSS, by F. Kielhorn</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES AND QUERIES.

| Ratnasingha—Shwebo—Moutahobo—Kongbaung, by R. C. Temple and Taw Sein-Ko | 28   |
| Masseidue, by R. C. Temple                                            | 118  |
| Wishing Stones in Burma, by R. C. Temple                             | 164  |
| Bao—Indo-European for “Monastery,” by R. C. Temple                   | 165  |
| Ordeal in Modern Indian Life, by R. C. Temple                        | 196  |

BOOK NOTICES.

| Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, by G. A. G. | 112  |
| Kathana’s Rajaratangini. Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, edited by M. A. Stein, Ph.D., by A. A. Macdonell | 130  |
| A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, by Arthur A. Macdonell, by G. A. Grierson | 166  |
| Santal Folktales, translated from the Fantali by A. Campbell, by W. Crooke | 196  |
| Panjia, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der indischen Literatur und Grammatik, Von Bruno Liebrich, by G. A. Grierson | 224  |

ILLUSTRATIONS.

| Polnaung Inscription of Sinbyuyin... | 6   |
| Transcription into Modern Burmese Characters, pp. [1]-[7] | 6   |
| Madras Museum Plates of Jatavaryan | 70  |
| Danish Coins from Tranquebar | 119  |
| Restored Portions of the Pali Stones of the Kalyani Inscriptions of Dhammaichet, 1476 A.D. (Six Plates) | 274  |
| Stones 1 to 10 of the Kalyani Inscriptions | 274  |
| Broken Portions of the Kalyani Stones | 274  |
| Asoka’s Inscriptions: A.—Ruppath Rock Edict of Devanampiya. The Year 254 | 299  |
| B.—Sahasram Rock Edict of Devanampiya. The Year 256 | 299  |
| Map of Ramanaddesa | 338  |
| I.—The Farm Cave—Main Entrance | 366  |
| II(a).—Images and Objects in the Kogun Cave | 18  |
| II(b).—(1) Bhinji-Cave—Entrance | 18  |
| III.—General View of Entrance Hall, Kogun Cave | 18  |
| IV.—Mural Ornamentation, Entrance Hall, Kogun Cave | 18  |
| V.—Kogun Cave, looking towards Entrance of Main Hall | 18  |
| VI.—Images and Mural Decoration, Kogun Cave | 366  |
| VII.—The Great Stalagmite Kogun Cave | 18  |
| VIII.—(1) Grotesque figures from Pegu and Syriam | 18  |
| (2) Images of Buddha, with terra-cotta bricks in situ, near the Kyakpap Pagoda, Pegu. | 18  |
| IX.—Inscribed Tablet from Pegu | 18  |
| X.—Bas reliefs on terra-cotta bricks from Pegu | 18  |
| XI.—Do. | 18  |
| XII.—Do. | 18  |
| XIII.—Do. | 18  |
| XIV.—Bas-reliefs on Stone from Thaton. | 18  |
| XV.—Specimen of a Cambodian Tower—Kyakpap Pagoda, near Pegu | 18  |
| (2) Votive tablet from Buddha Gayas found in Pegu. | 18  |
| XVI.—Figures and votive tablets from the Caves of the Amberist District | 18  |
| XVII.—The Shwethayang or Great Recumbent Buddha at Pegu | 18  |
| XVIII.—The Kyakpap Pagoda near Shwezig | 18  |
| XIX.—The Approach to the Dhammatha Cave | 18  |
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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE POUŽDAUNG INSCRIPTION
OF S‘INBYUYIN, 1774 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

The right bank of the Irrawaddy River near Prome is fringed by a range of hills, and Pōuždaung is the name applied to the topmost of seven hills, forming part of this range. The Pōuždaung Hill is crowned with a massive rock, called the Hermit’s Cap, and shaped like a Buddhist priest’s alms-bowl. On this rock a platform of brick is raised, on which stands the Pōuždaung Pagoda. It is about 30 feet high, and its form and architecture bespeak its being the handiwork of masons from the maritime provinces. Near the pagoda is an image-house, which bears date 1236, Burmese Era, (1874 A.D.). In this image-house Gautama Buddha is represented in a standing posture with the index-finger of his right hand pointing towards Prome, and Ananda, his beloved disciple, in a praying attitude, begging the sage to explain his oracle fully.

On the eastern side of the Hermit’s Cap — which is surrounded on every side, except the one where it joins the next hill, by sheer precipices of some thousand feet in depth — are three caves cut into the rock. Over these are images of the two traditional moles, also cut in the rock, representing them in an adoring attitude and asking some boon from Gautama Buddha. One of the caves is devoted to the custody of an inscription engraved on a sandstone slab, about four feet high by three feet wide. The inscription was placed there by S‘inbyuyin (1763—1778 A. D.), the second son of Alaungp’ayá (Alompra). It bears date 1136, B. E., (1774 A. D.), and contains a record of his progress from Ava to Rangoon, his placing a new ūf on the Shwé Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, and the removal of its old ūf, which was thrown down by an earthquake in 1763, to be enshrined in the Pōuždaung Pagoda.

The placing of a new ūf on the Shwé Dagon Pagoda by Sínbyuyín was symbolical of the consolidation of the power of the dynasty founded by his father in 1757 A. D., of the replacement of the Talangs by the Burmans in the government of United Burma, and of the national jubilation over the successes which attended Burmese arms in the wars with Manipur, China, and Siam. The ceremony of placing the ūf was witnessed by the king in person, in order to convince the Talangs, whose abortive rebellion in Marhban had just been suppressed, that his rule was a personal one, and to impress on them the splendour of his power and the resources at his command. Moreover, to minimize the possibility of all future attempts at rebellion, with

1 A ūf (= umbrella) is the umbrelliform ornament which must be placed on the summit of every pagoda.
the last of the Talaing kings as a centre of intrigue and disaffection, and to remove all hopes of the restoration of a Talaing monarchy, he ordered the execution of Byinnyà Dalà, the ez-king of Pegu, who had surrendered to Alampiyà.

Lines 1 — 8 of the obverse face of the stone are in Pàli gāthās and the rest are in Burmese verse. The reverse face of the stone is in Burmese prose.

The decipherment of this inscription does not present any palaeographical difficulty, but the formation of certain letters shows that Burmese calligraphy was in a transition state a century ago. ग is expressed by ग as well as झ; ड by ड or ड; ड by ड or ड; ड by ड or ड; ड by ड or ड; ड by ड or ड. There are four modes of representing ड; namely, ड ड ड ड. The abrupt tone is indicated by placing either single or double dots below the letter, affected: ड or ड.

The long vowel ओ with the heavy tone is expressed by two dots like the visarga is Sanskrit: ओ = सो; ओ = सो. The vowel ओ is expressed by ओ; ओ = ओ. The vowel ओ is symbolically expressed by a curve placed over the letter affected: ओ = ओ; and ओ by ओ = ओ. The symbolic ओ is expressed thus: ओ = ओ. The following letters radically differ in form from those now in use: ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ; ओ = ओ.

TRANSLATION.

Obverse face.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, and the Fully Enlightened One!

With a pure and serene mind, I do respectfully reverence the Conqueror, who is the highest, the noblest, the greatest of the great, and the giver of the bliss of Nirvāṇa.

The Buddha, who was the highest, the noblest, the protector, and the greatest of the great, stood on the top of the high Pātalānga rock and pronounced an oracular

Like the erection of the 84,000 monasteries, pagodas, &c., by Asokadharmarājā in former times (was the building of the pagoda recorded here). On the first day of the waning moon of Magha 1136, Sakkaraj, and 2318, Anno Buddhas, when Asurinda had seized the bright moon and released her from danger, and when an auspicious victory had thus been accorded to Soma, the king, who was wise and replete with merit and other good qualities, who was mighty and powerful, and whose fame had spread far and wide, caused the Pātalānga boulder, which is one single mass of rock, to be cleared, and repaired an old pagoda, wherein he enshrined the fallen tī of the Digampa Cheti, which he had purposely ordered to be brought away. To ensure the durability of the pagoda for a great length of time, he made a beautiful bejewelled tī, (like that) of the pagoda standing on the top of the Himavanta mountain, and planted it on the (Pātalānga) pagoda. He then proceeded up-stream, and on the auspicious Saturday, the full moon day of Visakhā 1137, Sakkaraj, and 2319, Anno Buddhas, he held a great festival and planted the beautiful bejewelled tī (on the pagoda) called Nyāndō-myinu.

"In virtue of this, my good deed, may I, in the future, become a Buddha, and be able to dispel the ignorance of a great many creatures immersed in ignorance, and may I finally reach the tranquil, transcendent, immutable, blissful, peaceful, and happy city, which is secure from danger of death, re-birth, and old age!"

"During the period that intervenes between my present existence and my becoming a Buddha, may all my enemies flee on hearing about my might and power or by seeing my person; and during the same period, may good fortune be my lot, whenever my might and power is heard of or my person seen!"
“May the brahmás, dévas, and men of all the lókas, my father, mother, and other relatives share my merit equally with me, and may they rejoice with glad and joyful heart!

“May all creatures practice liberality and exert themselves for the good of the Religion; and may the people live in happiness, and increase in honour and wealth!”

During 20 asañkheyyas and 100,000 kalpas, the embryo of Gautama Buddha received an assurance of his attaining Buddhahood from each successive Buddha that appeared.

During the cycle of seven asañkheyyas, beginning with the one called nanda, 125,000 Buddhas, headed by Brahmadéva, appeared. At the feet of each of these Buddhas, Our Lord, as a Bódhisattva, boyed up with joy and hope, prayed to be a Buddha. With faith and zeal, which can never be equalled, he performed works of merit and received from the successive Buddhas of that cycle the assurance of attaining Buddhahood.

During the next cycle of nine asañkheyyas, beginning with the one called sabbahadda, 387,000 Buddhas, headed by Póraṇasakyà, appeared. At the feet of each of them, our Bódhisattva repeated his prayer of becoming an Omniscient One and the suzerain of the three lókas. He performed good deeds and followed the precepts inculcated by them.

During the next cycle of four asañkheyyas, beginning with the one called sêla, 12 Buddhas, headed by Tašhañkara, appeared. After our Bódhisattva had received an assurance of attaining omniscience, nine other Buddhas, headed by Dipañkara, appeared. During the dispensation of Dipañkara, our Bódhisattva was possessed of merit and the qualifications necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood. One day, he made his body serve as a bridge for Dipankara to step across, and the latter granted him an assurance that he would become a Buddha in the future. This assurance was confirmed by the eight other Buddhas who followed.

During the next 100,000 kalpas, 15 Buddhas, headed by Padamuttara, appeared. Each of these Buddhas confirmed the assurance granted to our Bódhisattva by their predecessors.

Thus, during 20 asañkheyyas and 100,000 kalpas, our Bódhisattva received an assurance of his attaining Buddhahood from 512,027 Buddhas. In his last birth, he became the son of Sudhdhédana, King of Kapila, by Queen Mâyà. His birth took place in a delightful grove of sêla trees, and when he grew up, he was surrounded by comforts and pleasures befitting a prince. Three palaces were built for him, to be occupied according to the three seasons. His wife was Yasodharà, and he had a number of concubines. At the age of 29 he renounced the world and became an ascetic. After undergoing penance for six years, he, one night, dreamt five dreams. Next morning, he became a Buddha, and received an offering of rice-milk from Sujátà, which he, with relish, ate, while sitting cross-legged on the bank of a river (Nérañjara). On the evening of the same day, the dévas directed his steps to the spot where the Bódhi tree was. This tree had sprouted forth from the earth simultaneously with his birth, and is worthy of veneration by all dévas and men. Here, the grass-cutter Suddhíya presented him with eight handfuls of grass, with which he prepared a seat for himself. While remaining under the Bódhi tree, he was assailed by Márà and his hosts on every side: on his right and his left, behind him, in front of him, and over him. The contest, however, could not last long. On the evening of the same day, he merged forth victorious from the struggle and became free from every passion and tie. At dawn on the following day, he comprehended the Four Sublime Truths and attained Buddhahood. The news of this victory and of this attainment was received by the inhabitants of the three lókas with deafening acclamation.

With a view that future generations might embrace a faith and attain Nirvàna, as if they had prayed at his feet, Gautama Buddha promulgated an excellent religion and defined the period of its continuance.

It was the good fortune of the King of Avà to flourish during the dispensation of such a saviour as Gautama Buddha.
The ruler of Avâ was assisted in his government by wise ministers, and was happy in the possession of trustworthy friends. He was the possessor of military weapons, soldiers, horses, elephants, and fortified towns, and received tribute from sixteen states, such as Sunaparanta, Tampadipa, and Kampôja. His capital, Ratanapûra, was the storehouse of all kinds of precious minerals and the repository of all wealth. He was wise, mighty, and powerful, and had reduced to subjection all the other rulers of the world. He was of opinion that, although he might exert himself in various ways to ensure the continuance of the excellent religion promulgated by the Greatest of Conquerors.

Reverse Face.

His glorious Majesty King Siînbyâin, the possessor of the hän sînbyâ and many other white elephants, and of gold, silver, and ruby mines, the suzerain of all the other rulers, and the overlord of the sixteen states, namely,—

Sunaparanta, with its districts Kalî, Tânyin, Yô, Tîlin, Salin, and Sagû;
Sirikhêttrârâmâ, with its districts Udêtaturî and Pândaung;
Râmâ, with its districts Kubê, Yaungmyâ, Muttamô, and Pagô (Pegu);
Ayuttaya, with its districts Dvâravatî, Tôday, and Kamânpâk;
Haripunjâ, with its districts Zimmê, Labôn, and Anân;
Lavarattha, with its districts Chandapûr, Sânpâbêt, and Mâinglôn;
Khêmâvâra, with its districts Kyaingtô and Kyaingkâun;
Jôtnâgara, with its districts Kyaingyôn and Mâingô;
Kampôja, with its districts Mônê, Nyaungwê, Dibô, and Mômôk;
Mahânsaka, with its districts Môgôk and Kyaîtyin;
Sûn (Chinânâtha), with its districts Bâmô (Bhamo) and Kaungsein;
Âlavi, with its districts Môgaung and Mônyin;
Manîpûra, with its districts Kâbê and Mwêyin;
Jôyavâdhanâ, with its districts Jôyavât and Kêtumât;
Tampadipa, with its districts Pagân, Myinzaing, Pinyâ, and Avâ;
resolved to make a resplendent offering to the Pagoda, wherein were enshrined the parshûga of three Buddhas, as well as the hairs of Gautama Buddha, given by him on the 49th day of his Buddhahood to the two brothers Tappussa and Bhallika, with a view that these relics should be objects of adoration by all dévas and men. The King was endued with such might and power that any desire of his would be consummated by the co-operation of Sakra and the dévas. He was desirous of placing a tâe covered with pure gold on the Sindâhin Chêti, which is 900 bândaung in perimeter, 225 in diameter, and 183î in height.

On Sunday, the 8th waxing of the moon of Pyûâ, 1136, Sakkarât, the King left Avâ with the magnificence of Sakra, leaving the city of Mahâudassana for the purpose of worshipping at the Chûlâmâqi Chêti. He was escorted by 80 battalions of land and naval forces; by 1,600 elephants, headed by the hän sînbyâ; by 500 ponies from the royal stables, headed by the royal charger, Nâthâyin, which was four tawungs, two maiks, and four lebîts high; by

3 Shwêdawg in the Prome district.
4 Pândaung in the same district.
5 Bassin.
6 Mâlînâpûra; see post, page 28. — Ed.
7 Bassin.
8 Ayudhia.
9 Bassin.
10 Bassin.
11 Bassin.
12 Now called Mainglôn.
13 The Shwê Dâgû Pagoda at Rangoon.
14 Kiang Hung.
15 A bândaung is equivalent to 19î inches.
16 The British Burman Gazetteer, II., 634, gives the measurements as 1555 ft. perimeter, and 321 ft. plus 29 ft. for height. This text gives the measurements as 1634 ft. 5î inch. perimeter: 355 ft. 3î inch. diameter; 291 ft. 1î inch. height. There is no reconciling possible of these measurements. The base of the pagoda is in fact octagonal and not circular. — Ed.
20,000 cavalry men; by other members of the four-fold army; by various tributary Sōkhā and Myōkā; by ministers and military commanders of different grades, who were distinguished for their birth, character, and talents; and by the members of the royal family, consisting of sons, brothers, kinsmen, queens, concubines, and attendants (of the King). The King embarked on a beautifully-wrought jewelled raft, furnished with all regal splendour. Four white umbrellas were planted on the raft, which was surrounded by various kinds of gilt boats and other rafts. During his progress, the King was accompanied by over 200,000 infantry, cavalry, and elephants. At every stage on the journey, high festivals were held. On Monday, the 8th of the waning moon of the same month, Prome (Pyimyo) was reached, and the King took up his temporary residence on the sand-bank at the mouth of the Nawinchaung.

In the 8th year of his Buddhahood, Gautama Buddha, at the solicitation of the merchants of Vānijjagāma in Sunāparanta, visited the sandal-wood monastery built by them, and left two impressions of his Holy Foot on the banks of the Namantā river, for the adoration of all dévas and men, including the people of the Myān Country. On his return, he turned round the soles of his feet, and pronounced an oracle on the summit of a hill, which, in after times, was called the Pawātādāung. The King, observing that the pagoda erected by his ancestors on that hill would not last for ever, resolved to replace it by another, which would last throughout the 5,000 years allotted by Buddha for the continuance of the Religion, and which would be an object of adoration by all men. As he was possessed of such might and power as to cause the consummation of his wishes by the co-operation of the Nāts, who watch over the Religion, and by Sakra and other Nāts, the tā of the Dīgōn Sāndōshin was brought away by Sakra and the Nāts for the purpose of being enshrined together with images, chédī, bone-relics, and hair-relics. In order that the pagoda to be built might last throughout the 5,000 years allotted for the continuance of the Religion, its foundations were laid on a massive rock. Gold, silver, and mōga18 bricks were laid as foundation-stones, and the building of the pagoda, which was 16½ bāndanngā in diameter, was begun on Wednesday, the 9th of the waxing moon of Tabōdwa, 1138, Sakkarajr, and 2318, Anno Buddhæ. As when King Siridhānmaṅkā built 84,000 pagodas, &c., there was an eclipse of the moon on the evening of Wednesday, the 1st of the waning moon of Tabōdwa.

When the moon had become bright and clear, in the capacious receptacle-chamber were deposited great numbers of gold and silver images and chédī, bone-relics and hair-relics, and many representations of the Buddha at the Mahābodhisattva-thāna. The building of the pagoda was finished on the 7th day of the waning moon of Tabōdwa, and it was named the Nyāndōmyinā. On its completion, it was worshipped by the King, his queens, sons, daughters, brothers, kinsmen, ministers, and generals.

The King left Prome on the 8th day of the waning moon of Tabōdwa. He placed a golden tā on the Dīgōn Sāndōshin Chédī, and completely covered it with new gilding on Wednesday, the full moon day of Tabaug. From the date of his arrival to the 2nd day of the waxing of the moon of Tagū, 1137, Sakkarajr, he held high festivals in honour of the pagoda and made great offerings. On his return, he reached Prome on the 8th day of the waxing moon of Kasōn 1137, Sakkarajr. At an auspicious hour after midnight on Saturday, the full moon day of the same month, the King placed a golden tā on the Pōtādāung Pagoda, and completely covered it with gilding. An offering of food and priestly requisites was made to the Royal Preceptor and a great many other monks, and festivals were held in honour of the occasion.

"For this, my good deed, may I become an Omniscient One, surpassing others in wisdom, and

18 An alloy of gold and copper in proportions of half and half.
19 This equal 29 ft. 11 inches.
NOTES.

Obverse Face.

Line 2.—Pādāggā-ṭḷē is a Pāli translation of the Burmese appellation Pawatāndaung, the "foot-print hill," which is supposed to have subsequently been corrupted into Pōṭāndaung.

According to a tradition, which is fully recorded in the Mahāyānasūtra, Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers, Mahāpuṇa and Chjāpāna, with a sandal-wood monastery situated at Vānijjagāma, otherwise called Lēṣaṅg, in Sunāparanta. The sage accepted the gift, and occupied the monastery for seven days. During his temporary residence there, he left two impressions of his left foot: one, on the top of the Thitsabāna Hill, at the solicitation of the Rishi Sācchhhabandha (Thitsabānā), who had been converted to Buddhism, and the other on the left bank of the Mānchaunga at the solicitation of Namā, King of the Nāgas.

On his return, from the top of the Pōṭāndaung Hill, where he turned the soles of his feet, Gautama Buddha saw a piece of cow-dung floating in the sea, which stretched to a range of hills on the east. At the same time, a mole came and paid him homage by offering him some burrowings. On seeing these two omens the Master smiled, and being asked by Ananda the cause of his doing so, he replied: "My beloved Ananda, after I have attained parinirvāṇa, and after the Religion has flourished for 101 years, five great events will happen: (1) there will be a great earthquake; (2) a great lake will appear at the Pōṭā point; (3) a river, called Samōn Samyēk, will appear; (4) the Pōpā Hill will rise up perpendicularly through the upheaval of the earth; (5) the sea will recede from the land on which Tharēkhēṭtāra will be built in after times. The mole before us will be incarnated as Duttānāga, King of Tharēkhēṭtārā, from whose reign will date the establishment of my Religion in the Country of the Mrāmās.

The above tradition appears to be pregnant with historical truth. Both historical and geological evidence goes to show that the country up to Prome was, at one time, under the sea. A hill, to the south of that town, is called to this day Akantāna or Customs Hill, from its having been a station, where customs dues were collected from the ships that visited the port.

The following extract from Mr. Blanford's account, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXI., 1862, fixes the probable age of the Pōpā Volcano in the Myingān District of Burma:—

"The period during which Puppā (Pōpā) was in action was therefore, in parts at least, not later than that of the deposition of beds containing remains of Elephas, Mastodon, Rhinoceros, Hipposotamus, and Ruminants. The geological age of these beds has, with some doubt, been considered to be Miocene, but from their general fauna, and especially from the abundance of bones of Bos and Cervus, a more recent date may, I think, with at least equal probability, be assigned to them. There can be no question but that the fires of Puppā have long been extinct. Its thick coating of jungle and grass, and the existence upon it of a species of plants and animals, which, for want of a suitable habitat, cannot exist in any neighbouring locality, and the evidence of the effects of sub-aerial denudation on its surface, render it certain that it must long have been in a condition for vegetation to flourish upon it; but it is scarcely possible, even in the dry climate of Upper Burma, that a volcano of Miocene age should have retained its form so perfectly. It is more probably Pliocene. Its bulk is not great, and, from the absence of other vents in the neighbourhood, so far as is known, it is scarcely probable that its volcanic activity can have extended over a lengthened geological period. I could not learn that there was the slightest tradition among the people as to its ever having been in..."
TRANSCRIPTION INTO MODERN BURMESE CHARACTERS.

Obverse face.

(5) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ

(6) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ

(7) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ

(8) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ

(9) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ

(10) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ

(c.0) ကြာမြတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ သို့မဟုတ် ထိုင်းကြား ဖျင်စွာ
Reverse face.

(3) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် နောက်တစ်ဖြစ်ခြင်းကို သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။

(1) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။

(2) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။

(4) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။

(5) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။

(6) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။

(7) အောက်ခြောက်စီးပြားမှုနှင့် သိရိယာအတွက် အပြည်ပြည်သူများသည် စီးပါသည်။
(16) အောင်မြင်းစိုင်းဒါဆောင်းစောင်းပြုရေးသို့မဟုတ် အပြန်ကောင်း ပြုလုပ်လိုသော ပြုလုပ်ချက်များကို အထောက်အမာပြု၍

(17) လှုပ်ရာ ကျွေးလ်သို့ ကျော်ကြားလိုသော အပေါ်စီးစဉ် ရှာရွေးပြုလုပ်ခြင်း

(18) (၁၈) ကျော်လွန်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(19) လှုပ်ရာ ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(20) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(21) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(22) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(23) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(24) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(25) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(26) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(27) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(28) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(29) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။

(30) ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း ကျွန်ုပ်ကို ပြန်လာရောက်လည်း ကျွန်ုပ် ချိုးထောင်ကြည့်ရှုပါ။
(Po) နိုးဗျတားသူများအပေါ် စီးရီးများဖြင့် စီးရီးများဖြင့်

(Pr) နိုးဗျတားသူများကို ပေါင်းစပ်များဖြင့် စီးရီးများဖြင့်

(Pn) ဆိုးဗျတားသူများကို ပေါင်းစပ်များဖြင့် စီးရီးများဖြင့်

(Pn) ဆိုးဗျတားသူများကို ပေါင်းစပ်များဖြင့် စီးရီးများဖြင့်

(Pn) ဆိုးဗျတားသူများကို ပေါင်းစပ်များဖြင့် စီးရီးများဖြင့်

(Pn) ဆိုးဗျတားသူများကို ပေါင်းစပ်များဖြင့် စီးရီးများဖြင့်
action within the memory of man, a circumstance, on the grounds mentioned, extremely improbable. The occurrence, on the summit, of the common brakes, and doubtless of other plants of temperate regions, renders it probable that the close of the glacial period found its surface in a fit state to support vegetation."

Line 3. — The Jinschakka or Anno Buddha, corresponding to the year of Sakkaraj or vulgar era, is indicated throughout the inscription by mnemonic words used in astrology. The method of expressing numbers by means of words is also a South-Indian practice, which is fully described at pages 57-59 of Burnell’s Elements of South-Indian Palography. It may be noted that the Burmans reckon their Era of Religion from 544 B.C., the year, according to them of the parinirvāna of Gautama Buddha.

Line 4. — The Dīghapachettī of the Pāli appears to be a translation of the Dagon Chettī, now called the Shwe Dagon, the celebrated pagoda of Rangoon. The correct appellation should be Tikumbachettī according to pages 16-17 of Forchhammer’s Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma. I., The Shwe Dagon Pagoda.

**Reverse Face.**

Line 2. — It is the belief of the Buddhists of Burma that the Shwe Dagon Pagoda contains the relics of the four successive Buddhas of this Bhaddakapp, namely, the water strainer of Kusandana, the bathing-robe of Kuiyagamana, the staff of Kassapa, and eight hairs of Gautama.

Lines 3—8. — The division of the Burmese Empire under Sinbyiyin into sixteen states or provinces is interesting, as it illustrates the substitution of classical names of India for native appellations. See Appendix B to Yule’s Mission to Ava for similar classification effected during the reign of Dalan Minday in 1638 A. D.²

Line 7. — Kabemweyin is the Burmese appellation for Manipur. Sir Arthur Phayre derives Mweyin from Morauga or Moriya, and identifies it with the Kabu Valley in the Upper Chindwin District (Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XXXIII. page 15). In the Madyazin it is stated that Dhajaraj, a king of the Sakya race, settled here, after his expulsion from Northern India about the middle of the 6th century B. C. Upper Pagán was built by him. He married Nagachhinna, the Queen of Bhinnaka, the last of the Tagaung kings, who, on his expulsion by the Tattāras, fled to Malè and died there. On the destruction of the Tagaung dynasty the people were divided into three divisions and one emigrated to the Shan States; the second to the country of the Pyu and Kān̄rāns, over which Muduchitta, son of Kān̄rajy, had formerly ruled as king; and the third remained at Malè with Nagachhinna. The finding among the ruins of Tagaung of terra cotta tablets bearing Sanskrit legends, affords some corroboration to the statement of the native historians that, long before Aparātāzō’s conquest of Dañ in the 11th century A. D., successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India had passed through Manipur to the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, and that these emigrants brought with them letters, religion and other elements of civilization.

Line 8. — Jayawadghana is the classical name of the ancient kingdom of Toungoo (Taung-ngū).

Line 9. — The Hān Sinbyū, or the white elephant called Han, was one of the animals, from the possession of which King Sinbyūyin (Lord of the White Elephant) derived the title, by which he is known in history.

Line 11. — The charger called the Nāphayinbyān, which is described, in the language of exaggeration, as being 4 taungs, 2 mākes, and 4 letōtis, or nearly 22 hands high, appears to be an animal presented by foreigners. A Burman pony rarely exceeds 13 hands.

¹⁵[As a contribution to the orthography of this word I may note that a French traveller of 1786 calls it ‘la pagoda de Digon.’ See Taung-pāo, Vol. II, p. 397 ff. Forchhammer’s conclusions are, I think wrong. At any rate they are not actually supported by any authoritative document I have yet seen.— Ed.]

²⁶ [Mindon named some of the quarters of Mandalay by Pāli names.—Ed.]
Line 15.—Ratanāpura, is the classical name of (Ava) Awā or Iawā, or Shwē Wā, 'the golden entrance,' as it is called in the language of poetry and song. It was founded by Baḥáninbya in 364 A.D., its site being selected for its strategic position at the confluence of the Myî(t)ungè and Irrawaddy rivers, and for the swampy nature of the ground on its open face. Ava was the capital of Burma Proper for nearly five centuries. It witnessed the Chinese and Shān invasions, the desperate struggle for supremacy between the Burmans and the Tālings, and lastly a British army advance within four marches and dictate its own terms to Bāgyidō at Yandabū. Through its antiquity as the capital of Burma, it is better known among the neighbouring nations than Shwēbē, Sagaing, Amarapūra, or Mandalay. Even to this day, the seat of the Burmese Government is known to the Chinese as Awā, and the Shāns call the Burmese king 'Khun hō khām Awā,' the Lord of the golden palace of Ava.

Line 17.—The sand-bank at the mouth of the Nawinchaung, where Sinbyūyin took up his temporary residence, may be seen to this day.

Line 18.—Mrāntaing: means the country of the Mūn. Sir Arthur Phayre derives Mrānma from Brahā (see page 2 of his History of Burma). The exact derivation and meaning of the designation, by which the Burmans are known, have not yet been settled. The term Mrānma is not met with in Burmese history till the First Century A.D. In Marco Polo's Travels, Burma is referred to as the kingdom of Mien. The Burmans are known among the Chinese as the Mien, and among the Shāns as the Mān, the same appellation by which the Mongols are known among the Chinese. In the accounts of Burma written in Pāli the country is known as Marammadēsa. If Sir Arthur Phayre's derivation is correct, it is difficult to justify the action of the learned priests of the 14th and 15th centuries in making use of the barbarous appellation Maramma in lithic inscriptions as well as in literary works, while they had the familiar term Brahā for their national designation.

The various theories on the subject are thus summarised in the British Burma Gazetteer (Volume I. pages 141—142).

"The name by which the Burmans call themselves is Myāmā or Mrānma, commonly pronounced Byānma or Bamā (Bamā). Mr. Hodgson appears to conclude that the appellation can be traced to the native name for 'man': Sir Arthur Phayre that it is derived from Brahā, signifying 'celestial beings,' and was not adopted till after the introduction of Buddhism and after several tribes had been united under one chief: and Bishop Bigandet that it is another form, or a corruption, of Mien, a name the Burmans brought with them from the Central Asian plateau."

Line 32.—The Royal Preceptor was the Atulā Sayādā, whose full title was Mahātulayāsadhamaṭarajāguru. He was the Dābanābaing or Buddhist Archbishop, appointed by Alaungpaysā, when the latter became king. The Sayādā retained his office throughout the reign of five kings, and was removed by Bōdōpaysā for his schismatic doctrines.

NOTE ON SOME AJANTA PAINTINGS.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M. B.

In February 1892 I communicated to the Bengal Asiatic Society a detailed description of that fragmental fresco hitherto known as 'the Zodiac,' which occupies a conspicuous place in the verandah of Ajāntā Cave No. XVII. By a reference to the extant paintings of the Lāmās, I was able to interpret its details and restore its chief blanks. It is a Bhavacakra or Pictorial Cycle of Existence, and its chief value for scholars lies in the fact

26 'A French traveller living in Rangoon (1786-7) called the Burmese as distinguished from the Peguans, 'les Bramas.' See Tamin-Pau, Vol. I. 'Les Français en Birmanie au XVIIe Siècle,' passim. Quirini, Vita di Monsignor Pereto, Udine, 1781, uses the words Barma and Barmani throughout his curious book.—Ed.

1 'A mere fragment now remains.'—Ferguson and Burgess, Cave Temples, p. 310.
that in the outer circle are portrayed in concrete pictorial form, the twelve *sidhānas*, regarding the exact sense of which there have been so many divergent opinions, owing to scholars hitherto having had only the ambiguous Pāli and Sanskrit terms to interpret from.

Again from Lamaic sources, I now offer a note on two more of the Ajanta paintings, which may be of interest at the present time, when a new edition of these paintings is being published.

I.—Avalokita as 'The Defender from the Eight Dreads.'

This painting is also in Cave XVII, forming No. B in the series of photographs of Mr. Griffith’s copies, and § IV. in the report of Dr. Burgess, who, in his brief note of eight lines, entitles it ‘the Litany of Avalokitesvaras,’ and notes that ‘of the oval compartments at each side only a few can be partially made out.’

This picture is not very uncommon in Tibet, where it is known as Avalokita—The Defender from the Eight Dreads. It is thus described by the great Lama Taranatha in his *gsang-bhums* or The Hundred Thousand Sayings.

Arya Avalokita is represented in a standing posture in the form of a *rishi* of a white complexion, with one face and two hands. The right hand is in the ‘bestowing’ attitude (*mudra*). The left hand holds a rosary and an anointing vase or pitcher. He is dressed in white silk, with Amitabha seated in the locks of his hair.

The secondary figures depict scenes, which are eight in number, four being on each side of the central figure. On the right are the following scenes:—

1. Dread in Fire. Two villagers being at enmity, one of them set fire to the other’s house; when the one in the burning house, unable to escape, prayed ‘O! Avalokita!’ Instantly over his house appeared a white cloud, which gave forth a copious shower of rain, and so the fire was quenched.

2. Dread in Prison. Once a thief entered the king’s store and finding there a vase of wine drank deeply, and becoming intoxicated fell asleep. In the morning the king’s servants found him and having fettered him cast him into prison. In his distress the man prayed to Avalokita. Then a bird of five colours, an incarnation of Avalokita, appeared and loosened his chains, and the prison door was opened and the man escaped to his home.

3. Dread in Plunder. A wealthy merchant set out to Maru, with a thousand camels and five hundred of the best horses laden with valuables. He saw by the way the bones of many previous travellers, who had been murdered by robbers; and he himself was attacked by these robbers. In his fear he prayed to Avalokita, when instantly appeared a host of heroes armed with swords—incarnations of Avalokita himself—who came to the merchant’s rescue, and defeating the would-be robbers the merchant escaped in safety.

4. Dread in Water. Five thousand merchants went to the Southern Ratnadwip (= Ceylon) in three ships. In returning to their own country they filled one ship with jewels and setting sail they reached Chandan-bhumipradhan-dwip. The ‘wealth-owners’ (spirits) of the ocean being angry, sent storms which blew the ships out of their courses. And when the ships were enveloped in a mighty wave and about to founder one of the merchants prayed to Avalokita. Then instantly the storm ceased, and they all reached their own countries in safety.

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8 spy-sar-grip. — There is no element in the word representing *śivāra*.
4 Drang-logong. — The rosary is almost a chishā of Avalokita.
6 spyi-sling (= literally “crown of head” + ‘to put’): Beal, *Sc-yu-ki*, II. 137) appears to have misinterpreted this object. It is also believed to hold perfume.
7 Tsan-dan-sas-chhog kyi gling, probably the Sunderbans or their eastern section, the modern Sandwip.
On the left hand of the central figure are depicted the following scenes:—

6. Dread of Enemy. A king named Otabishar was sleeping in a grove, when a party of armed enemies surrounded him and were about to kill him, when he prayed to Avalokita, who instantly appeared, and from beneath his feet arose a fearful wind which dispersed the enemies to 'the ten directions.'

6. Dread of Elephant. A girl went to a forest to gather flowers. She encountered an elephant named Khunin (meaning 'bloody'), which caught her around the waist with his trunk and was about to kill her, when she prayed to Avalokita. Then the elephant instantly released her and she escaped unhurt.

7. Dread of Lion. A woodcutter went to a forest, and met a hungry lioness which was about to seize and eat him. Being much terrified he prayed to Avalokita. Then instantly appeared a white boy dressed in tree-leaves and lifting him up bore him off through the air and set him down in the midst of the city.

8. Dread of Venomous Snakes. A courtesan on her way to a merchant's house after dark, after leaving her house was attacked by a black venomous snake. In her fear she prayed to Avalokita, then the snake immediately became white (i.e. harmless) and disappeared into the river.

II. 'The Nine Bodhisattvas.'

This group of Buddha and 'The Nine Bodhisattvas' is also in Cave XVII, and forms photograph B details of L of Griffith's Series and paragraph §XXXI of Burgess, who merely notes regarding it that Buddha stands surrounded by four Arhats and two Bodhisattvas.9

'The Nine Bodhisattvas' consist of four unadorned disciples standing in front, and in the background five jewelled and crowned lay devotees. Thanat describes them in his bshes leg gyes or The Hundred Deeds. Following his description, I give here a key to the picture, in which the firm-line ovals represent the faces of the figures in the foreground, and the dotted ovals the faces of the background figures of the group:—

1. Sakya Muni.
2. Samantabhadra, incarnate as a disciple of Buddha.
3. Vajrapani do.
4. Manjuvri do.
5. Avalokita do.
6. Brahma, incarnate as an earthly king to hear Buddha's teaching.
7. Indra do.
8. Tiswara do.
10. King Prasengajit of Kosala, a contemporary of Buddha and one of his first converts.

This is of course a mythical arrangement of Buddha's disciples. But the Lamas, following their Indian traditions, explain that four of the historic disciples of Buddha and four of

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9 Literally 'son.'
10 gsal-rgyal. See also Osma do Kürri in Asiatic Researches, XX. p. 78, 294, &c.
his lay hearers were incarnations of the deities and Māhāyāna Boddhisattvas above specified. Attention is invited to the rosary as the chinta of Avalokiteśvara. Indra’s third horizontal eye in the forehead is also characteristic, and Indra is usually the umbrella-holder to Buddha.

In conclusion, I may note that for several years I have been engaged on a work dealing with quite an untrodden field of Indian Buddhism, for the study of which I have had exceptional opportunities, viz., ‘The Tantric Buddhism of Magadha as illustrated by its remains, and in its relations to the Lamaic Pantheon.’

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACETI,
1476 A. D.
BY TAW SEIN KO.

The absence in the Buddhist Church of any organized ecclesiastical hierarchy under a central Government renders it imperative that some kind of efficient check should be devised for the due maintenance of discipline, harmony, and moral control. It was, therefore, ordained by Gautama Buddha that twice in the month, at full moon and at new moon, and also once a year, at the end of the rainy season, meetings should be held, where the assembled priests should be asked whether they had committed any of the offences mentioned in the Pātimokkha, or whether the commission of such offences by any of them had been seen, heard of, or suspected by the others. The former meetings are called upasutta and the latter pacērana. For the purpose of holding these meetings, at which it is the bounden duty of all priests to attend, it is necessary that a convenient and central place should be appointed. Such a place is called a sima, and the ceremonial for its consecration is prescribed in the second khandhaka of the Mahāvagga, a part of the Vinaya Piṭaka. This ceremonial has, however, been interpreted in various ways by the commentaries and scholia on the Mahāvagga, such as the Vinayapitakathā, Sihathatthavatthya, Vimatisvinīdaniś, Vinayapitikā by Vajirabuddhithena, Kuntāvitaranī, Vinayapitikāhappakaraṇa, Vinayapitikāhappakaraṇa, Simālakāṭapakaraṇa, and the Simālakāṭapakaraṇa; and the object of the Kalyani Inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions, and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a sima, which shall be in accordance with what is laid down by Gautama Buddha, and which, at the same time, shall not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators.

Incidentally the inscriptions are meant to prove the ‘apostolic succession’ of the Buddhist priesthood of Burma, and give a good deal of valuable information as to the geography of the period. So many positive current dates are also given, with references to Sinhalese and Burmese History, that the historical truth of many of the statements contained in them should be capable of conclusive proof.

A sima serves another purpose than that above explained. It is the place where the upasampada ordination and other ecclesiastical ceremonies are performed. Unless the consecration of the sima is considered to be valid, the ceremonies performed therein are held to be null and void. Hence a sima is intimately connected with the existence of the Buddhist Priesthood, on which the whole fabric of Buddhism rests.

The following account of the manner in which simas are at the present day consecrated in Burma will be of interest, as showing how the accretions of ages have modified the simple ceremonial of Gautama Buddha. A piece of land suitable for the consecration of a simā, and generally measuring about 105 or 126 feet in perimeter, is obtained from the British Government, which declares that the land is visayana, that is to say, land in respect of which revenue and all usurious rights have been irrevocably relinquished by the secular authorities in favour of the Buddhist Priesthood. Within the limits of this land, the learned and qualified priests, who have been appointed to perform the ceremony of consecration,
mark the extent of the simā. At the distance of about ten feet from the boundaries thus marked an outer boundary-line is indicated. The land enclosed within these two boundary-lines is levelled and cleared and besmeared with mud. When the mud is dry, allotments of space, measuring six by three feet, are marked out in rows with lime or red earth, and an awning is constructed over the whole ground. Then a Chapter, consisting of ten or fifteen priests, take their seats in the first allotment of space in the first row and proceed to intone by turns the kammavāchā for the consecration of a simā, it being held necessary that, for the proper consecration of the new simā, the one which may possibly exist on the same site, should be first consecrated. This ceremony is repeated till the last allotment of space in the first row is reached. The priests then seat themselves in the last allotment of space in the second row and continue the intonation of the same kammavāchā. The same ceremony is repeated till the first allotment of space in the second row is reached. Thus, once in a forward order, and then in a reverse order, the allotments of space arranged in rows, is the same kammavāchā intoned till the number of rows has been exhausted. The ceremony of consecrating a simā is repeatedly performed for about a week or ten days. After this, one or two days’ rest is given to the officiating priests.

Twenty or thirty learned and qualified priests are now selected; and they proceed to mark the limits of the proposed simā, such limits being smaller in extent than those of the visākhā. At the four corners of the site of the simā, and also on its sides, pits are dug deep enough to hold as much water as will not dry up before the conclusion of the intonation of the kammavāchā for the consecration of a simā — such water being regarded as the boundary. At the distance of a foot and a half from these pits, towards the inside, bamboo trellis work is set up, and the space thus enclosed is decorated with various kinds of flags and streamers, water-pots covered with lotus and other flowers, plantain trees, sugarcane, cocoanut’ flowers, bhadā leaves, and nīvā grass. The awning mentioned above is likewise adorned with a ceiling of white cloth and with festoons of flowers.

Meanwhile, the pits are continually filled with water, so that it may not dry up before the ceremony is over. When the time approaches for the ceremony to begin, no more water is poured into the pits. Near each of them, a junior priest is stationed to furnish the officiating senior priest with replies in respect of the boundaries of the simā. At the appointed hour, the senior priest, holding a kammavāchā, slowly walks along the boundary-line of the simā. Approaching the Eastern ‘water-boundary’ he asks: “Purattóthi vandhaya kih nimitthā?” and the junior priest answers: “Udakoh, bhante.” Similar questions and answers are asked and given also at the South-eastern, Southern, South-western, Western, North-western, Northern, and North-eastern points of the site, and to make the boundary-line continuous, also at the Eastern and South-eastern points, which have already been proclaimed. The questions and answers are asked and given first in Pāli and then in Burmese. The same ceremony of proclaiming the boundaries is repeated by two other senior priests in succession. After the boundaries have thus been proclaimed three times, the kammavāchā for the consecration of a samānasamvāsakasimā is intoned seven (or eight) times by three of the priests at a time. After this, the kammavāchā relating to the consecration of an avippavāsakasimā is chanted.

At the conclusion of the above ceremonies, a statement recording the year, month, day, and hour at which the simā was consecrated, the names of the senior priests who officiated at the ceremonies, and the name of the simā, is publicly read out. Lastly, in honour of the occasion, drums and conch-shells are sounded, and muskets are fired, and a shout of acclamation is raised by the people.

The above account is similar to that recorded in the Kalyānt Inscriptions, which are frequently cited or appealed to as the ruling authority on the ceremonial relating to the consecration of simās.
Dhammachātī, or Rāmadhipati, King of Pegu, who erected these inscriptions in 1476 A. D., was an ex-priest, who, in emulation of Aśoka, Srīsaṅghabodhi-Parakkambabhaṇ, and other Buddhist kings of old, made the purity of Buddhism one of the objects of his earnest solicitude. The main object in founding the Kālānī-simā appears to have been to afford to the Priesthood of Rāmaṇadēsā a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing the upōsāna, upasampadd, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and indirectly to secure continunity in their apostolic succession from Mahinda, the Buddhist Apostle to Ceylon. It was held that the succession from Sōṇa and Utāra, the missionaries to Suvannabhūmi, had been interrupted in Burma because of the violent political convulsions to which the country had been subjected. In the 11th century A. D., the Talaiing Kingdom of Dātān was conquered by Anūruddha or Anūrāt/āśa, King of Pāgān; and two centuries later, the Pāgān monarchy was, in its turn, overthrown by three Śān brothers, who took advantage of the dismemberment of the Burmese Empire caused by a Chinese invasion in 1284 A.D. While the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy was passing through troublous times, the Talais of the lower country had been fighting among themselves after they had regained their independence from subjection to Burma. Thus, during the four centuries that preceded the accession of Dhammachātī, Burma had scarcely enjoyed peace for any great length of time, and matters appertaining to the Buddhist Religion had not been efficiently supervised or regulated.

The Kālānī-simā derives its name from the fact that it was consecrated by the Talaiing priests, who had received afresh their upasampadd ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, the spiritual successors of Mahinda, on the Kālānī River near Colombo. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Buddhist priests from all parts of Burma, from Ceylon and Siam, flocked to it to receive their upasampadd ordination. Even at the present day, priests, whose ordination is of doubtful validity, will suffer themselves to be re-ordained in it.

In preparing for the present study of the Kālānī Inscriptions, owing to want of time, I had no access to the original stone-slabs. The text was collated from two palm-leaf manuscripts, one of which was found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer, and the other was procured from the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. On the whole, the latter manuscript, marked (B) preserves a better text, and has been generally followed in the present paper. Numerous palm-leaf copies of the Pāli text of the Kālānī Inscriptions are extant, and are carefully preserved owing to their containing an account of the proper ceremonial of consecrating a simā. No apprehension need, therefore, exist that there is any material divergence between the present edition and the original text of the inscriptions. Indeed, the general accuracy of the MSS. above alluded to will be shown later on in this Journal.

The Kālānī Inscriptions are situated at Zaingganaing, the western suburb of the town of Pegu. They comprise ten stone slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides, and are arranged in a row. Owing either to the vandalism of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, who, for ten years, held supreme power in Pegu at the beginning of the 17th century A. D., or to the inauspicious fury of Alomprā's soldierly, who plundered Pegu in 1757 A. D., all of them are more or less broken; but the fragments, which are lying scattered about, are capable of at least partial restoration. When whole, their average dimensions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. There are 70 lines of text to each face, and three letters to an inch. The language of the first three stones is Pāli, and that of the rest is Talaiing, being a translation of the Pāli text.

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8 The modern "Kingdom of Pegu," that is, the Talaiing Country.

[The Government of Burma has very kindly entrusted to me the task of restoring these invaluable documents to their original condition, as far as is now practicable. The work has been already begun.—Ed.]
I would here advert to the absolute silence of these lithio records regarding the celebrated Buddhist divine Buddhaghosa, the author of the Visuddhimagga and Ajṭhasālīni, and the Apostle who is reputed to have brought a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon to Dāton in the 5th century A.D. If the story about Buddhaghosa’s advent to Dāton be historically true, the event would have been considered to be an important epoch and would certainly have been mentioned in these inscriptions, which give a résumé of the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, and which were erected by a king, who was called from the cloister to the throne, and to whom every kind of information was accessible. Considering that the identification with the Suvarṇabhūmi of the ancients has been urged in favour of three countries, namely, Rāmaṇṇadēsa, the Malay Peninsula, and Cambodia, in all of which gold is found, one cannot help being sceptical as to the historical accuracy of the account relating to the mission of Buddhaghosa to Dāton. Such scepticism becomes somewhat confirmed, when it is borne in mind that there is no palaeigraphical affinity between the Talain and Śūhalaese alphabets, and that Cambodian writers affirm that the great divinity came to their country, vide Bowring’s Kingdom and People of Siam, (Vol. i, page 36). See also the conclusions of Mr. Foulkes in his careful researches into the legends of Buddhaghosa, ante, Vol. XIX, pp. 121-122.

My notes to the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions are in preparation, and will form the subject of a separate study with a transcription of the Pāli text into the Burmese character.

In brief the contents of the Pāli text on the three stones are as follows:—

OBVERSE FACE OF THE FIRST STONE.

Introductory Observations.

Convocation of the Third Buddhist Council and despatch of missionaries. Arrival of Sōna and Uttara at Golamattikanagara in Suvarṇabhūmi. Decline and fall of Rāmaṇṇadēsa. Its conquest by Anuruddha, King of Pugāma (Pawā). King Srisaṅghabōdhi-Parakramabhū reforms Buddhism in Ceylon. Uttara JITivamahāthēra, Preceptor of the King of Pugāma, visits Ceylon. His pupil, Chchipata remains behind; and, after ten years’ residence, returns home, accompanied by four other therās. Schisms in the Buddhist Church at Pugāma consequent on the death of Uttara JITivamahāthēra.

REVERSE FACE OF THE FIRST STONE.

Introductory Observations. — (Concluded).

Schisms at Dālanagāra and Muttipanagāra. Such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the consecration of a simā and upasampadā ordination are performed in various ways. Accession of Rāmadhipati. His reflections on the valid manner of consecrating a simā.

OBVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

Mission to Ceylon.

The King’s reflections concluded. After consultation with the learned therās he is confirmed in his opinion regarding the simāsīvet and parisaṅgīvattī of the upasampadā and other ecclesiastical ceremonies in Rāmaṇṇadēsa. Twenty-two therās are invited to visit Ceylon and introduce into Rāmaṇṇadēsa the Śūhalaese form of upasampadā ordination, as practised by the Mahāvihāra sect, founded by Mahinda. The invitation is accepted. Offerings for shrines and priests in Ceylon, and presents for King Bhūvanēkabhū, as also letters for priests and the king, are prepared. Chitrađūta and Rāmadūta accompany the therās to Ceylon.

REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

Re-ordination of the priests from Rāmaṇṇadēsa.

Departure of the party in two ships. Chitrađūta’s ship arrives first. Reception by the King of Ceylon. Rāmadūta’s ship arrives. Various shrines are visited. The priests from Rāmaṇṇa-
dēsa are re-ordained on the Kalyāṇi River by a Chapter elected from the Mahāvihāra sect. The Siṅhālase King confers titles on them. Rāmadūta’s ship returns home and arrives safely. Chitradūta’s ship is wrecked at Kalambu (Colombo). Chitradūta’s party is again shipwrecked. The members of the party travel on foot to Navutapātana, whence four therīs and their disciples travel on to Komālpātana. Of the latter party, six therīs and four young priests die and the rest reach home.

**OVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.**

Consecration of the Kalyāṇi-simā.

Rāmadhipati’s reception of the eleven therīs, who return by Rāmadūta’s ship. A site is selected for the consecration of a simā for these therīs. Enquiry is held into the antecedents of the therīs and their disciples. A Chapter consisting of nine therīs and five young priests is appointed for consecrating the proposed simā. Ceremonies of desecration and consecration are performed, and the simā is named the Kalyāṇi-simā, after the river where the officiating priests received their upasampadhā ordination. The priests of Rāmaṁadēsa request Rāmadhipati to be permitted to receive the Siṅhālase form of the upasampadhā ordination. Suvannasābhāṣa-therī is appointed upajjhāya.

**REVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.**

Establishment of the Siṅhālase form of ordination in Rāmaṁadēsa.

The priests of Rāmaṁadēsa receive the Siṅhālase form of upasampadhā ordination in the Kalyāṇi-simā. Rāmadhipati’s edict to the priesthood regarding admission into the Order. Expulsion of pseudo-priests from the Order. Royal gifts to bhikkhus and sāmanerīs. Hortatory verses.

I will now give a translation of the MS. Text. The transcribed text which follows the translation is that collated from the MSS. above alluded to.

**TRANSLATION.**

**OVERSE face of the first stone.**

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One.

May the excellent Religion of the Conqueror flourish and prosper, and may reverence be paid to Buddha!

The purification of the Religion of the Conqueror was effected by Rāmadhipati, King of Rāmaṁadēsa. An account of this event will be related.

During the reign of Rāmadhipatirāja, King of Rāmaṁadēsa, the Religion of the Conqueror became purified.

Two hundred and eighteen years had passed away since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Fully Enlightened One, the Sage of the Sakyas, when Dhammāsokarāja was inaugurated as king. In the fourth year after this event, owing to Nigrodhasamana, the King had great faith in the Religion of Buddha; and the gifts and honours to the priests greatly increased, while those to the heretics diminished.

The heretics, for the sake of gifts and honours, embraced the ascetic life among certain priests, received the upasampadhā ordination, and promulgated their own heresies, such as the Sassa heresy. Some took orders themselves, assumed the guise of priests, and taught their own heretical doctrines. All these heretics mixed promiscuously with, and resided among, the priests, who performed upāsāda and such other ecclesiastical ceremonies. Owing to this cir-

*As the Burmese reckon the parinirvāṇa to have taken place in 544 B.C., this yields 522 B.C. as the traditional date of the conversion of Asoka to Buddhism.*
circumstance, the Saṅgha considered that the *parisād* was corrupt, and would not perform *uppōsatha*. Therefore, for seven years, the performance of this ecclesiastical ceremony had ceased in the Asokārāma monastery.

On account of these circumstances, King Dhammāsoka became desirous of purifying the Religion by removing the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in it, and secured the co-operation of Moggaliputta-tissamahāthāra. Having acquired, by study, the knowledge that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vihākjāvādī, and that those who professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, were heretics, the King convoked an assembly of all the priests. Those who held similar doctrines, were commanded to form themselves into groups, and each group was dismissed one by one. There were six millions of priests professing the Religion, who, if asked what the belief of the Fully Enlightened One was, would say that he was a Vihākjāvādī, while the sinful, heretical priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, numbered sixty thousand. The King directed all the sixty thousand sinful priests to leave the Order, and, saying: "Now that the *parisād* has been purified, let the Saṅgha perform *uppōsatha," returned to the city.

Therefore, Moggaliputta-tissamahāthāra performed *uppōsatha* in the Asokārāma monastery in the company of all the six millions of priests. This being concluded, he promulgated, in an enlarged and expanded form, but on the lines indicated by the Blessed One, the treatise called *Kathāvatthu*, of which a summary had been expounded by the Blessed One. Subsequently, like as the venerable Mahākassapa-thāra selected five hundred priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññā*, and the four *paṭisambhidā*, and convened the First Council, which sat for seven months; and like as the venerable Mahāyasasathāra selected 700 priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññā* and the four *paṭisambhidā*, and convened the Second Council, which sat for eight months; even so did he (Moggaliputta-tissamahāthāra) select 1,000 priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññā* and the four *paṭisambhidā*, and convened the Third Council, which sat for nine months. At the conclusion of this Council, he foresaw, that, in the future, the Religion would be established in foreign countries, and sent such therās as Majjhantikathāra with the injunction: "Do you establish the Religion in such and such countries." Of these therās, he sent Mahāmahādhāthāra to establish the Religion in the Island of Tambapāṇi, and Sōnathāra and Uttharathāra to establish the Religion in Rāmaññadēsa, which was also called Suvanābhūmi.

At that time, a king, called Śrīmāsoka, ruled over the country of Suvanābhūmi. His capital was situated to the north-west of the Kellāsa-bhapabbatātātīya. The eastern half of this town was situated on an upland plateau, while the western half was built on a plain. This town is called, to this day, Gōjamattikangara, because it contains many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the Gōja people.

The town was situated on the sea-shore; and there was a rakkhasi, 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 therās, the Chief Queen of the King gave birth to a child. The rakkhasi, 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 rakkhasi, they were stricken with terror, and raised a loud cry. The two therās, perceiving that the rakkhasi 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 rakkhasi, and these monsters chased the rakkhasas and obstructed their further progress.

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* Near Bilin in the Shwègyin District. * Ayetpêma in the Shwègyin District.
When the *pissicas* 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. In order to prevent the return of the *pissicas*, the *thēras* established a cordon of guards around the country, and preached the *Brahmajālasutta* to the people, who had assembled together. At the conclusion of the sermon, 60,000 people attained to the comprehension of the Truth; 3,500 men and 1,500 women renounced the world, and the rest were established in the 'Three Refuges' and the *sīlas*. *Thus the Religion was established in this country of Rāmaññadāsa by the two *thēras* in the 236th year* that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Fully Enlightened One.

Thenceforward, in Rāmaññadāsa, all princes, born on the anniversary day of that event, were named *Sūnutta*. In order to shield all newborn infants from the danger of being seized by the *rakkhāri*, the appearances created by the supernatural power of the *thēras* were inscribed on armlets, wristlets, and leaves, and placed on their heads; and a stone, on which the same appearances were engraved, was placed on the top of a hill to the north-east of the town. *This stone may be seen to this day.*

Since its introduction, the Religion flourished for a long time in Rāmaññadāsa. In course of time, however, the power of Rāmaññadāsa declined, because civil dissensions arose and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, and because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent Religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the Seven Kings. Owing to these calamities, the priests, residing in Rāmaññadāsa, were unable to devote themselves, in peace and comfort, to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts; and the Religion also declined.

During the reign of Manōhari, who was also known by his princely name of *Suriyakumāra*, the power of the kingdom became very weak. *This happened in the 1600th year* that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Fully Enlightened One.

In 1601, Anno Buddhā, and 419, Sakkarāj, King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimaddanapura, took a community of priests together with the Tipiṭaka (from Rāmaññadāsa), and established the Religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pugāma.

One hundred and seven years after this event, or in the year 526, Sakkarāj, King Sirisanghabadhdhi-Parakkamabahu purified the Religion in Laṅkādipa.

Six years after the latter event, or in the year 532, Sakkarāj, Uttarājīvamahāthēra, the Preceptor of the King of Pugāma, with the object of worshipping at the shrines in Laṅkādipa, set out for Kusimanagara, saying to himself: "I shall embark in a ship with a great many priests." Who was this Uttarājīvamahāthēra? He was a native of Rāmaññadāsa, and was a pupil of Ariyavāsathēra, who was a disciple of Mahākālāthēra, a resident of Kappūnagarā. Mahākālāthēra was a pupil of Prānaddasmahāthēra, who lived at Sudhammanagarā. This mahāthēra was endowed with lōkiyajjhāna and abhīnāṇā. Being thus gifted, he would, every morning, proceed to Magadhā and sweep the court-yard of the Mahābodhi tree in Uruvelā, return to Sudhammapura, and go on his alms-pilgrimage. One morning, while he was sweeping the court-yard of the Mahābodhi tree, certain traders, who lived in Uruvelā, and were on their way to Magadhā from Sudhammapura, saw him, and, on their return, related what they had seen to the people of Sudhammapura. Thus it was that the possession of supernatural powers by Prānaddasmahāthēra, as a concomitant of his attainment of lōkiyajjhāna and abhīnāṇā, became known.

*(To be continued.)*

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1 Or 398 B.C.  
2 Or 1066 A.D.  
3 Or 1164 A.D.  
4 The modern Bassein. See ante page 187.  
5 Kabaing near Twanté in the Hinthada District.  
6 The modern Dāton in the Amherst District.
THE NAME "BASSEIN."

BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.

The name Bassein is perhaps the most irritating of all Angle-Indian corruptions, for there are three towns in the Indian Empire so named by Europeans at the present day, and none of them are so known to the natives.¹

The most important of these towns is Bassein in Burma,² then comes Bassein in Bombay, and lastly there is Bassein in Berar. The natives of these respective countries call Bassein in Burma Paçeng, Bassein in Bombay Wasti, and Bassein in Berar Bésim or Wésim.

Old European names for Bassein in Bombay have been Baxai, Baçaim,³ Basain, Basai, Bessai; but those for Bassein in Burma have been far more diverse, puzzling, and, it may be said also, interesting. It has been known by many variations of such widely differing words a Cosmin, Persaim or Bassein.

To take Cosmin first. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v., quotes Cosmin in 1516 and 1545, Cosmin in 1554, Cosmi in 1556 and 1555, Cosmin in 1570 and 1587. In 1890 Symes quotes a chart by Wood, called the "Draught of the River Irrawaddy or Irabatty," published in 1706, which gives both Cosmin and "Persaim or Bassein," as towns 30 or 40 miles apart. I have in my possession an atlas of old maps of the regions about Burma, and from these I can add information on this point. Cosmin appears in du-Val's map of the "Royame de Siam et des Pays circonvoisins," 1605; in Van der Aa's maps in 1729, (1) dresses sur les voyages de Nuno de Cunha, (2) décrites par Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, (3) Dutch map after Nuno da Cunha, (4) Dutch map after Ralph Fitch, (5) Dutch map after Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, (6) Dutch map after Fernando Perez d'Andrado (7) Dutch and French maps after Caspar Balby; in Pierre Mortier's map of "les Iles d'Anseanese, Ceylan, les Maldives," 1740. Cosmin appears in the scientific production Corinelli's "Bousle Maritmae de Brest a Siam," 1685; in del-'Isle's "Carte des Indes et de la Chine," 1705, copied in 1710, and again by Coners and Mortier in 1720; in Van der Aa's maps, 1729, (1) décrit par Ralph Fitch, (2) Dutch map after Cesar Frederiks; in a French map, 1764, "Carte des Royannes de Siam, de Tunquin, Pegu, Ava, Arancan," and, lastly, a French map, "Carte de l'Empire Birman dressée et dessinée par Desmadryl jeune, 1825" gives Persaim as 35 "milles anglais" north of Cosmin, Persaim being the more important place.

For Persaim, Yule, s. v., quotes Dalrymple's Repertory in 1759, a chart by Capt. Baker in 1754, Symes in 1796, and Wood's chart above mentioned in 1796. These two last he quotes for both Bassein and Persaim,⁴ and also for "Persaim or Bassein." Crawfurd, Embassy to Ava, p. 513, quotes Elster, 1757, for Persaim.

Bassein appears to have come into use about the beginning of this century. It is Bassein throughout in Wilson's "Documents relative to the Burmese War, 1827," who quotes, p. xlv. a Gazette Notification of 1826. It is Bassein also in Jackson's map, 1826, attached to Wilson's book. Boileau Pemberton's exceedingly rare and admirable "Map of the Eastern Frontier of British India with the adjacent countries extending to Yunnan in China," 1838, has Bassein. But for the lower portion of the "Irawaddy River" Pemberton expressly quotes "the chart of the late Colonel Wood of the Bengal Engineers and the map of Major Jackson, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of Bengal." Snodgrass, "Burmese War," 1827, p. 289, also has Bassein throughout.

By the time of the Second Burmese War in 1852 Bassein seems to have become thoroughly established, "the Wilson, Narrative of the Burmese War in 1824-6, 1828, p. 81; Laurie's Pegu, 1854, pp. 218 ff; and in most authors of the period.

The evidence then is that up to 1764, A. D., Cosmin was the usual European name for the

¹ As an instance of the rise of corruptions in place names in the East, I found an impressive photograph of the great Kügan Caves in the Amberst District labelled in a Rangoon Photographer's show-book, "The Cocoon Cave."² When this author was stationed at Bassein in Burma, about 17 years ago, letters for "Parisien" were constantly sent to the wrong place.


⁴ Persain occurs at p. 37, 38, 62, etc., in Symes.
place, that by 1800 the situation of "Cosmin" had become forgotten, that by 1750 Persain had also become established, and that Bassein began to supersede Persain about 1800.

The modern Burmese name is Pabèng, by ordinary Burmese phonetics used for Pūbèng, spelt Pūn in and Pūsim.

In the Kalyāṇ Inscriptins (1476 A.D.) we have Kusima-nagara for Bassein and Kusi-mamañdala for the Bassein division of the Talaiing Territories (Ramāṇaṇāsā). In the Kaung-mudō Inscription (1560 A.D.), 5 we have Kubèng, and in the Pōukjlaung Inscription (1774 A.D.) we have again Kubèng (spell Kusim). Yule says s. v. Cosmin, that Alaungpaya changed the name from Kubèng to Pūbèng on his conquest, of the Talaiing Country in 1755-60. This is comparable with that monarch's well-known deliberate change of the name Dagōn to Yangōn (Rangoon) in 1755, 6 but Yule's statement is unfortunately bad history, because we have Yule's own and other evidence to show that Persain (Pūbèng) was used before the date of Alaungpaya's conquest in 1755-60.

It is, however, evident from the above quotations that the Burmese changes of sound must have been synchronous with the European attempts to pronounce them: that as long as the Burman said Kābèng, the European said Cosmin, etc.: and that when the Burman changed his pronunciation Kābèng to Pabèng, the European used Persain. The uncertainty in the initial consonant was still observable among the Burmans up to nearly the middle of this century, for Yule, Avo, p. 333, quoting Colonel Burme, 1830, says it is uncertain whether he wrote Kothin or Pothein for Bassein: — "The letter in Burney's MS. is doubtful."

This change from initial P to K in such names is not isolated, and is probably purely phonetic, for we have a well-known place name in Upper Burma, now called Pākān (spelt Puk'ān), which in old Burmese MSS. is written Kūkān. Doubtless upon this hint other examples might be unearthed.

The s in such words as Bassein, Syriam, Tenasserim, Cassay, 7 where the Burman distinctly uses b, may be due to two causes.

Firstly, the Talaiing pronunciation may be responsible, as the Talaiings use s for the same letter that the Burmese pronounce b. The Talaiing pronunciation of the name Bassein is Pasem or Pasim, according to dialect.

Secondly, many early European writers, such as Sangermano, could not say b and attempted to reproduce the sound by s. In Sangermano we have many instances of s for b in parts of Burma beyond the influence of the Talaiing tongue.

Thus, Sangermano, in a short account of the Burmese language, writes, p. 145: — "Thus, I go is suā si; I went, suā ḫ; I will go, suā mū." And again: — "Thus, the imperative go is suā ṭō; is he gone, suā bī lā; by going, suā līs." These vernacular expressions are really pronounced būā ỵi, bōā bī, bōā mū, būā ṭō, bōā bī lā, būā līys. 8

Besides the above we have such strong instances on the following: — p. 95, sein-bāng; p. 144, sōn-bāng (three); p. 78, seuaocchā-bāo bauckhā, a sergeant, (see ante, Vol. XX. p. 433), p. 104, Mengasalot, by mistake for Mengasal, for the well-known book Mīnālābōk; pp. 35;

8 Yule, Mission to Ava, p. 307.
6 Yule, Hobson-Jobson, quotes in support Forchhammer's Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of British Burma, No. 2, p. 12. Forchhammer's statement that the word pāng means a "hot image-house" is false etymology, for no Burman would use the expression, but would say ūngū; besides pāng is not an "image-house," but a "hall of ordination." It may be interesting to make the following quotation from Symes, Embassy to Ava, 1860, p. 29: — "Previous to his departure from Dagon, Alove laid the foundation of the town now so well known by the name of Rangoon or Drangoon, which signifies victory stanch (sic). Here stood in former days a large populous city called in the Pali Singaustena. And here is a place close to "Dagon" in two maps by Van der As, 1700, both after Caspar Bulby, is a place called "Lungon." If this is "Bangoon" the received tale falls.
7 See Crawford's Embassy to Ava, pp. 238-239, and Yule, Hobson-Jobson, a. v.
8 The pages refer throughout the paper to the reprint of 1886.
9 It must be remembered that, as Sangermano wrote in Italian, all his transcriptions of Burmese sounds must be treated as Italian words.
Similar evidence is forthcoming from Quirini, who wrote in 1781 about Bishop Percoto, the missionary to Pegu and Ava. The good Bishop landed in Burma in 1761, and died in 1776. In this book we have *Sutton=Thatson* (P'at'oon) at p. 131; *Sawdy=Tharrawaddy* (Parawadi) at p. 177; *Siriam throughout*; "Il Re Pegnano Simingh-To" = *Đamindà*, at p. 98, 100; "questo libro, il quale Simingh-To chiamosi" = *Đamindà* at p. 94, and the word again at p. 78; *Casse=Kabè* at pp. 76, 172.

The pronunciation of Pərsəi̯m must have been nearly Pəsəm, and that of Bassein has always been Baśsin, both due, no doubt, to Talaing dialectic variation. In Sangermano, who wrote between 1783 and 1808, we have contemporary evidence of the sound of the word, at the time that Bassein began to supersede Pərsəi̯m, in Baśsinò, thrice used by him at pages 67, 158 and 174.

There has however been a variant spelling side by side with Bassein in Baśsinò: vide a French copy of Wood's chart, 1795; Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, 1800, pp. 16, 17, 16, 28, etc.; *Two years in Ava*, 1827, p. 244; and a tract entitled *Negrais Island and Bassein*, 1852, by J. Martin, *passim*. Ever since Sangermano's time, it has usually stood in Burmese transliteration for short i and frequently does so still, but to show the variant sounds represented by Symes and the writers of his and other letters by identical letters I may quote his Taltien, p. 34, for Talaing. Doveton, *Reminiscences of the Burmese War*, 1852, has, p. 276, Kokien and, p. 279, Kokien for Kabkàng.

Quirini in the book above quoted, *Vita di Monignor O. M. Percoto*, 1781, never mentions Bassein, getting no nearer than "Negrada" (p. 117), unless we read a curious expression at p. 93 to include Bassein: "il Regno di Battiam, Martaban e Pegù, cui spettava la città, e porto di Siriam."

It may be as well to note here that the evidence now collected upsets the theory that the Besyngyal (Đhwrəyía) of Ptolemy represents the people about Bassein, or that the Besyngya (Đhwrəy) River is the Bassein River, or branch of the Irrawaddy (Đhùráwadi). At the same time it is right to note the following evidence: In a version which I have of Ptolemy, *undecima Asis Tabula*, 1552, there occurs Besyngya fl. In another version of 1590, copied by Sanson d'Abbeville in a Latin map called *Indid Vetus*, 1674, there occur Besyngitis Reg. Besyngya fl., and Besyngya Emporium.

**Postscript.**

Sangermano requires editing by the light of the increased knowledge of Burma that has been gained since he wrote, and the English edition of his work was published, and the work is well worth undertaking. The book is full of information as to the rise and cause of many common Anglo-Burmese words of the present day, and all the forms of vernacular words in it are worth study and annotation. The persistent use of *s* for *s* is curious, thus:—p. 59, Zabòd=Sòbwà: p. 57, etc., Zingusa=Singusá: p. 55, etc., Zempiuscien=Śin'byùshìn: p. 56, etc., Mozòd=Mò>bùdò (Shwèbò=Moutshoho, see post, p. 28); p. 67, *niche=elle* (the bahkhō of Indian armies); p. 90, saradò=saradò for sarìdò (= Pàli *ācchāriya* + i)-the modern pronunciation *sadò*; p. 139, *nātèd*, an evil spirit, for *nāt*.

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12 As to the *s* in this word it should be noted that in Rangoon the same of a well-known citizen, Bāl Bhagwā Dīa Bākhārā, is sometimes written by Europeans "Burgun Dose," as representing their pronunciation of the name, accent on the first syllable. So Persəi̯m may well represent the sound of Pəsəm.

11 Negrada, the Negrasis of Sangermano. p. 88.


It is also worth noting that he writes, p. 58, Siam as we do, but throughout his book Sciam for Slān.

The sounds of ñ and ñ always puzzled him, thus he wrote, p. 67, midōighi and toaidghi for mydājī and yudājī. The hard sound of the Burmese ky, k'y, gy and g'y (which letters also represent the modern Burmese pronunciation of kr, kr', gr and gr') appears in the above two words, and in sesauchǐ above quoted, and also in the following: pp. 66, etc., wunahti for wunjī; pp. 91, etc., ponghī for pōnjī. This hard pronunciation is still common among Europeans in Burma in spite of the usual vernacular soft sound of k and g as ch and j in such circumstances.

Quirini's book is of much the same value in this connection, though it has never been translated. Besides the instances of his expressions already given he writes suumtulgo (pp. 77, 141) for stūmtyldō, while giving a correct explanation of the import of the word. He has rundai-yōndō: Cartani, as also has Sangennaro (pp. 35, 36) = Korena, with which may be compared Crawford's (Embassy to Ava) Kariōna (p. 354, et passim): and many other interesting words and names.

Quirini has further a curious Mizzna Pra Re dell' Ava, (pp. 79, 151, etc.), evidently meant for S'inbyūγyn (1763-1775). Mizzna Pra may possibly stand for Myōdu (P'ya), a title of that mighty monarch as prince.

**FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.**

**BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.**

**No. 4.**—The Gadaṛiśā and the Rāṇī of Lālpūr.

Once upon a time a Rājā went to hunt in a jungle. As he was returning he reached a great river on the bank of which was a fig tree (bargad) and then he sat down to rest. Meanwhile a boat appeared, coming from the direction of the city of Lālpūr. On it a woman was sitting. She looked at the king and let go the iron anchor of the boat into the water. After this she dropped a ruby into the water, and opening her bodice showed him her breast and smiled at him, showing her teeth. Then she raised the anchor and went away in the boat. The Rājā fell into great fear and returned to his palace, and went to sleep on his couch. Then a handmaiden brought him his food, but she could not wake him. She returned and told the Rāṇi, who went herself to the Rājā, but she could not make him sit up or speak. Then the Rāṇi proclaimed in the city that whoever could make the Rājā speak should receive half the kingdom. Many people came and tried to wake him, but no one succeeded. Then a shepherd woman (gudérin) came to the Rāṇi and said to her, "My husband is grazing his sheep in the jungle; if he be sent for he can wake the Rājā." The Rāṇi sent her soldiers to bring the Gadaṛiśā. He said: "If one of the king's clerks (musulgī) comes and makes a list of my sheep, and the king's soldiers graze them for me, I will come." The Rāṇi ordered this to be done. So the
Gādariyā came and sat by the Rājā and after some time he woke. Then the Gādariyā asked him what he had seen, which caused him to sleep in this way. The Rājā got up and took the Gādariyā with him to the jungle. They reached the same river where the fig tree stood. Then the Rājā told the Gādariyā what he had seen. The Gādariyā asked what he wished. The Rājā replied that he wished to see this woman. The Gādariyā asked if he knew from where she had come and where she had gone. The Rājā replied that he did not know. The Gādariyā answered — "As she threw the ruby (lād) into the water, she lives in Lālpur; from her showing you the upper bone (aṭṭhī) of her chest, it appears that her name is the Bone Queen (Aṣṭhrāṇī); and as she showed you her teeth, she must be the daughter of the Tooth King (Dantiṭrāṇī)." So they both went off in the direction of Lālpur. They asked every one where Lālpur was, but could get no trace to it. At last, when it was very late, they came to a village, where they saw a man ploughing with a pair of oxen, one very large and the other very small. The Gādariyā said to him, "If you could not buy an ox to match the larger of the pair, why don’t you sell the large ox and buy another small one and save a few rupees?" The ploughman answered, "How can I buy or sell?" The Gādariyā said to the Rājā, "I know that there is something curious about this ploughman’s wife. Let us stay with him for the night and I will afterwards explain it to you." So they arranged to stay with him for the night and went on ahead to his house. The ploughman’s wife said, "There is no room here for you, but you can sit a short distance off." When the ploughman came back from the field and heard what had happened, he made his wife give them a place to stay, and asked them if they would eat anything. They refused, and after some time the Rājā fell asleep in the ploughman’s hut.

The Gādariyā remained awake. At midnight a lover of the woman came and went inside. As dawn came he said to her, "Give me some place to stay, as I cannot go away now." So she told him to go into the large mud granary (kutha) inside the house, and plastered up the opening with clay. In the morning the Rājā and the Gādariyā wanted to go on, but the ploughman would not let them go till they had eaten. Then the Gādariyā said to the ploughman, "There is something in your granary which does not grow in our country. Let us take it and we will convey it to our land and grow it there." The ploughman agreed to let them have it, but his wife objected. The Rājā said, "Why do you object to give us such a trifle?" Then they opened the granary and the man appeared, whom, having made over to the ploughman, the Rājā and the Gādariyā went their way.

As they went on they came to a garden which was in charge of a gardener woman (mālin) and there they halted. She used to supply the Rānī of that land with flowers. The Gādariyā, knowing that it was the Rānī, who had come in the boat, sent a message to her by the Mālin that the traveller, whom she had met near the fig tree, had arrived. The Rānī put some gold coins (aṣṭhraṇī) in a tray, and covering them with rice secretly, gave it to the Mālin, and, as if to show her displeasure with her, marked her five times on each cheek with black, and told her to give the tray to the traveller and dismiss him from her house. If she failed to do so she would have her children forced to work at Stoking the furnace of the grain parcher. The Gādariyā, when he heard the account of the Mālin’s interview with the Rānī, said: "There are still ten days of the dark-fortnight remaining. When the light-nights come you will obtain an interview." When that time elapsed he again sent the Mālin to inform the Rānī that the traveller still awaited her pleasure. The Rānī again appeared displeased, and gave the Mālin, as before, a tray filled with gold coins for the traveller, and, marking each of her cheeks with five lines of white dismissed her. Then the Mālin came back, and striking the Rājā with a house broom (bāṇhā), ordered him and his companion to leave her house. After five days the Gādariyā again sent the Mālin to the Rānī to announce that the traveller was still waiting. The Rānī again appeared displeased and pushed the old woman out of the wicket of her palace. But the Gādariyā consoled her and enquired what had happened. Then he told the Rājā, "The Rānī means that it is by this wicket you are to go and visit her."
When night fell the Râjâ went to the wicket. When he arrived there he found a silken string hanging from the roof of the palace. The Gaḍariyâ said: “Ascend by this cord and visit the Râni.”

He went up, found the Râni there, and sat down beside her; but through modesty he chanced to sit by the end of her couch, and the Râni, believing him to be a fool, gave him some pînah and dismissed him. On his return he told the Gaḍariyâ what had happened, and he replied: “Well, as you did not obey my orders, you will not see her again.”

Then the Gaḍariyâ purchased a small tent and he and the Râjâ got themselves up as ascetics (sâlîthâ) and stayed outside the town. He told the Râjâ to personate an image of Sîva, and if anyone came to sit motionless and silent. He himself took a rice pounder (mûsul) and went about the city saying, “I have worshipped Mâhâdeva for 12 years and in answer to my austerities he has appeared on earth.” All the people came to worship the deity. Finally the Râjâ of the land and his daughter the Râni came to worship. The Gaḍariyâ stopped him outside and said: “If you want to do worship, you must dismount and enter on foot.” So he worshipped, and after him the Râni,—she who had gone in the boat,—came to worship. The Gaḍariyâ made her too come in on foot. As she came in the Râjâ, suspecting who she was, opened his eyes. The Gaḍariyâ said, “All my trouble is wasted.” Thus the Râni was alarmed at seeing that the god had come to life, and went and told her father, the old Râjâ, who came and offered the Gaḍariyâ a handsome reward to take the deity out of his land, lest he should incur his curse. Finally the Gaḍariyâ obtained a karof of rupees from the old Râjâ. When he got the money he and the young Râjâ left the place.

They went on to a neighbouring city, and then the Gaḍariyâ sent for a goldsmith (mûnâr) and had a quantity of splendid jewellery made. Then he dressed the young Râjâ in women’s attire and adorned him with the jewellery, and promised to bring him back to the old Râjâ’s city and again introduce him to the young Râni, but that he was not to come until the Râni gave him leave. The Gaḍariyâ then purchased a fine horse and a litter (pâlki). He mounted the horse himself, and took the young Râjâ in women’s dress in the litter. When the old Râjâ heard that this equipage was approaching he went out to meet them and escorted them to his palace. The Gaḍariyâ said to the old Râjâ: “I am a Râjâ, myself and this lady is the wife of my younger brother who has gone on his travels. I am going to search for him: meanwhile I request that you will allow this lady, my sister-in-law, to stay in the female apartments.” The Râjâ said, “I agree. She can remain with my daughter.” So the young Râjâ went into the female apartments, and the Gaḍariyâ went away on pretence of searching for his missing brother.

Then the young Râjâ in women’s attire stayed with the Râni. Some time after, one of the handmaidens suspected that he was a man in disguise and told the Râni’s brother. So he went to the Râni and said, “I must see the person that is with you, as I suspect he is a man, not a woman.” The Râni said, “If you see her it must be in private, and you can come after four days and investigate the matter.” When he had gone away the Râni said to the young Râjâ, “There is an inner room in the palace, and in it is a well. Stand inside with a drawn sword, and when my brother comes in cut off his head.” So on the day her brother was expected she shut up the Râjâ in the inner room, and told her brother to go in and make his inquiries. As he came in the Râjâ cut off his head and flung his body into the well. Then the Râni advised him to go back to the Gaḍariyâ and let him out by the secret wicket of the palace.

The Râni then raised an outcry and said that her brother had eloped with the lady who was in her private apartments. Hearing this news her father, the old Râjâ, was much distressed in mind: and the Gaḍariyâ dressed the young Râjâ in his own clothes and sent him back to the palace with instructions to demand the return of his wife, to listen to no excuses, and only to withdraw his claim when the old Râjâ agreed to marry him to his daughter. This all happened as the Gaḍariyâ instructed him. The old king was deeply ashamed that his son had eloped with the lady. So he was obliged to assent to the Gaḍariyâ’s terms. So in the end the Râjâ married the Râni and they lived happily ever after—and the Gaḍariyâ was suitably rewarded.
MISCELLANEA.

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

The note under the above heading, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94, is interesting as drawing attention to the use of Sanskrit words in the Far East, and it must be admitted that all the Burmese words mentioned in it are clearly derived direct from Sanskrit and not through Pali. At the same time I can scarcely agree with the learned author in considering that any of such words relate to social life. It would seem, on the contrary, that they relate almost entirely to the ideas of philosophy, of theology, and of astrology, which are precisely the subjects in which Sanskrit words have made most headway in the Non-Aryan languages of Southern India. Most of the latter class of languages in the Far East (Chinese forming a noteworthy exception), would indeed seem to be deficient in the more abstract terms which they have consequently borrowed from the Sanskrit. In the case of Burma, where partial civilisation was introduced by the Buddhist missionaries from India, it is natural to find a considerable number of the more abstract terms derived from the Pali, and such words are, as a general rule, transliterated according to the old system of Burmese vowel-sounds, thus showing that they were introduced at a period not long subsequent to that when the language was reduced to writing. It seems, however, pretty certain that from very ancient times indeed the kings of Burma kept Brahman astrologers at their court for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates, and what not. Now the Brahmanas have unquestionably always used Sanskrit works in performing their duties — indeed they would most certainly eschew any Pali books on astrology and cosmogony, even if such existed. It is natural also that they should interlard their reports and speeches as much as possible with Sanskrit words, (the more high-sounding the better,) for the purpose of adding weight and abstruseness to their rigmaroles, and a certain proportion of such words would thus come to be adopted by the Court, and thence by the more cultivated classes. Further, the courtiers would gladly adopt from the Brahmanas any grand Sanskrit titles which might please the king's ear, and thus in both these ways a certain number of Sanskrit words would creep into the language, though owing to the circumstances of their introduction probably not into common use. A further source for the supply of Sanskrit words would be translations from books in that language, which have undoubtedly from time to time been made in Burma.

It is natural therefore that there should be a certain number of Sanskrit words in Burmese relating to philosophical pseudo-scientific and courtly expressions, but we should certainly be surprised to find any such terms in common use, even at this epoch. The list of words given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko scarcely supports Dr. Trenckner's theory of an early Pali form, and so far as internal evidence goes they seem to have been borrowed at a comparatively late epoch in one of the ways above mentioned.

To illustrate this position we will discuss seriatim the twenty-one words added.

The first of these is adhvan अध्वन, which is principally used in Sanskrit as an astronomical term, signifying the 'orbit' or 'way' of the heavenly bodies, from which the meaning in Burmese of 'length, duration' is obviously a derivation. The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten. The use of the short tone in this, a word of Sanskrit origin, is noteworthy.

The form which the word amrita अमृत्त has assumed in Burmese is a decidedly anomalous one, though it is more than doubtful whether the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form of it had formerly the value (u) attributed to it by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko, who, it may be remarked, gives no reasons for adopting this spelling. The final letter also is given as k and not t in Dr. Judson's dictionary, no alteration, moreover, having been made in this spelling by the late "Spelling Reform Committee" of which Mr. Taw Sein-Ko himself was a member. This being so, the Burmese word would be transliterated amrati, adopting the modern pronunciation of the penultimate vowel. That the letter had always the ay sound is almost certainly not the case, though it does not by any means follow that it was always pronounced u, as it still is when final. But from this very fact of the change of the vowel sound it can be shown that the word amrita was adopted into the Burmese language at a comparatively late period, long after it was first reduced to writing by the Buddhist missionaries. For it may be taken as granted that this vowel belonged originally to the v 'varga' (so to speak) and not to the t one, and it seems incredible that a Burman in trying to pronounce the vowel sound in amrati should render it by u, d, &c. On the
other hand, the vocalics of the Sanskrit would be naturally rendered first by ri in Burmese, (the r being still extant,) after which the strengthening or vyāddhi on the elision of a final a, of the vowel s to st, (the modern sound of the vowel) though somewhat anomalous in Burmese is a perfectly legitimate example of the compensation for the loss of a vowel common in many languages. The late date of the introduction of this word into Burmese is also borne out by the final letter k which shows that the modern practice of confusing the sounds of final k and t was already in existence. The application of the epithet anrātā (umrītā) to the Buddhist uḍrīdā is obviously modern and needs no discussion here.

According to the corrected spelling, the Sanskrit abhishtā (अभिष्ठत) is represented in Burmese by bhtsēk, (not bhtsēk,) which word is if anything rather nearer to the Pāli than the Sanskrit. This is, however, a matter of small importance, as this word was very probably indeed introduced by the Brāhmaṇas with the king of Burma. It may be added that the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being t and not d is a proof of its late introduction (see umrītā).

With regard to chakrā, चक्र (transliterated by chakrā in accordance with the Burmese tendency to throw the accent on the second syllable), this word originally meant the disc of Vishnu and has since come to mean any supernatural weapon. The Burmese use it particularly to denote the weapon of Sakra (see below), but a far commoner word is chaik, which is obviously derived from the Pāli chaikka. We have therefore in Burmese two forms of the original root, one of which is very commonly used, and has formed compounds with several indigenous words, whilst the other is comparatively rare and is used principally in the language of fakiers and in the more high-sounding books. Under these circumstances it is irresistible that the former or Pāli word was that originally used, and that the Sanskrit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar.

Chakravāla, चक्रवाल, means originally in Sanskrit the range of mountains supposed to encircle the world, but in Burmese it means generally the world itself. The received cosmogony in Burma with its central Mrungg-k-mōr, (Mêru) mountain.

\[2\] It would be interesting to know how the author would account for mōr = Mêru. — En.

\[3\] Mr. Taw Sein Ko is doubtless right in deriving this word from kappā, but at the same time the words κάππα, Hāpa quoted by him are always pronounced, in Anakan &c. &c., is so obviously of Brahmanical origin that little importance could in any case be attached to this word. It seems very probable that the Burmese have derived their cosmogony from the Brāhmaṇa astrologers at the Court.

The same observations apply to chakravati, 'universal ruler,' as to chakra, the word having probably come into use through the courtiers at the king's court, (and who are more cunning flatterers than the Brahmins?) The last syllable we would derive direct from the Sanskrit nominative varīt, the Burmese phonological ideas coinciding very much with those of the old speakers of Pāli.

Chakram चक्रम. This seems to be rather a doubtful Sanskrit word, — at any rate it is not given in Monier Williams' Dictionary. There may possibly be such a word with the meaning "promenade" derived like chakramd from kram, but, so far as we can see at present, authority is wanting, and such being the case it is unnecessary here to discuss further this word.

The Sanskrit dravya द्रव्य, meaning 'stuff' or 'wealth,' (and generally used in Southern India with the latter signification) becomes drap in Burmese spelling, but is there used solely in philosophical works to signify 'substance' or 'matter,' and has never come into common usage. It is evidently a purely scientific term probably introduced by some translator of a Sanskrit work on philosophy. As regards the word for planet (groh) we need only say that if any word was likely to be introduced by the Brahman astrologers it would be this.

The Sanskrit kalpa, कल्प, and the Pāli kappa have both derivatives in Burmese, namely kambā and kā, but as precisely the same observations apply to these as to chakrā and chaik it is unnecessary to discuss them further.

Mrigasiras मृगसिरस and Pushya प支柱 are merely the names of two lunar nakṣatras and it is therefore natural to find the Burmese equivalents derived from Sanskrit and not from Pāli.

Parisat, (as it is now spelt,—not parisat) is defined in Judson's Dictionary as a 'religious assembly,' but it is also used for an assembly in general. The original Sanskrit word means rather a 'council,' as in a Court, or an assembly of ministers, and it is not a violent assumption to at least, as spells, and not as adhāpā-ādāpa. The change of final l to n is however not unknown in the Tibetan-Burmese family, cf. Lushai lll, and Southern Chin 14a, 'a chief.'
suppose that it was so first used by the Brāhmaṇa in the king's court, the use of the word becoming afterwards more generally extended.

As with chakra and kalpa, so has the Sanskrit prakṛti (not prakāśa) two derivatives in Burmese one direct from Sanskrit and the other (pakati) from Pāli, and as with those words the latter is the more commonly used.

The Sanskrit prāśada (Bur. prāśada), means 'a palace,' and although the word has now come to mean a pointed turret, wherever placed, it seems probable that it first meant the king's palace, as consisting originally mainly of this kind of building, and has thence come to mean generally this peculiar architectural ornament. The latter would seem to have been introduced from China at a comparatively late period, and it is unlikely that the early Buddhist monks (coming as they did from India), adorned their monasteries with them, as is the custom now-a-days.

The fact of prīta (from the Sanskrit prīta), being spelt with an i instead of an ē is fairly conclusive that this word was introduced at a comparatively late period when the modern pronunciation of penultimate ē as ē had become established. This word has not the meaning assigned to it in Sanskrit and it is met with principally in books.

The Pāli form isi of the word rice (Bur. rās) is found in Burmese (at least according to Dr. Judson), as well as in Talaing, but rās or yubé (for rīshī) is undoubtedly more generally met with. Practically in Burmese it is however more used as a title of respect than otherwise, and looking to the fact of the Pāli term being generally used by the Talaingas it would seem probable that the Sanskrit word has with the Burmans superseded the Pāli one, owing to its being more high-falutin' and therefore more likely to please the monk addressed.

The term samudra for 'sea' has in Burmese never in the slightest way supplanted the vernacular panglay (pintie) and it is used almost entirely for purposes of metaphor. It was therefore probably introduced at a late period by some philosophical writer.

The next word, Sariputta, is the only one which I think in any way supports Mr. Taw Sein-Ko's case, and it is undoubtedly remarkable as noted by him that the chief disciple of Gautama Buddha should be known in Burma by his Sanskrit appellation.

It is however possible that this name may have become popularised through a Burmese translation of some Sanskrit Buddhist work, in which this disciple formed a prominent figure; but the matter requires further investigation.

Sattava has the meaning in Burmese only of a 'rational being,' though in Sanskrit besides the common meaning of 'goodness' it denotes beings in general, and not merely rational ones. It seems probable that the Sanskrit form of this word (which is mainly used in philosophical works), was adopted in Burmese, because in that language the Pāli root satta would have been identical with satta 'seven,' and might have led to confusion.

Least on the list given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko is Śikrā (Bur. rās), whose name is however more correctly spelt by Dr. Judson as Sakrā, and who is styled by him the 'Recording Angel of Buddhism.' In giving this personage the latter title however the learned writer must surely have allowed this religious zeal to overstep his discretion, as a very little inquiry would have shown him that the popular Burmese 'Thajā' is simply our old friend Indra (Sakra) somewhat altered to suit Burmese (not Buddhist) ideas. In spite of their Buddhist professions no people are less atheists than the Burmese, and in addition to the old sat or spirit worship (common to all races of the Tibetan-Burman stock), they have adopted as a superior kind of spirits many of the Hindu gods. Indra (Sakra) is naturally the chief of these, and has from one cause or another come to occupy a very conspicuous place in Burmese ideas. Now however much the Buddhists in India may have found it expedient to adopt the Hindu cosmogony it is very unlikely that the early Buddhist missionaries in Burma, finding themselves amongst a Mongoloid race of spirit-worshippers would have dragged any Hindu gods into their religious system; and the absence therefore of a Pāli synonym is easily explained. It is true that in several of the Zds, the Sakrā-mang (Thajā-min) is brought in as a kind of Deus ex machina, but no argument can be drawn from this until the date and place of origin of these stories is more definitely ascertained. (The fact of Sakrā (Indra), being made to figure favourably in Buddhist stories would seem to imply that this god was very popular amongst the Hindus converted by Buddhism, and hence it was considered expedient to incorporate him into the Buddhist system). So warped have the modern

wrong spelling in English can be shown to be due to this cause.

The popular etymology of this word would seem to be responsible for this alternative spelling. Many cases of
ideas of śakra become that it is even supposed that there is a whole class of spirits of that name of whom Sakra-mang (Indra) is chief, but never until now we fancy has that worthy figured as the Buddhist Recording Angel. Truly, *mutato nomine de te fabulae narratur*.

In connection with śakra it may be noted the well-known Burmese sánkran is obviously derived from the Sanskrit Sankrānti, meaning the passage of the sun from one sign to another. It may be predicated with equal certainty that both words were introduced by the Brāhmaṇa* at the king’s court.

**BERNARD HOUGHTON, C. S.**

A NOTE ON THE NAME SHWE-DAGON.

The name Shwe-Dagon has always been a stumbling-block to antiquaries. It is now spelt Takun and pronounced Dagōn. But in the last and earlier centuries it was evidently also pronounced Digōn, for Yule, Hobbson-Jobson, e.g. Dagōn, quotes Pinto, 1546, to this effect, and the word is always Digon in Florès’ account of his travels in 1756. It is always Digon (except once: “Digone capitale del Pegh,” p. 149) in Quiriti’s *Vita di Monzignor G. M. Percio*, 1781: and it is Digon in a map by Antonio Zulase, fig. Venezia, 1785.

Yule further quotes Gasparo Balbi, 1685, for Dagon, and Flich, 1857, for Dogonne. Dagon also occurs in eight of Van der Aa’s maps in my possession dated 1720: and Dougan in French maps, dated 1705, 1710, 1720 and 1764. The modern pronunciation of the word was used in 1755, for Yule quotes the *Oriento Reperitium* both for Dagon and Dagon. Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, 1803 (pp. 18, 23) has Dagon. Crawfurd, 1829, *Embassy to Ava* (pp. 345, 347) calls it Dagong. There is further a curious word Toedogon in one of Mortier’s maps, 1740.

In the Bōgā sāng inscription, 1774 A.D., the shrine is called, in Pāli, Digumapacchāti, so that the Burmese Dagon (=Dīgān) = the Pāli Digumpa, The form Dīgōn would be a legitimate equivalent in the vernacular for Digumpa. *Pace Forchhau- mer, Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of British Burma*, No. 1, the name of Rangoon, or rather more correctly of the town round the Shwé-Dagon Pagoda, then newly restored and enlarged, in the

Kalyāni Inscriptions, (1476 A.D.) is Tigumpana- gara, and not *Trikumbara*, or *Tikumbara*, as he says, following the modern (false) Palicisms of the Burmese *literati*, who always write *Tikum- bha* and *Tikumphachāt*. Whether Dīgōn or Dagon is a Burmese derivative from a Pāli form *Tigumpa* or *Digumpa*, or whether the latter are false Palicisms for the Burmese word is not yet certain: but the presumption would be in favour of the latter hypothesis. We then have to fall back on Dīgōn or Dagon as an indigenous or borrowed word.

Now the modern Anglo-Indian word dagoba, formerly also dagope, dagop and dagob, is no doubt derived ultimately from the Pāli (and ? Prakritio) dātugabhā = Skr. dātugarbha, which in modern Sinhalese is dāgaba. It means a receptacle for Buddhist relics, but, literally, an inner chamber for deposits (*āṭavas, cella*). Yule says that to derive dagon from the same source as dagoba is mere guess-work. There is, however, more in favour of this derivation than of any other yet produced, so far as I know. Thus, we have dagaba, Sinhalese, admittedly from *dātugabhā*, and as far back as the 16th century we have a persistent word *tigumpa* or *digumpa* (= *dāgān, dīgōn*) in Burma with the same meaning. Until a clear derivation is made out, it is, therefore, not unsafe to say that dagon represents some medieval Indian current form of dātugabhā. This view is supported by a word gompa, used in the Himalayas about Sikkim for a Buddhist shrine, which looks *prim facie* like the remains of some such words as gabbha, the latter half of the compound *dātugabhā*.

The derivation of Dagon from a Talain word Takun, and the legend attached there-to, may be safely discarded as folk-etymology, and the derivation from *tikumbara* or *trikum- bha* is even more open to the charge of guess-work, though accepted by Yule, who follows Forchhammer blindly, as final. For, in the first place, either form is a doubtful reading from the Kalyāni Inscriptions; in the next place neither Trikumba-nagara in Sanskrit nor Tikumba-nagar in Pāli would mean ‘Three hill City, as Forchhammer, loc. cit., says, *kumbha* being in no sense a ‘hill,’ which is *kōla*; and in the third place, there are not (*pace Forchhammer*)

* The form *Tikum[bha]*nagar is comparable with *Kittān[bha]*pabhathakātins in the Kalyāni Inscriptions, where bha has been clearly interpolated. I understand that there are other instances of such insertions of bha in the *‘Pāli* writings of the Talainas.

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* [But see my note Vol. XXI. p. 198 ante, on this word.] —Ed.

* It is curious to note how in some parts of the 25th the Brāhmaṇa is made to play the part of the modern ‘villain,’ whilst at the same time he is always resorted to for purposes of divination and state-craft.

three hills on the site of the Shwé-Dagôn Pagoda at Rangoon.

There is another Shwé-Dagôn at Martaban, now said to be so-called because it was founded at the same time as the great Shwé-Dagôn at Rangoon, but it is quite possible that it was really so named because it also was a 'golden dagoba.'

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

RATANASINGHA—SHWÉBO—MOUTSHOOBO—KONGBAUNG.

The Burmese are so fond of Pāli designations for places in their epigraphic, official and historical documents, that it will be necessary, as these are further studied, to prepare a "classical map" of Burma. This I hope to do before very long.

The name above given, Ratanaśingha, or as the Burmese pronounce it Ye'dana Đêngâ, is typical of these classical and semi-classical names, of which many are quite modern inventions. The second part if it is not ranigha, as Gray in his Alompra Dynasty supposes, but singha.

There are three Burmese words, all having the same phonetic value, viz., bëngâ, which are written respectively singa, siñka, and singa. Singâ is a kind of gold used in ornaments. Sīnkâ is said to mean 'the Capital.' Singâ is said to mean 'a meeting point, a place where four cross-roads meet.' The Burmese meaning attached to the name Ratanaśinga is 'the meeting point of the treasures.'

The Pāli word for singa is singâ = Skr. śringâ and śringâ. Singa appears in Pāli as sīṅgā and śīṅgātaka. Sīnkâ I cannot trace in the classical tongues, though it would apparently be a legitimate enough derivative from the root common to singa and singa. All the three words, and at any rate singa and singa, are traceable to a stem, which in Skr. is śīṅga, 'a top or summit.'

Ratana is the Pāli form of the Skr. ratana,'a gift, a treasure,' and appears in the classical name for two famous Burmese towns, viz., Ye'danaṣ̄upāyâ and Ye'danaṣ̄obôn. Ye'danaṣ̄upāyâ = Ratanaṃśī'mhâ.

1 It is also written with its true Pāli form, singâ. See below in the text.

2 Ratanaśingha in Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 152.

3 Parâvadi, Pali Sarâvati, (+ Skr. Sarâvati) was a division of the old Talaing kingdom of Pau (Haṭṭâvati in Pāli), and is now the Thawâwadi District.

4 [The pâ in this word and the ço of Phayre's form of it (see next note) are interesting. The letter pronounced by the Burmese as s is the ç of the Nâgarî Alphabet, and was always represented by the syllable to which Phayre and the writers of his time belonged by ts, for some reason I have been unable to ascertain. The aspirated form, pronounced by the Burmese as s, (cch of Nâgarî), Phayre and the others wrote tsa and tsa, as the English pronounce the well-known word, = Âwa and Ínâwa, as Burmese pronounce it. Ye'danaṣ̄obôn = Ratanaṣ̄upānā = Mandalay.

Ratanaśingha = Shwébo, the first Capital of the Alompra Dynasty and the home of Alompra (Alompra) himself.

Shwébo, as the town is now known, is the Moutshoo of Phayre and the old histories, documents and maps.

Near Shwébo is a famous reservoir, known as Kongbaung, and hence to the Burmese the two names have become synonymous. They so appear in the title of the eighth king of the Alompra Dynasty, 1837-1846 A.D., who is known to us as Parâvadi (Parâvadi), his title as prince, but to the Burmese as Shwébo or Kongbaung, his title as king.

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Moutshoo represents the Burmese word Moksóbo (spelt Mus'gôbô), the old name for Shwébo. It means the cooking-place (p'òg) of the hunter (mus'gô, pronounced moksó).

There is a curious legend attached to this name. When the Talaings in 1751 A.D. turned out the Burmese (Taung-nûgô) Dynasty of Ava there was current a prophecy that one of the p'ó (an apparent pun on the word bô, spelt bòl = Pâli, bala, a leader) would restore the Burmese line. At that time there were three towns having the suffix p'ó (bô) to their names, viz., Moksóbo, Ók'ô now a deserted town in the Mandalay District, and a third, whose full name and site are now forgotten, in the Magwè District. The duty of turning out the Talaings fell four years later to Moksóbo, under the leadership of Alompra'yâ.

TAW SEIN KO.

often also ts. This last arose from assimilation to the other aspirates they employed, such as kô, kg, g, hâ, &c., in place of the usual k, k, th, dh, &c. This latter habit arose from the pronunciation of the Nâgarî s by the Burmese both as s and s, which these writers represented by th, as in English. Hence th really = st and Moutsobô = Mouso. The pronunciation of mû in the above word is gauged by Phayre's writing it mun, Moutsobô and Moustobô are in fact nothing but attempts to transliterate the characters represented by Munso.-Ed.

5 Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 156, explains "Moutsôbo" as the home of the hunter-captain, i.e., mokas, hunter, bold, leader.-Ed.]
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI.
1476 A.D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(Continued from page 37.)

On arrival at Kasimanagara, Uttarajjivamahāthēra embarked in a ship, accompanied by many other priests and by a sāmanēra, whose age was fully 20 years. Who was this sāmanēra? Why was he called Chhaṭapāsāmanārā? His parents were natives of Kusimaraṭṭha, while he himself was a pupil of Uttarajjivamahāthēra. He was called Chhaṭapāsāmanārā, because his parents were natives of a village called Chhapaṭa, in Kusimaraṭṭha.

Uttarajjivamahāthēra embarked in a ship and set out for Lāṅkādīpa. On his arrival there, the mahāthēras, residing in Lāṅkādīpa, came together in a body and accorded him a meet reception. As they were well disposed towards him they said: "We are the spiritual successors of Mahāmabhīndathēra, who established the Religion in Lāṅkādīpa, while you and the other priests in your company are the spiritual successors of the two mahāthēras, called Sona and Uttara, who established the Religion in Savaṇṇabhūmi. Let us, therefore, perform together the ceremonies incumbent upon the Order." Having spoken thus, they performed the upasampadda ordination on Chhaṭapāṭha, the twenty-year old sāmanēra.

After this, Uttarajjivamahāthēra, having accomplished the object of his visit, namely, the worshipping, &c., at the shrines in Lāṅkādīpa, made preparations to return to Pugāma.

Then the priest Chhaṭapāṭha thought thus: "If I were to return home with Uttarajjivamahāthēra, owing to the impediments caused by my relatives, I should not be able to enjoy that peace and quiet, which are conducive to the study of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries. It is, perhaps, advisable, therefore, that I should, with the permission of the mahāthēra, remain in Lāṅkādīpa, and return home only after I have mastered the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries." Accordingly, Chhaṭapāṭha asked permission from Uttarajjivamahāthēra and remained behind in Lāṅkādīpa.

Uttarajjivamahāthēra, accompanied by his large company of priests, embarked in a ship, and returned to Kusimanagara. Thence he proceeded to Pugāma, and took up his residence there.

Meanwhile, the priest, Chhaṭapāṭha, by dint of hard study, had acquired a knowledge of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries; and, as he had completed his tenth year in orders, he acquired the designation of thēra. Being now desirous of returning to Pugāma, he reflected thus: "If I were to return home alone, and if, in the event of the death of Uttarajjivamahāthēra, I did not wish to associate with the priests of Pugāma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, how could I, in the absence of a pañcavajjagāṇa, perform such functions separately? It is, perhaps, proper, therefore, that I should return home in the company of four other priests, who are well-versed in the Tipiṭaka."

After reflecting thus, he appointed Sivalīṭhāra, a native of Tāmalīṭhī, Tāmalīṭhī, the son of the Rāja of Kambīja, Anandathēra, a native of Kiṃchiṭhūra, and Rahulathēra, a native of Lāṅkādīpa, to accompany him, and, embarking in a ship, returned to his native country. These five mahāthēras were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, and were learned and able; and, among them, Rahulathēra was the ablest and the most learned.

On the arrival of these five mahāthēras at Kusimanagara, the time for journeying on to Pugāma was unsuitable, because of the approaching vassa, and they, accordingly, observed their vassa at Kusimanagara. The site and walls of the monastery, where they spent the vassa, may be seen to this day, on the south side of Kusimanagara. At the conclusion of the

\[\text{\footnotesize 11 Tāmalīṭhī is probably Tamluk in Bengal; Kambīja is either Cambodia or the Sīkā States, and Kiṃchiṭhūra is probably Conjeeveram in Madras.}\]
observance of the *vassa*, Chhapaṭamahāṭerā celebrated the *pavāraṇḍa*, and set out for Pugāma, accompanied by the four *ṭheras*.

Meanwhile, a few days before the arrival of Chhapatamahāṭerā, Uttarājīvamahāṭerā had died.

On reaching Pugāma, Chhapatathārā heard that his own teacher, Uttarājīvamahāṭerā, was dead, and repaired to his tomb and performed such acts as that of making obeisance and asking the forgiveness of the deceased. He then took counsel with the four *ṭheras*, addressing them thus: "As the *mahāṭeras* of Laṅkādīpa associated with our teacher, the venerable Uttarājīvamahāṭerā, in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, it is proper that we should now perform such functions after associating ourselves with the priests of Pugāma, who are the spiritual successors of Sogathārā and Uttarathārā. However, our teacher, Uttarājīvamahāṭerā, who was a native of Rāmaṇāḍēsā, was formerly the sole Head of the Church; but now, the priests of Marammadēsā have become Lords of the Church; and we are not disposed to associate with them in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies." Thus, through pride, Chhapatamahāṭerā declined to associate with the priests of Pugāma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and he performed such functions separately.

It should thus be borne in mind that, in the year 543,15 Sakkarāj, and the 524th year that had elapsed since the introduction of the Religion to Pugāma in Marammadēsā from Sudhammanagara in Rāmaṇāḍēsā, the Religion from Laṅkādīpa was established in Pugāma.

At that time, a king, called Narapatijayasūrā, was ruling in Pugāma. He conceived a feeling of great esteem and reverence for the five *mahāṭeras*, and, after having had a bridge of boats constructed on the great river Ėrāvatī (Irrawaddy), requested them to perform the *upasampāda* ordination on the many priests who desired to receive it. In consequence of this, the *mahāṭeras* gradually gained influence and their following grew in numbers.

One day, the king ordered festivals to be held in honour of the occasion of his giving a great offering to the five *mahāṭeras*. On that occasion, Rāhulāṭerā saw a beautiful dancing-girl, and the loss of his delight in asceticism became burdensome to him. He longed to be a layman, and made preparations to carry out his object. Chhapatamahāṭerā and the three other *mahāṭeras* repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, and, in a body, entreated him to turn away from the course he had resolved to take. But the religious discourses expounded by the four *mahāṭeras*, by way of admonition, were of no avail in turning his mind. They, therefore, said: "Brother, we have expounded to you various religious discourses by way of admonition, and yet, we have not been able to turn you away from your object. Such being the case, do you forbear to become a layman here, but go to Rāmaṇāḍēsā, and there embark for Malayadīpa, where you may carry out your wish." Being repeatedly urged to adopt this course, he went to Rāmaṇāḍēsā, and thence by ship to Malayadīpa.

Now, the King of Malayadīpa was desirous of learning the *Vinaya*, and Rāhulāṭerā taught him the *Kuddasikkha* together with its commentary, and instructed him in the meaning of the text of the whole of the *Vinaya*. The King was pleased with the *ṭhēra*, and presented him with an alms-bowl filled with many kinds of gems. Rāhulāṭerā accepted the gift, became a layman, and married.

Subsequently, of these four *mahāṭeras*, Chhapatamahāṭerā died, and the surviving three *mahāṭeras*, namely, Sivalimahāṭerā, Tāmalindamahāṭerā, and Ānandamahāṭerā, continued to maintain the Religion in splendour in Pugāma.

One day, the King of Pugāma, having conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the

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14 Burma proper, as distinguished from Rāmaṇāḍēsā, the land of the Talaungs.
15 This yields the date 1581 A.D.
three mahāthēras, presented them with three elephants. The two mahāthēras, namely, Śivalimahāthēra, and Tāmalindamahāthēra, liberated their two elephants in a forest. But Anandathēra, saying to himself:—“I shall make a present of my elephant to my relatives living in Kīchhipura,” proceeded to Kusimanagam and shipped it off. The two mahāthēras then said:—‘Brother, when we received our elephants, we set them free in a forest. Why have you caused pain to an animal by making a present of it to your relatives? Your action is improper.’ Anandathēra replied:—‘Why, Reverend Sirs, have you spoken to me in this manner? What! Reverend Sirs, has not the Blessed One declared that kindness to one’s relatives is a sacred duty?’ The two mahāthēras continued:—‘Ananda, you are indeed headstrong. If, brother, you will not accept the advice and admonition from elders like us, do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and we shall perform ours in like manner.’ Thenceforward, the two mahāthēras performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and Anandathēra performed his likewise.

In course of time, Tāmalindamahāthēra, for the benefit of his pupils, who were learned, wise, and able, said to the laymen, belonging to the ruling and other classes, that came to his presence:—“O laymen, the priests are learned, wise, and able; but, because of their not being supplied with the four requisites, they are unable to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts. Laymen, it is our desire, therefore, that these priests should be furnished with the four requisites.’ Should you undertake to do this, the priests would certainly be enabled to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts.” The thēra thus procured the four requisites by means of vachāriṇāṭti. Then Śivalimahāthēra said to Tāmalindathēra:—“Brother, the acquisition of requisites, by means of vachāriṇāṭti, was censured by the Blessed One; but why, brother, have you procured the four requisites by means of vachāriṇāṭti? Your action is improper.” Tāmalindathēra replied to Śivalimahāthēra:—“Reverend Sir, the acquisition of requisites, by means of vachāriṇāṭti, was censured by the Blessed One, when such property was for oneself; but, Reverend Sir, the four requisites, procured by me by means of vachāriṇāṭti, were not for myself. I thought that, if my pupils, who are learned, wise, and able, obtained the four requisites, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, and to the observance of the precepts, the interests of the Religion would be promoted; and therefore, I procured for them the four requisites by means of vachāriṇāṭti.” Śivalimahāthēra again said to Tāmalindathēra:—“Brother Tāmalinda, is this your explanation? Do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform mine likewise. Brother Tāmalinda, association in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies is agreeable only when the parties taking part in the performance are of the same mind and opinions and are amenable to the advice and admonition of each other.” Thenceforward, these two mahāthēras performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

At that period, there were, in Pugāma, four distinct communities of priests, each of which formed a separate sect, namely, — (i) the successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sudhammanagara; (ii) the disciples of Śivalimahāthēra; (iii) the disciples of Tāmalindamahāthēra; (iv), the disciples of Anandamahāthēra.

Of these communities, that of the spiritual successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sudhammanagara, was called by the Marammae of Pugāma the ‘Purima’ fraternity, because of their anterior arrival; and the remaining communities, whose members were the spiritual successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sihaḷadipa, were called the ‘Sihaḷa’ fraternity, and also the ‘Paċchima’ fraternity, because of their later arrival.

Two of these three mahāthēras, namely, Śivalimahāthēra and Tāmalindamahāthēra, passed away according to their deeds after maintaining the Religion in splendour to the end of their lives; and Anandathēra, after spending fifty-four rainy seasons in maintaining the
Religion in splendour in Pagáma, also passed away according to his deeds in the year 607, Sakkaráj.  

Reverse face of the first Stone.

May the Religion of the Conqueror shine forth in splendour!

A sámanjára, called Sríputta, who was a native of Padippajijíya village, 17 in the province of Dala, went to Pagáma and received the upasampada ordination at the hands of Anandathára. He studied both the Dhamma and the Vinaya together with their commentaries. Being thus well-versed in the Dhamma and the Vinaya, the fame of the learning, wisdom, and ability of the priest, Sríputta, spread abroad. The King of Pagáma heard about his fame, and reflecting:—"If the priest, Sríputta, is learned, well-informed, a seeker of knowledge, wise and able, and, if the members of his body are perfect, I shall do him honour by appointing him to be my Preceptor," sent messengers to institute enquiries. The messengers sent by the King, accordingly proceeded to enquire whether the members of the body of the priest, Sríputta, were perfect. In the course of their enquiry, they found that one of the big toes of the priest was too short, and reported the result of their investigation to the King. The King thinking inwardly: "The priest is not perfect in all the members of his body," presented him with a great many offerings, conferred on him the title of Dhammavilásaathára, and dismissed him with the injunction: "Do you maintain the Religion in splendour in Rámaññadésa."

Dhammavilásaathára proceeded to Rámaññadésa, and taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya to a great many priests in Dalanagara. 18 The people of Rámaññadésa called, at the time, the fraternity of these priests at Dalanagara, the Sihalaupakkhabhikkhusaṅgha, and designated as the Aiyárahañtanapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha, the fraternity of priests who were already in the country and were the spiritual successors of Sójamaññáthára and Uttaramaññáthára.

There was a learned maháthára, belonging to the Aiyárahañtanapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha, who lived in a monastery situated near the mouth of a river, in the Lakkhiyapura province, 19 called the Bakása, because of its teeming with fish, which served as food for paddy-birds. Near the monastery, was a market, and not far from the latter was a settlement where a great number of Kambója prisoners of war were located. On account of this fact, the market was called the Kambója 20 Market, and the monastery was called the Kambójañapavivihára, because of its vicinity to the Kambója Market. The maháthára, living in the monastery was, in like manner, called the Pathama-Kambójañapavivihárathára. Subsequently, the designation Pathama-Kambójañapavivihárathára was changed to Kambójañapamaháthára.

A pious nobleman, called Shrijayavadhana, who was living at Dalapura, built a monastery near a great lake, and invited the Kambójañapamaháthára to occupy it. At that period, because this Kambójañapamaháthára was the oldest and most celebrated member of the Aiyárahañtanasaṅghapakkha, in Dalanagara, the whole of that fraternity was designated the Kambójañapamahátháraasaṅghapakkha.

In after times, the designation Kambójañapamahátháraasaṅghapakkha fell into disuse, and the fraternity was called the Kambójañapasaṅghapakkha. However, the latter term Kambójañapasaṅghapakkha itself fall into disuse, and the fraternity came to be known as the Kambójaasaṅghapakkha.

Because the Aiyárahañtanasaṅghapakkha, in Dalanagara, was called the Kambójaasaṅghapakkha, the same designation was, thenceforward, applied to that fraternity in the whole of Rámaññadésa.

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16 i.e., in 1865 A.D. 17 Near Bangoon. 18 The modern Dala, about 15 miles S. E. of Bangoon. 19 Lekk’aik near Twintó in the Hantawaddy District. 20 i.e., the Shán Market.
There were in Muttimanagara—(i) the Kambôjasaṅghapakkha; (ii) the Sihalasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Sivalimahāthera; (iii) the Sihalasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Tāmalinda-mahāthera; (iv) the Sihalasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Ānandamahāthera; (v) the Sihalasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Buddhavamsamahāthera, the Preceptor of the Queen, who went to Sihaladipa and received his upasampadā ordination there, and who, on his return, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately in Muttimanagara; and (vi) the Sihalasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Mahāsātimahāthera, otherwise called Mahānāgamahāthera, who visited Sihaladipa and received his upasampadā ordination there, and who, on his return to Muttimanagara, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

Through the inability of these six divisions of the Order to perform ecclesiastical ceremonies together, various fraternities and sects arose into existence.

Owing to the want of a large number of priests, who were well-versed in the Tipitaka, learned, wise, and able, and who could, after meeting and consulting together, investigate as to what was proper or not, the mahātheras, belonging to any of these six sects, would, whenever they had to perform such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the consecration of a simā and the upasampadā ordination, carry out their object in a manner that appeared fitting to them, thinking inwardly: "We, indeed, are wise and qualified."

There were some theras, who, wishing to consecrate a simā on a gāmahātta of whatever size, would place boundary-marks all round it, and carry out their object by inducing within the hatthapāsa the priests who were within the boundary; but they would not effect purification through the acts of inducing with the hatthapāsa the priests living outside the boundary, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. In such a simā the upasampadā ordination would be performed.

There were some theras, who declared: "If it is desired to consecrate a simā on a gāmahātta, such consecration should be carried out after effecting purification through the acts of inducing within the hatthapāsa, &c., the priests residing round that gāmahātta, who are inside or outside the boundary." Therefore, whenever a simā was to be consecrated, they thought that it would be difficult to purify the whole of the gāmasimā, and would not ascertain the true nature of the characteristics of a visukhāgha. They, however, assumed that, if a piece of land, with its boundaries defined, was granted by a king, that land was a visukhāgha; and they would ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of a piece of land, which they had chosen, and whose area would be sufficient for the consecration of a simā, or of a piece of land of larger area. They would then consecrate the simā after effecting purification through the acts of inducing within the hatthapāsa, &c., the priests residing on that gāmahātta, but without effecting purification in regard to the whole of the gāmasimā. In such a simā the upasampadā ordination would be performed.

There were some theras, who, holding the opinion that "there would be mutual confusion, if two buddhasimās were connected with each other by the branches of trees, &c., but there would be no such confusion, if a buddhasimā and a gāmasimā, or two gāmasimās, were connected with each other by the branches of trees, &c.," would, whenever there was a simā to be consecrated on a gāmahātta, perform the consecration without cutting off the branches of trees, &c., which connected that gāmahātta with the others around it, but after effecting purification through the acts of inducing within the hatthapāsa, &c., the priests residing on that gāmahātta. In such a simā the upasampadā ordination would be performed.

There were some theras, who would not ascertain, in every way, the characteristics of rivers or lakes, mentioned in the pāli and the attahakathā, and who, without ascertaining well

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22 Martaban near Maulmain.
the interpretation of the words mentioned in the affhakathās, namely, anvadāḥ dhamāsaḥ anvadaśākanu anvapaścākānaḥ would, in this excessively rainy region of Rāmaṇāda, perform the upasampadā ordination in an udakukkhāpasiṃa consecrated on a river or lake, which was devoid of its respective characteristics.

There were some thānas, who, whenever they wished to consecrate a simā on a gāmakḥētta, would cut off the branches of trees, &c., that connected it with other gāmakḥētta, and carry out their object through the acts of inducing within the hatthayāsa the priests residing inside or outside the boundary of that gāmakḥētta, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited excision. But, whenever there was an upasampadā ordination to be performed in such a simā, the ceremony would be performed without cutting off the branches of trees, &c., which connected that gāmakḥētta with others.

In the two thousand and second year that had elapsed since the Parinirvāṇa of the Fully Enlightened One, and the 820th year of Sakkaraj, there reigned in Hānasavattanagara, Rāmādhipati, who, assuming the title of Siripavaramahādhammarājādhiraja, ruled justly and righteously and afforded protection to the people of Rāmaṇāda, which comprised the three provinces of Kusimamangadā, Hānasavattināgadalā, and Muttimamangadā. He was the Lord of a White Elephant, whose colour was like that of the white esculent water-lily, or of the jałminus multiformis, or of the antamal moon, and was replete with faith and many other qualities. He was well-acquainted with the languages of various countries, and with many manual arts, such as masonry and carpentry. He, moreover, learned and well-read, and was versed in the Tūṭikādī and the sciences of takka, bākaraṇa, chaṇḍa, adakāraṇa, astrology, medicine, and arithmetic, pertaining to the Vedaṇa. The King had exceedingly deep faith in the Religion of the Teacher, and the following thoughts arose in his mind: “The upasampadā ordination is dependent on that of pabbajjā, and the basis of the Religion itself is the upasampadā ordination, which in order to be appropriate, inviolable, and valid, must be possessed of five characteristics, namely, simāsampatti, parīsampatti, vattussampatti, kattisampatti, and anvadasanāsampatti. Of these characteristics there exist means of attesting the validity of vattussampatti and kattisampatti, owing respectively to the ability of a candidate for the pure form of the upasampadā ordination to fulfill the condition of the former, and to the accessibility of qualified āchāryas, who could recite the kammavāchā with correct intonation. But, by what criterion can I ascertain the non-existence of simāsampatti and parīsampatti?”

The King, in repeatedly investigating and considering the ruling of the Vinaya as regards the consecration of a simā, which would be in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, as interpreted by the authors of affhakathās, tikās, and pākaraṇas, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the affhakathā by means of the pāli, the tikā by means of the affhakathā, and the pākaraṇa by one another, and, at the same time, collating what was gone before with what came after:—the Vinayaṭhakathā; the Vinayavācaśa called the Sārattheśaṭaṭṭī; the Vinayaṭhikā called the Vimatifinīṇaṭaṭṭī; the Vinayaṭhikā written by Vajrabuddhithera; the Mīlaṭhakathā called the Kanṭhāsaṭāranga together with its tikā; the Vinayavācaśikhatthikapākaraṇa together with its tikā; the Vinayavācaśikhatthikapākaraṇa; the Simīdāhārapākaraṇa; and the Simādāhārapākaraṇa. To the King, who repeatedly investigated and repeatedly considered this question, the ruling of the Vinaya appeared to be thus:—

If it is desired to consecrate a simā on a selected site, whether it be a pakāṭikādāmakḥētta or a visuvaḥdāmakḥētta, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue,

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23 Or 1458, A. D. 24 The modern Pegu.
25 These comprise the major part of what are now known as the Bassein, Thongwa, Henzada, Hanthawaddy, Pegu, Shwiyin and Amherst Districts of Lower Burma.
and which possesses the following characteristics, namely, that it is inaccessible to men and women; that it is favourable to the exercise of the four triyāpathas; that it is not a place subjected to noise; and that the usufructuary right, exercised in respect of it, is capable of supporting life; the branches of trees, &c., connecting that pakṣāgāmakhetā or viśvahāmakhetā with other gāmakhetās should be cut down; and a number of boundary-marks should be placed around the site selected for the consecration of the simā, should such simā be a mahāsimā, whose extent is difficult to apprehend and whose form is not well defined. If, however, it is desired to consecrate a khuuddakasimā, whose form is triangular, and whose extent is easy to apprehend, three boundary-marks should be placed. But if the form of the simā to be consecrated is square or rectangular, four boundary-marks would suffice; and if the form is a polygon, the number of boundary-marks should be in proportion. The connecting branches of trees, &c., which are either within or without the boundary, should be cut down, and the extent of the simā clearly defined. Of all the priests residing within or without the boundary of that gāmakhetā, these, who are worthy of the privilege, should be inducted within the hatthapāsa, and the declarations of assent of those who are absent, should be received, the remaining priests being excluded from the gāmakhetā. For the purpose of guiding travelling priests, guards should be stationed all round the gāmakhetā; and, in order to notify the fact publically, flags and streamers should be planted at various places; and the boundaries should be proclaimed three times by the sounding of drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments. Eventually, the simā should be consecrated by having the kammavāchā read with proper intonation. The consecration of a simā, which is attended by such ceremonies, is inviolable and valid; and the upuampadda ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simā, are likewise inviolable and valid.

"The characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that, during the four months of its continuance, an uninterrupted shower falls once every half month, or every fifth day; that of a deficient rainy season is, that a shower falls after the lapse of a half month; and that of an excessive rainy season is, that the intervening period between one shower and another is less than five days, that is to say, rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption).

"If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream, at any place, whether it be a landing-place or not, is wetted to the extent of one or two finger-breadths, such a stream acquires the status of a nādi. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every half month, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a mahānādi. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every tenth day, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a mūjikīmanādi. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every fifth day, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a khuuddakānādi.

"If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, but is not wetted when the rainy season is a deficient one, it should not be declared that such a stream does not acquire the status of a nādi, because a deficient rainy season cannot be the criterion in determining its status. If, however, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream, at any place, is not wetted, but is wetted when the rainy season is an excessive one, it should not be declared that such a stream acquires the status of a nādi, because an excessive rainy season can neither be the criterion in determining its status.

"A lake is of spontaneous origin. It is not excavated by any one, but is filled with water that flows from all round it. If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an
equable one, there is, in a reservoir of such description, water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, such a lake acquires the status of a jātassara. If a lake, which satisfies such a condition, when the rainy season is an equable one, does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is a deficient one, or during winter or summer, it should not be declared that such a lake does not acquire the status of a jātassara.

"If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, a lake does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, but satisfies this condition when the rainy season is an excessive one: such a lake does not acquire the status of a jātassara.

"This Rāmaññadēsa is a very rainy region, but how could one know that its rainy season is an excessive one? That the rainy season comprises four months is thus declared in the asthakauhās:—Yasmin hi vanavasa chaṭṭhaṁ mād omitted. But, in this country of Rāmaññadēsa, the rainy season comprises six months. Because it is said that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that rain falls every fifth day, methinks that the characteristic of an excessive rainy season is, that rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption).

"In this country of Rāmaññadēsa, sometimes once every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption), sometimes once every seventh or tenth day, the rays of the sun are invisible, and the sky becomes cloudy and murky, and a continuous shower of rain falls. Therefore, it is established beyond doubt that the rainy season of Rāmaññadēsa is an excessive one.

"For the reasons stated above, in this country of Rāmaññadēsa, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner described, the under-robe of a bhikkhu crossing a stream of such description, at any place, is wetted. On such a mahaṇāvi an udakukkhepasinī may be consecrated, and the upasampada ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable.

"If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls as described above, a lake of such description contains water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution: on such a mahaṇāvi a udakukkhepasinī may be consecrated; and the upasampada ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable."

The following thoughts arose in the mind of Rāmañḍhipati, to whom the valid manner in which a simū should be consecrated, had appeared, as described above:—

"There are some therās who, wishing to consecrate a simū on a gāmakhetta, carry out their object by inducting within the hatthapāsa the priests residing inside the boundary, but without effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the hatthapāsa, &c., all the priests residing on that gāmakhetta. The consecration of such a simū by the therās is invalid by reason of parisavipatti.

"If, in order to alienate the revenue of a selected place, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue, and which is situated on a pākhijāmakhetta, the boundaries are again defined, and the place itself is given away by the ruling authorities: such a place acquires the status of a viśnugāmakhetta. The consecration of a badhāsasimū is consummated at the conclusion of the recitation of the kāmamūdaka, and not merely by the proclamation of its boundaries. Therefore, the land referred to above, which is situated inside the boundary, does not acquire the status of a viśnugāmakhetta, because of its perpetually forming a part and parcel of the gānasimū; nor does the simū become a badhāsasimū, because the lands, both inside and outside the boundary, constitute but one gānasimū. If all the priests residing on that very gānasimū, who are deserving of the privilege, are not inducted within the hatthapāsa; if the declarations of assent of those, who are entitled to send them, are not received; if those who deserve exclusion, are not excluded; and, if only the priests residing within the boundary are inducted within the hatthapāsa: the consecration of the simū (attended by such ceremonies)
is violable and not in accordance with the law. The upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simā, are void by reason of the invalidity of its consecration.

"There are also therās, who ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of some place selected by them, but which does not possess the characteristics of a gāma. Considering that such a place is a visuvīgāmakhēta, they select a site on it, and consecrate a simā by inducting within the hatthapāsa only the priests residing at that place, and not all those residing on the whole of the pahātigāmakhēta. The consecration of the simā by these therās is void by reason of pariṣavipatti. Therefore, because of simāvipatti, the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simā, are invalid.

"There are also other therās, who, wishing to consecrate a simā on a gāmakhēta, do not cut down the branches of trees, &c., connecting that gāmakhēta with others, but carry out their object after effecting purification through the act of inducting within the hatthapāsa the priests residing on that gāmakhēta. By reason of pariṣavipatti, the consecration of the simā by these therās is invalid.

Obverse Face of the second Stone.

"As there is mutual junction between two buddhāsinās, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, &c., so there is mutual junction between a buddhāsinā and a gāmasinā, or between two gāmasinās, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, &c. By reason of simāvipatti, the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a simā, are void.

"There are other therās, who perform the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies in an ulakukkhēpasinā consecrated on rivers and lakes, that are devoid of their respective characteristics (judged by the conditions prevailing) in the exceedingly rainy region of Rāmaññādāsā. By reason of simāvipatti, the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies, performed by these therās, are void. As to this exceedingly rainy region of Rāmaññādāsā: during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, the under-robe of a bhikkūni crossing a river, at any place, may not get wet (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal). But owing to excessive rainfall in this country, the under-robe will get wet. Judging, therefore, by the wetting of the under-robe, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a river acquires the status of a nādi? Again, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, a lake may not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal). But, owing to excessive rainfall in this country, during the four months of the rainy season, it will contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution. Judging, therefore, by the sufficiency of water in such a lake for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a lake acquires the status of a jātassara?

"There are also some therās, who, desiring to consecrate a simā on a gāmakhēta, cut down the branches of trees, &c., connecting that gāmakhēta with others, and carry out their object by inducting within the hatthapāsa, &c., all the priests residing inside or outside the boundary of that gāmakhēta. But, whenever the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies are performed in such a simā, the connecting branches of trees, &c., of that gāmasinā are not cut down. The upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies of these therās are, therefore, void by reason of pariṣavipatti, caused through the confusion (of boundaries) of such buddhāsinā and gāmasinā. If, on the other hand, these therās perform the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies in a valid buddhāsinā, or on a pahātigāmakhēta, or visuvīgāmakhēta, possessing the characteristics of a gāma, or on a mahānādi possessing the characteristics of a nādi, or on a jātassara possessing the characteristics of a jātassara, or on a samudda possessing the characteristics of a samudda, they may constitute a Chapter; but the functions, performed by them,
are void by reason of pariṣāparīṭṭhi, caused through their having been ordained in a nādā, whose consecration was invalid for the reasons indicated above, or on a visuṇugāmikāghanī, that does not possess the characteristics of a gāna, or on a khuddakāheni, that does not possess the characteristics of a nādā, or on a khuddahajadhessara, that does not possess the characteristics of a jātassara."

Then King Rāmādhipati became aware of the existence of pariṣāparīṭṭhi and pariṣāparīṭṭhi of the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies in Rāmaṇadēsā, and thought thus:

"The pariṣāparīṭṭhi and pariṣāparīṭṭhi of the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies appear to me in the manner indicated above. Now, there are, in Rāmaṇadēsā and Haimavatīṇagāra, many priests, who are well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, learned, and able; and I am not sure whether the pariṣāparīṭṭhi and pariṣāparīṭṭhi of the upasampadā ordination and other ceremonies appear to them in the same manner. It is, perhaps, advisable that I should ask all of them to investigate the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapatiṭaka, together with its attakathās and sikās, to compare and collate the attakathās with the pali texts, the sikā with the attakathās and what follows with what is gone before, and to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a nādā."

All the priests, who were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, were accordingly asked to give an authoritative ruling, based on the Vinaya, as to the valid manner of consecrating a nādā.

Then, in compliance with the request of King Rāmādhipati, all the priests, who were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, investigated the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the Vinayapatiṭaka, together with its attakathās and sikās, and, through repeated comparison and collation, perceived the existence of pariṣāparīṭṭhi and pariṣāparīṭṭhi, and communicated to the King the result of their enquiry as to the manner prescribed in the Vinaya.

The King said to himself: "The excellent compilers of attakathās have declared that the Religion of Buddha will last 5,000 years; but alas! only 2,047 years have now passed away since the Enlightened One attained Buddhahood, and the Religion has become impure, tainted with heresy and corruption, and the upasampadā ordination has also become invalid. This being the case, how can the Religion last till the end of 5,000 years?" The King again reflected thus: "Being aware of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, methinks that, in order to ensure the continuance of the Religion to the end of the period of 5,000 years, it is essential that it should be purified by revocating the pure form of the upasampadā ordination. However, if I do not exert myself and remain indifferent, I shall be guilty of not having intense love for, or faith in, the Blessed Fully Enlightened One, and of being devoid of respect and reverence for Him. It is, therefore, I think, expedient that the purification of the Religion should be effected by me. How shall I first call into existence the pure form of the upasampadā ordination, and establish it in this country of Rāmaṇadēsā? There are men having faith, belonging to good families, and desirous of receiving such upasampadā ordination. If, at my instance, they receive it, the Religion will become purified through the existence of a pure form of the upasampadā ordination."

The following were the thoughts that arose in the mind of King Rāmādhipati, who considered about the condition of the Religion:

"It is said that, in the 236th year, that had elapsed since the attainment of Parnirvāṇa by the Fully Enlightened One, Mahāmahindatthā, who was sent by Moggaliputtaṭattissamahāthā, went to Tambapanniṇḍīpa, and established the Religion. Devanampiya-tissa, King of Sīhaladīpa, conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the thāra, and founded the Mahāvihāra monastery. During the period of 213 years, that elapsed since the foundation of the Mahāvihāra, the Religion remained pure, and there was only one fraternity, namely, that of the residents of the Mahāvihāra. Then King Vattagāmanī-
Abhaya conquered Dādhiya, King of the Damijas, and attained to kingship in Lāṅkādīpa. After founding the Abhayāgrīvīhāra monastery, this king was defeated by a confederacy of seven Damija princes, and was obliged to fly the country and remain in hiding for fourteen years. (On his restoration) he invited a thēva, called Mahātissa, who had afforded him assistance during his exile, and presented the monastery to him. This Mahātissathēra, however, used to associate with lay people, and, for this very offence, had been expelled from the Mahāvihāra by the fraternity of that monastery. Thenceforward, the priests were divided into two sects, namely, that of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, and that of the residents of the Abhayāgrīvīhāra.

"In the 357th year that had elapsed since the foundation of the Abhayāgrīvīhāra monastery, a king, called Mahāsēna, ruled over Lāṅkādīpa for 27 years. This king, in the course of his reign, founded the Jētavānavaṇhāra monastery, and presented it to Tissa-thēra, a resident of the Dākkhina-vihāra, who associated with wicked people, and was of an intriguing and licentious character, but for whom he conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence. Thenceforward, the priests of the Jētavānavaṇhāra monastery detached themselves from those of the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayāgrīvīhāra monasteries, and thus arose the (third) sect of the residents of the Jētavānavaṇhāra monastery.

"Thus, 600 years had not yet elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in Lāṅkādīpa, when the priests in that island were divided into three divisions: one sect and three sects were formed. Among these sects, that of the Mahāvihāra was extremely pure and orthodox; but the remaining two were neither pure nor orthodox. In course of time, however, in Lāṅkādīpa, the number of the orthodox priests gradually decreased, and their sect became weak, while the unorthodox priests continually received fresh accession of strength owing to increased numbers. These heretical sects did not conform to the rules of the Order, and were followers of evil practices. Owing to this circumstance, the Religion became impure, and tainted with heresy and corruption.

"In the 1472nd year that had elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in Lāṅkādīpa, the 1703rd year that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvāṇa by the Master, and the 18th year since the inauguration of Mahārāja Sirisāṅgabodhi-Parakkamabahu as ruler of Lāṅkādīpa, that king, by seeing the priests, who, though professing the Religion, did not conform to the rules of the Order, and followed evil practices, became aware of the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that had arisen in the Religion, and he thought thus:

"If such and such a one, knowing the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, do not exact myself and remain indifferent in the matter of effecting its purification, it will be said of me that my love for, or faith in, the Fully Enlightened One, and my respect and reverence for Him, are not intense. It is, perhaps, expedient that I should afford support to the Mahāvihāra fraternity, who are orthodox, whose conduct is in conformity with the rules of the Order, and whose superior is Mahākassapa-thēra of Udumbara-siri; and that, as Asoka, King of Righteousness, with the assistance of Moggaliputta-tissa-mahāthēra, afforded support to the great fraternity of exceedingly pure and orthodox priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vībhajjāvadi, and effected the purification of the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the 69,000 impure and sinful priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sāxaka and other schools, even so, should I purify the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the large number of impure, unorthodox, and sinful priests, who do not conform to the rules of the Order, and are followers of evil practices, and by constituting the fraternity of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, the only sect (in my kingdom)."

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1* I.e., before 292 A.D. The 600 years must have nearly elapsed, however, because $218 + 27 + 357 = 662$ years is the date of Mahāsēna's death.
2* This yields the date 1164 A.D.
"The King acted accordingly, purified the Religion, and caused a covenant to be entered into by the priests. In after times, with a view to purifying the Religion, Vijayabāhurāja and Parakkamabāhurāja caused (similar) covenants to be made.

"From that time up to the present day, there has been existing in Lankādīpa, a sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the fraternity of the Mahāvihāra, the exceedingly pure and orthodox sect, whose members conformed, in a proper manner, to the rules of the Order.

"I (Rāmādhipati) shall, therefore, invite, in a respectful manner, learned and qualified priests to receive the extremely pure form of the upasampadā ordination in Lankādīpa, and to establish it in this country of Rāmaññadēsa. By inducing men of good family, who have faith, and are desirous of taking orders, to receive it, and by thus calling into existence the pure form of the upasampadā ordination, the Religion will become purified and free from impurity, and will last to the end of the period of 5,000 years."

Accordingly, King Rāmādhipati invited the twenty-two thēras, headed by Mōγgalāna, and addressed them thus: "Reverend Sirs, the upasampadā ordination of the priests in Rāmaññadēsa now appears to us to be invalid. Therefore, how can the Religion, which is based on such invalid ordination, last to the end of 5,000 years? Reverend Sirs, from the establishment of the Religion in Śhalaḍīpa up to the present day, there has been existing in that island an exceedingly pure sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery. If, Reverend Sirs, you go to Śhalaḍīpa, and, after selecting out of the fraternity, whose members are the spiritual successors of the priests of the Mahāvihāra, a Chapter, who are pure and free from censure and reproach, receive at their hands the upasampadā ordination in the udakkukkhāpasimā consecrated on the Kalyāṇī River, where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath; and, if you make this form of the upasampadā ordination the seed of the Religion, as it were, plant it, and cause it to sprout forth by conferring such ordination on men of good family in this country of Rāmaññadēsa, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, the Religion will become pure and last till the end of 5,000 years.

"Reverend Sirs, by your going to Śhalaḍīpa, much merit and great advantages will accrue to you. Reverend Sirs, on your arrival in Śhalaḍīpa, an opportunity will be afforded you of adoring and making offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic, to the Bōdhī trees, headed by the one which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayā), to the Ratanachāṭṭhiya and other shrines, and to the Chāṭṭhiya of the Holy Foot-print of the Blessed One on the top of the Samantakūṭa Hill. Therefore, Reverend Sirs, your great accumulation of merit will increase. For the reasons stated above, I beseech of you the favour of going to Śhalaḍīpa."

To this the thēra replied: "Mahārāja, your excellent request is, indeed, in conformity with the law, because it is actuated by a desire to promote the interests of the Religion. The visit to Śhalaḍīpa will increase our great accumulation of merit. We, therefore, grant you the favour, and will visit Śhalaḍīpa." Saying thus, the thēra gave a promise.

On receiving the reply of the thēra, the King directed the preparation of the following articles to serve as offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic:—a stone alms-bowl, embellished with sapphires of great value, and having for its cover a pyramid covering made of gold weighing 50 phalas; an alms-bowl, with stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 60 phalas; a golden vase weighing 30 phalas; a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 30 phalas; a golden relic-receptacle weighing 33 phalas, and constructed in the shape of a chāṭṭhiya; a relic-receptacle made of crystal; a relic-receptacle, embellished with pieces of glass resembling madragalla gems; and golden flowers.

For the purpose of offering to the Ratanachāṭṭhiya and other shrines, to the Holy Foot-print, and to the twenty-two Bōdhī trees, the following articles were prepared:—85 canopies of various colours; 50 large, gilt, waxen candles; and the same number of small, gilt, waxen candles,
For presenting to the mahātheras of Sihaladipa the following articles were prepared:—40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture; 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, motley, and white; 20 betel-boxes of motley colour, manufactured in Haribhujja; four stone pitchers; eight painted pitchers manufactured in Chinadēsa; and 20 fans manufactured in Chinadēsa.

Rāmadhipatirāja, the Lord of Rāmaśaadēsa and of the White Elephant, sent respectful greeting to Their Reverences the Mahātheras of Sihaladipa, and thus addressed them by letter:

"Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and other Relics I have sent priests with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings. With the twenty-two theras and their disciples, I have sent Chitrādūta and Rāmadūta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it, the twenty-two theras and their disciples will proceed to elect from among the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra monastery, a Chapter of priests, who are free from censure and reproach, and will receive at their hands the upasanyappadd ordination in the udakasakāpasimā consecrated on the Kalyāṇī River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter?" Thus was prepared a letter addressed to the mahātheras of Sihaladipa.

The following articles were prepared for presentation to Bhūvanékabahu, King of Sihaladipa:—two sapphires valued at 290 phalas of silver; two rubies valued at 430 phalas; four pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making lang mantles, which would cover the wearer from neck to foot; three pieces of thick, embroidered China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; two pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick, China cloth; two pieces of green, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick, China cloth; two pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue, or ash colour; in all, 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called pasiti, and 200 mats wrapped up in leather cases. The letter addressed to Bhūvanékabahu, King of Sihaladipa, was in import similar to that addressed to the mahātheras of that Island, and was inscribed on a tablet of gold.

Having thus prepared everything that was necessary, the King presented the twenty-two theras with the following articles:—44 boxes of fine cotton cloth for making the tīchēras robes; 22 carpets made of the wool of Marammedēsa; 22 variegated leather rugs; 22 variegated Haribhujja betel-boxes, with covers; and many other articles required for food and for medicinal purposes on the voyage.

The twenty-two priests, who were the disciples of the theras, were each presented with a piece of cloth called kātiputta, and a thick, embroidered, carpet manufactured in Marammedēsa.

The twenty-two theras and their disciples were consigned to the care of the two emissaries, Chitrādūta and Rāmadūta, into whose hands were likewise delivered the above-mentioned offerings intended for the Holy Relics, the letter and presents for the mahātheras of Sihaladipa, and the letter inscribed on a tablet of gold and presents for Bhūvanékabahu, King of that Island. Two hundred phalas of gold were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the twenty-two theras and their disciples with the 'four requisites,' should any mishap, such as scarcity of food, arise. The eleven theras, headed by Mōggaḷānathēra, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Rāmadūta; while the remaining eleven theras, headed by Mahāśivalīthera, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta.
Reverse Face of the Second Stone.

The ship, in which Rāmadūta embarked, left the mouth of the Yōga River on Sunday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month Māgha 837, Sakkarāj, and went out to sea.

The ship, in which Chitrādūta embarked, however, left the mouth of the same river on Monday, the 12th day of the dark half of the same month, and going out to sea, reached, through skilful navigation, the port of Kālambū on the 8th day of the dark half of the month Phaggupa.

When Bhuṇaṅkabāhu, King of Sihaḷadīpa, heard the news (of the arrival of the ship), he, on the new-moon apāsadhī day of the month Phaggupa, directed that a welcome be accorded to the eleven thēras and Chitrādūta. He was exceedingly delighted when he had heard the letter read out, which was inscribed on a tablet of gold, and brought by Chitrādūta, and which was sent by Rāmadhipatimahārājā, who was replete with faith and many other good qualities and who, being a descendant of Lords of White Elephants, was himself Lord of a White Elephant, which was possessed of all the characteristics (of such animals), and whose colour was very much whiter than that of a conchshell, the jasminum multiflorum, the white-lily, or the antumnal moon. The King (of Sihaḷadīpa), having exchanged the compliments of friendship and civility with the thēras and Chitrādūta, arose from his seat, and with his own hands, offered them betel-leaf with camphor. He likewise had arrangements made for the entertainment of the thēras and Chitrādūta.

On the following day Chitrādūta delivered to the mahāthēras of Sihaḷadīpa the letter and the presents sent by Rāmadhipatimahārājā; and the mahāthēras, saying: "Whatsoever is pleasing to Rāmadhipatimahārājā, that will we perform," gave a promise.

The eleven thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta, perceiving the non-arrival of their brethren, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmadūta, reflected: "With the permission of the King of Sihaḷadīpa, we shall remain in the Island of Aṅkaḷīpa, awaiting the arrival of these thēras." They accordingly asked permission from the King, and remained there awaiting the arrival of the thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmadūta.

Meanwhile, the ship in which Rāmadūta embarked, missed the route to Aṅkaḷīpa, and meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage; and it was not till Sunday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Chitra, that she reached Vālligāma.

Now, at Vālligāma, resided a Sihaḷa minister, called Garavi, who had rebelled against the King. At the time of the arrival of the ship, the younger brother of the King of Sihaḷadīpa had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men, in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was stricken with terror; and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands, the King's brother took up his residence there. The soldiers of the rebel minister remained in hiding at various places between Vālligāma and Jayavaḍḍhananagara, and were a source of danger to the people who passed by that way. Owing to this circumstance, the King's brother withheld permission from the thēras and Rāmadūta, who were desirous of going to Jayavaḍḍhananagara. However, on the second day of the dark half of the first of the two months of Aṣṭāha, 838, Sakkarāj, permission was obtained and the thēras and Rāmadūta left Vālligāma. After passing five days on the journey, they arrived at Jayavaḍḍhananagara on the 6th day.

When Bhuṇaṅkabāhu, King of Sihaḷadīpa, heard about the arrival of the thēras and Rāmadūta, he directed that a welcome be accorded to them. After he had heard read out the letter of Rāmadhipatimahārājā, inscribed on a tablet of gold, which was brought by Rāmadūta,
he was delighted, and, in the manner indicated above, exchanged with the thérás and Rámádúta the compliments of friendship and civility, and made arrangements for their entertainment.

On the following day, Rámádúta delivered to the maháthérás of Sihálajípa the letter and presents sent by the King, who was the Lord of Hámásavatíngara; and all the maháthérás gave a promise to Rámádúta similar to that given by them to Chitrádúta.

After a month had elapsed from that date, the thérás, who embarked in the same ship as Chitrádúta, visited Anurádhapura, and adored the Ratnáchétiya, Marichívattháchétiya, Thúpá-ránáuchchétiya, Abhayagiríchchétiya, Sáláchchétiya, Jétavánáchchétiya, and the Mahábodhi tree, which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Bédhá Gáya), and saw the Lóhapásáda. They likewise, to the extent of their ability, removed grass, creepers, and shrubbery found growing in the court-yards of the various chétigas, and cleansed their walls. After fulfilling such religious duties as were performed subsequent to making offerings, they returned and arrived at Jayavádhípánanagára.

The Sihálají King now thought that the time had arrived for him to exhibit the Holy Tooth Relic for the adoration of all the thérás, who had come by the two ships. On Sunday, the Ist day of the dark half of the second month Ásalha, and the day on which vässa residence was entered upon, he had the whole of the lower containing the receptacle of the Holy Tooth Relic decorated, had a canopy of cloth put up, and had an offering made of scents, lights, incense, and flowers. The maháthérás of Sihálajípa were set apart on one side, while the twenty-two thérás and their disciples, who had come by the two ships, together with Chitrádúta and Rámádúta, were invited to be present. The Holy Tooth Relic, contained in a golden receptacle, was brought out in order that the twenty-two thérás, and Chitrádúta and Rámádúta might see and adore it, and make offerings to it. Then the Sihálají King, calling to mind the letter of Rámádhipríraja, had the Holy Tooth Relic deposited in the golden relic-receptacle sent by the latter, and had a white umbrella placed over it. The golden vessel containing the Relic, the golden vase, and the golden duodecagonal betel-box were deposited together, and shown to the twenty-two thérás, and Chitrádúta and Rámádúta.

"Reverend Sirs, and Chitrádúta and Rámádúta, may it please you to let me know the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant?" asked the Sihálají King, who, saying to himself: "Whatsoever may be the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant, I shall act accordingly," issued commands to the Sihálají ministers and directed the construction of a bridge of boats on the Kályáñí River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. A tower and a canopy of cloth were erected on the bridge, and various kinds of hanging awnings were likewise put up. Vidágamamaháthéra was requested to elect from among the fraternity of priests, who were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahávihára monastery, a Chapter, who were free from censure and reproach; and he accordingly elected a Chapter of twenty-four priests such as Dhammakittimaháthéra, Vanaranántamaháthéra, Pañcha-parivénnavási-mahágaláthéra, and Sihálajayurvarájácharíyasthérá. Having thus had a bridge of boats constructed, and a Chapter of priests elected, the King invited the twenty-four ordaining priests, headed by Dhammakittimaháthéra, on Wednesday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month of second Ásalha, and had them conducted to the bridge of boats, and had the forty-four priests of Rámañádésa ordained by them. In conformity with the custom followed by the Sihálají maháthérás of old, whenever priests from foreign countries were ordained, the forty-four priests of Rámañádésa were first established in the condition of laymen, and then admitted to the Order as súmáñyás through the act of Vanaranántamaháthéra, who presented them with yellow robes, and accepted their profession of faith in the 'Three Refuges.'

On the sight of Wednesday, five thérás, namely, Móggalánáthéra, Kumárákassapatháthéra, Maháviháriáthéra, Sáriputtákatháthéra, and Nánasagaráthéra were ordained in the presence of the Chapter of the twenty-four priests, Dhammakittimaháthéra and Pañ-
chaparivānvāsī—maṅgalathērā being respectively the upajjihāya and āchariya. On the night of Thursday, the 13th, ten thēras, namely, Sumanathēra, Kassapathēra, Nandathēra, Rāhulathēra, Buddhavamsathēra, Sumaṅgalathēra, Khuṣjanandathēra, Sūnuṭtarathēra, Guṇasgarathēra, and Dhammarakkhitathēra were ordained, Vanaratanamahathēra and Pañcchaparivānvāsī—maṅgalathērā being respectively the upajjihāya and āchariya. In the course of the day on Friday, the 13th, seven thēras, namely, Chūlasu-maṅgalathēra, Javanapafānthēra, Chūlakassapathēra, Chūlāsivalithēra, Mahisārathēra, Dhammarājikathēra, and Chandanasarathēra were ordained, Vanaratanamahathēra and Pañcchaparivānvāsī—maṅgalathērā being respectively the upajjihāya and āchariya. On Saturday, the 14th, the twenty-two young priests, who were the disciples of the thēras were ordained, Pañcchaparivānvāsī—maṅgalathērā and Sihaḻarājyuvatājāchāriyathērā being respectively the upajjihāya and āchariya.

When the twenty-two thēras of Rāmaṇādaśa had been ordained, the Sihaḻa King invited them to a meal, at the end of which, he presented each of them with the following articles:—three yellow robes; a curtain and a canopy manufactured in the country of Gōcharati; a leathern mat painted in variegated colours; a fan shaped like a palmyra-fan, but made of ivory, carved by a skilful turner; and a betel-box. Then the Sihaḻa King said: "Reverend Sirs, you will return to Jambudīpa and maintain the Religion in splendour in Hanśavatīpura. If, Reverend Sirs, I present you with any other gifts, no reputation would accrue to me, because such gifts are subject to speedy decay and dissolution. Therefore, I shall now confer titles on you. If, Reverend Sirs, this is done, such titles would last throughout your lifetime." So saying, he conferred on the eleven thēras who embarked in the same ship as Rāmaṇādaśa, namely, Mōggalanathēra, Kumārakassapathēra, Nāṇaṅgarathēra, Buddhavamsathēra, Nandathēra, Rāhulathēra, Sumaṅgalathēra, Dhammarakkhitathēra, Chūla-su-maṅgalathēra, Kassapathēra, and Mahisārathēra, the following titles respectively: Sirīṣāṅgahādhisāmi, Kittisirīmēghasāmi, Parakkamaṅghasāmi, Buddhagītasāmi, Sihaḻadāpavindhisāmi, Guṇaratanadharsāmi, Jinaṅāṅkārāsāmi, Rataṅamālīsāmi, Dhammarāmasāmi, and Bhūvanākābāhasāmi. On the eleven thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta, namely, Mahāsivalithēra, Sāriputtathēra, Sumanathēra, Chūlakassapathēra, Chūlanandathēra, Sūnuṭtarathēra, Guṇasgarathēra, Javanapafānthēra, Chūlāsivalithēra, Dhammarājikathēra, and Chandanasarathēra, the following titles were respectively conferred: Tīloṅkagūrasāmi, Sirīvanatanñasāmi, Maṅgalathērasāmi, Kalyāṅśīsāmi, Chandanaṅgīrāsāmi, Sirīnantadhāsāmi, Vanavāsīsāmi, Ratanāṅkārāsāmi, Mahādāvāsāmi, Udumbaragīrīsāmi, and Chūḷābhāyatsīsāmi.

The eleven thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmaṇādaśa, together with the latter, left Jayavādḍhanānagara and returned to Valligāma. The eleven thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Chitrādūta, however, returned to Jayavādḍhanānagara, after adoring the Padasalaṅgāchātīya, called the Siripādā, which is situated on the top of the Samantakūta Hill.

The eleven thēras, who had returned to Valligāma, embarked on Wednesday, the second day of the light half of the month Bhadda, and returning home, arrived at the mouth of the Yōga River on Thursday, the second day of the dark half of the same month.

When Rāmaṇḍhipatirāja, received the tidings that the thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmaṇādaśa, had arrived at the mouth of the Yōga River, he bethought himself: "Considering that these thēras visited Sihaḻadīpa at my solicitation, and that they are the inaugrators of the upasanpadā ordination, it would not be proper to send any of my officials to welcome them. It would, indeed, be appropriate that I should myself welcome them on my return from Tigumpanagara, where, on the mahāpayaraśa day, which falls on the full-moon day of Assuyu, I shall present the chādiya containing the Hair Relics of the Fully Enlightened

Rangoon.
One, obtained during His life-time, with a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 tolas. Agreeably with this thought, he wrote a letter saying: "As I am visiting Tigrampanagaram, may it please the Venerable Ones to remain in that town?" And, after making arrangements for their entertainment, he had them disembarked from their sea-going vessel and conveyed to Tigrampanagaram in river-boats.

Meanwhile, the eleven thérās, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradūta, missed the appointed time favourable for returning to Rāmāññadeśa, because the Sihaḷa King had said to them: "Reverend Sirs, it is my desire to send an emissary to Rāmadhūpa-mahārāja, the Lord of the White Elephant, with presents, including a religious gift in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, valued at a hundred phālas, which were constantly worn by my father, Parakkamābhūmārāja. When the vessel, now being fitted out for my emissary, is ready, an opportunity will be afforded to her of sailing in the company of your ship. May it please your Reverences to postpone your departure till then?"

The eleven thérās and Chitradūta, therefore, waited for the emissary of the Sihaḷa King and anchored their ship at the port of Kalambu. Meanwhile, a violent wind, called parādaṇa, arose and sank in the sea the large sea-going vessel, in which passengers had already embarked. When the Sihaḷa King received the intelligence that Chitradūta's ship had foundered in the sea, he said thus to the thérās and Chitradūta: "If you have no ship, you might embark in the same ship as my emissary, and return home." Accordingly, the thérās and Chitradūta, together with his attendants, embarked in the same ship as the emissary of the Sihaḷa King and left the port of Kalambu.

Sailing out to mid-ocean, the ship continued her course through the Straits of Silla, which lies between Śhaḷadipa and Jamapadipa. After three nights had elapsed since the ship left the port of Kalambu, she was wrecked by a violent storm, and, immersed in sea-water, she remained fast between the jutting peaks of rocks. All the passengers, realizing their inability to extricate the ship from amidst the rocks, collected all the timber and bamboos that happened to be in her, and, constructing a raft of them, and embarking on it, crossed to the coast of Jamapadipa, which was close by.

Having lost the presents, the emissary of the Sihaḷa King returned to Śhaḷadipa. The thérās and Chitradūta, however, travelled on foot to Nāgapatanam, and there visited the site of the Padarikārīma monastery, and worshipped the image of Buddha in a cave, constructed by command of the Mahārāja of Cinnadēsa on the spot, on the sea-shore, where the Holy Tooth Relic was deposited in the course of its transit to Lankadīpa in the charge of Dāpaṇaka-mālā and Hēmamālī, who were husband and wife. Thence they travelled on to the port of Nāgapatī. At this port resided Mālīparakkāya and Paśchālaya, two intendants of the port, who annually sent two ships for trading purposes (to Rāmāññadeśa.) In doing so, they sent presents for Rāmadhūpa-mahārāja, and thus, because of their having exchanged with him the compliments of friendship and civility, they conceived feelings of great respect and honour for him. Owing to this circumstance, they provided the thérās with food, clothing, and residence, and treated them with much reverence. Chitradūta was likewise provided with clothing, food, and lodgings. The intendants of the port then said: "Reverend Sirs, when our ships start from this port, may it please you to embark in them in order to be once more near the Lord of the White Elephant?" Accordingly, the four thérās, namely, Tilokaguruthē, Ratanalakāruthē, Mahādevathē, and Chulabhayatissathē, and their four disciples resided with them. The remaining seven thérās, however, saying: "We shall embark, together with the seven priests, in a ship at Kōmalapatī," went and resided at that port.

On Wednesday, the fourth day of the light half of the month Vaiśakṛ, 839, Sakkaraṇ, the three thérās, namely, Tilokaguruthē, Ratanalakāruthē, and Mahādevathē,
embarked in the ship belonging to Mālimparakāya, while Chulābhayatissathēra embarked in the ship belonging to Pachehlyna, and they left Māvatapāñhā. Of these thēras, the three, who embarked in the same ship, reached the mouth of the river, which takes its source in the Nagarāt Mountain. On Friday, the 12th day of the dark half of the month Visākhā, and arrived at Kuśimanagara on Tuesday, the 1st day of the light half of the month Jētīha. Chulābhayatissathēra, however, arrived at Hamsavatinagara on Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Āsāha.

Of the seven thēras, who, together with the seven priests, went and resided at Kōmalapaṣṭanā, Maṅgalathēra, accompanied by his own attendant priest, as well as by those of Vānanatathēra, and Siridantadāsthūthēra, embarked in a ship, commanded by Bindal, and left Kōmalapaṣṭanā on Wednesday, the new-moon day of the month Bhadda, 841, Sakkarāj. They reached the mouth of the river, which takes its source in the Nagarāt Mountain, on Friday, the 1st day of the light half of the month Kattika, and, touching at Kuśimanagara on Monday, the 11th, eventually arrived at Hamsavatinagara on Friday, the 14th day of the light half of the month Kattika.

The remaining six thēras and the four young priests had been dead, as they were unable to obviate the consequences of demerit and the course of the law of mortality, to which all living beings are subject. Alas! "Whatever is material is subject to change and dissolution." 1

Obverse face of the third Stone.

On Thursday, the 5th day of the light half of the month Assayuṣa, 888, Sakkarāj Rāmadhipatimahārājā, with the object of presenting a great bell to the Kṣadhatvāchārīyā,24 embarked on a barge surmounted by a golden spire, and, escorted by a number of boats, headed by golden boats, such as the indavimāna, proceeded to Tīgumpanagara. On Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Assayuṣa, the day of his arrival at Tīgumpanagara, he invited the eleven thēras, who embarked in the same ship as Rāmadhōta, and served them with various kinds of delicious food. He likewise presented ecoh of them with two couples of cloths for their ticēwara robes, and, having exchanged with them the customary compliments of friendship and civility, commanded that their residence be shown to them.

Rāmadhipatimahārājā had grand festivals held for three days; and on Thursday, the day of mahāpāvṛtara, the great bell was conveyed to the quadrangle of the Kṣadhatvāchārīyā, in order that it might be presented to it. On Friday, the 1st day (after the day of mahāpāvṛtara), offerings were made to the priests residing in Tīgumpanagara, and the King commanded that largess be given to pampers, way-farers, and beggars. On Sunday, the 3rd day (of the dark half of the same month), eleven boats were adorned in a reverent manner, and ministers were sent to escort the thēras. Having thus made preparations for escorting the thēras, Rāmadhipatirājā left Tīgumpanagara on the morning of Monday, the fourth day, and, reaching, in due course, Hamsavatinagara on Friday, the eighth day, entered the bejewelled palace, which was his home. The thēras, however, halted a day at a ferry near the Mahābuddharūpa;25 and on Sunday, the tenth day, ministers were sent, with many boats appropriately adorned, with various kinds of flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments, to wait upon the thēras, who, on their arrival, were ushered into the palace.

When the thēras had entered the Royal Palace, called the Ratanamaṇḍira, they presented Rāmadhipatimahārājā with the following articles: — a casket containing the sandal-wood powder, with which the Holy Tooth Relic was besmeared; an image of the Holy Tooth Relic; some branches, leaves, and seeds of the Bōdhi tree; a treatise giving an account of the purification of the Religion effected by Sirisaṅghabodhi-Parakkama-bhūmamahārājā, Vijayabhumamahārājā, and

12 Negrain. 32 Bassein. 34 The Shwètañga Pagoda at Rangoon. 38 The Kyakpum Pagoda near Pegu.
Parakkama Bahu Manabaraja; a treatise setting forth the covenants entered into, at the solicitation of the said kings, by the priesthood for the observance of the Order; a letter sent by the Sihaia theras and a book recording the covenants entered into by them; a book of gathas written by Vaparatanamahaththera; and a letter from the Sihaia King, Bhavanekabahuna. Ramadhipatimaharaja accorded a gracious greeting to the eleven theras, and commanded his ministers to escort each of them to his monastery with many flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments.

Then the following thoughts arose in the mind of Ramadhipatimaharaja: “These eleven theras visited Sihaia Dipa, and have now returned bringing from thence the pure form of the upasampada ordination. In this city of Hambantota, there does not exist any pure buddhasimha, nor any mahasadhi possessing the characteristics of a nadi, nor any mahajayissara possessing the characteristics of a jathissara, nor any gamahekkha whose purification can easily be effected. Where can these theras perform such ecclesiastical ceremonies as uposatha or upasampada ordination?”

“Surely, it is proper that I should cause a search made for a small gamahekkha, that can easily be guarded, and there have a buddhasimha properly consecrated by these theras. If this is done, they will be in a position to perform, in that sima, such ecclesiastical ceremonies as uposatha or upasampada ordination.” Ramadhipatiraja accordingly sent his attendants to search for a gamahekkha answering the description. During the course of their search, the King’s attendants found on the skirts of a forest to the west of a mahaththerya, called Mudhava, a gamahekkha belonging to the Minister Narasura, which was small and could easily be guarded; and they reported accordingly to the King. Ramadhipatiraja personally inspected the site, and considered that it was a gamahekkha, which could easily be guarded, and was an appropriate spot for the consecration of a sima. The ground of a selected place on that land was cleared of jungle, the site of the proposed sima was marked out, and a house was built in the middle of that site. The inside and outside of that house, as well as the site of the proposed sima, and a selected place outside that site, were smeared with cow-dung. Then a fencing was erected enclosing the whole place on its four sides, and four openings with doors were constructed. In order to obviate the junction of that gamahekkha with others around it, the means of connection, such as the branches of trees, &c., both on the ground below, and in the air above, were cut down, and a small trench, about a span in depth and the same in width, was dug. Not far from the site of the proposed sima, and on its west side, a monastery, a refectory, a lavatory, and a privy were constructed for the use of the eleven theras, who were to perform the ecclesiastical ceremony; and they were invited to take up their residence in that monastery.

Ramadhipatiraja again reflected: “The eleven theras, and the eleven young priests, who are their disciples, have returned from Sihaia Dipa after receiving there the exceedingly pure form of the upasampada ordination. It would, however, be as well that I should enquire as to whether these theras and their disciples are free from censure and reproach. Should any of them be not free from censure and reproach, their exclusion, in spite of their having received the exceedingly pure form of the upasampada ordination from the Chapter of priests appointed to consecrate the sima, would be pleasing to us; because a sima constitutes the basis of the Religion, and also because the inclusion of priests, who are not free from censure and reproach, though they may have received the pure form of the upasampada ordination in the Chapter consecrating a sima, would, in after times, afford matter for objection to the enemies of the Religion.”

Accordingly, the King sent learned men to institute enquiries. On enquiry it was found that, previous to their receiving the Sihaia form of the upasampada ordination, one ther had and four young priests were not free from a measure of censure and reproach, which was not of a grave character, but only of a trivial nature; and the matter was reported to the King. Ramadhipatiraja was, however, determined to maintain the Religion in extreme purity, and excluded
(from the Chapter) the thēra, together with his disciple, as well as the four young priests, who, before receiving the pure form of the upasampadā ordination, were not free from a measure of censure and reproach, which was not of a grave character, but only of a trivial nature. The King then resolved that the remaining ten thēras and the six young priests, who had received the exceedingly pure form of the upasampadā ordination, and were free from the smallest measure of censure and reproach, were qualified to constitute a Chapter for the consecration of the simā.

When the time approached for the consecration of the simā, out of these (ten) thēras Guṇaratana Thāra, on the plea of illness, returned to his own monastery, accompanied by his pupil, and remained there. Therefore, the nine thēras, namely, Sirisāṅgha Bōdhisāmi, Kittiśrīngha Bōdhisāmi, Pārakkamabāhubhisāmi, Buddhaghósasāmi, Jīmanākārāsāmi, Ratanamālinisāmi, Sudhammatājasāmi, Sudhammārāmasāmi, and Bhavānkabāhubhisāmi, and their disciples, the five young priests, namely, Sāgharakkhiṭa, Dhammālīsa, Uṭṭara, Uṭtama, and Dhammasāra, —in all, fourteen priests—took up their residence in the monastery built on the west side of the site of the proposed simā.

Then the King, who was desirous of having a simā consecrated, came to the following conclusion: "If, at a place, where priests desire to consecrate a simā, there does not exist an ancient simā, the simā consecrated, at that place, is valid; but, if otherwise, the new simā is null and void, because of the doubtful defect of the junction and overlapping of simās. Therefore, it is only by the desecration of the ancient simā at that place, that the validity of the new simā to be consecrated, can be secured. For this reason, previous to the consecration of a simā, the ceremony of desecrating the simā (which may possibly exist on the site), should be performed." The King accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the (existing) simā in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the uṭṭhakatādā.

"Priests, an avippavāsaśimā may thus be desecrated by means of the tīkhīvara." There are certain conditions to be observed by a priest desecrating a simā. The following are the conditions. Standing on a khandasimā, a mahāsimā, called avippavāsaśimā, should not be desecrated; and similarly, standing on a mahāsimā, called avippavāsaśimā, a khandasimā should not be desecrated. It is only when standing on a khandasimā that another khandasimā may be desecrated; and the same rule applies mutatis mutandis to the other class of simā. A simā is desecrated for two reasons, namely, (i) in order to make a mahāsimā of one, which is originally a khandasimā, with a view that its area may be extended; (ii) in order to make a khandasimā of one, which is originally a mahāsimā, with a view that sites for monasteries may be granted to others. If, at the place of desecration, the existence of both khandasimā and mahāsimā, called avippavāsaśimā, is known, a simā may be desecrated or consecrated. If, however, the existence of a khandasimā is known, but not that of a mahāsimā, called avippavāsaśimā, a simā may be desecrated or consecrated. If, on the other hand, the existence of a mahāsimā, called avippavāsaśimā, is known, but not that of a khandasimā, it is only by standing on such places as the premises of a cūṭiya, a bōdhi tree, or an upāsāha hall, which are undoubtly cutāsā (the limits of an avippavāsaśimā), that a simā may be desecrated; but by no means can it be consecrated. If, however, a simā is consecrated, there will be a junction of simās, and a vihārasimā will be transformed into an uṭṭhakasimā. Therefore, the ceremony of desecration should not be performed.

If the existence of both kinds of simās is unknown, neither desecration nor consecration should be effected. A simā is invalidated by means of the kammavacchā, or through the declension of the Religion, or because those, who do not know a simā, are incompetent to recite the kammavacchā. Therefore, desecration should not be effected. Because it is said that it is only when (the different classes of simās) are well-known, that desecration or consecration may be effected, priests desiring to desecrate a simā, and who are aware of either the existence of an ancient simā or its extent, may, by stationing there duly qualified priests, desecrate an
ancient simâ or consecrate a new one. The interpretation appears to be that, if the extent of an ancient simâ is unknown, that simâ cannot be desecrated, nor can a new one be consecrated.

But the Vāmassānasānasāṇ says: "There are some thēras, who, in the case of such vihāra-simâs, would convene a Chapter of five or six priests, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity of the vihārasimâ, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an avippaṇasimâ, and a rânasimâ or the like. If either a khaṇḍasimâ or a mahâsimâ exists on that vihâra, the priests standing, as they do, in the midst of the simâs, would, from a mañcāmagesa, certainly desecrate that simâ, and the gâmasimâ would remain. In this matter, it is not essential to know the simâ or its extent. But it is necessary for the reciter of the kammavâchâ to say: 'We shall desecrate the inside of a simâ;' (and to act accordingly).

"It is stated in the othsabhâ that those, who are aware of the existence of a khaṇḍasimâ, but not that of an avippaṇasimâ, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration, and that thus, although the extent of a mahâsimâ is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining gâmasimâs, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of simâs and to perform the upasampaddâ ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct; but it should be accepted after due enquiry." The interpretation of these thēras, therefore, appears to be correct. With regard, however, to the desecration of a simâ with an ordinary, but not a great, amount of exertion, by those, to whom the performance of the ceremony is difficult, because of their not knowing the existence of an ancient simâ or its extent, it is said in the othsabhâ: "If both classes of simâ are not known, the simâ should not be desecrated or consecrated." This dictum does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the simâ to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that simâ will not be desecrated.

If, at a place where a new simâ is desired to be consecrated, the existence of an ancient simâ; or its extent, is unknown; if, at selected spots within and without the places suitable for the fixing of the boundary-marks of the new simâ to be consecrated, allotments of space, each measuring about four or five cubits in length are marked out in rows or groups; and, if duly qualified priests station themselves in the said continuous rows of the allotments of space, and effect the desecration of a simâ: how can there be no desecration of the existing ancient simâ at that place, and how can only the gâmasimâ be not left? The King, therefore, had the ceremony of desecrating a simâ performed in the following manner:

On the inside of the places, suitable for fixing the boundary-marks of the new simâ to be consecrated, allotments of space of five cubits each in length and the same in breadth were marked out, and allotments of similar dimensions were marked also on the outside; and, by means of a line drawn with line or chalk, rectangular spaces in rows were marked out. Then the nine thēras and the five young priests were invited, and the ceremony of desecrating a simâ was performed in the manner described below. The said fourteen priests stationed themselves in the first rectangular space of the first row of the allotments of space, and read seven times the kammavâchâ for desecrating a simâ at seven different spots; then stationing themselves successively at each of the remaining rectangular spaces in the first row, they continued reciting the kammavâchâ till the last rectangular space was reached. Again, beginning with the last rectangular space in the second row, they stationed themselves successively in a reverse order till the first rectangular space in the second row was reached, and read the kammavâchâ. Thus, in the manner described above, the kammavâchâ was read at every rectangular space in each of the two rows, in a forward order in the first, and in a reverse order in the second. When the number of rectangular spaces had been exhausted, the ceremony of desecrating a simâ was concluded. It should be borne in mind that this ceremony was concluded on Saturday, the 7th day of the light half of the month Migastra.
On the 8th day, Rāmādhhipatirāja, in order to have the ceremony of consecrating a simā performed, visited the place in the morning, and had the preliminary arrangements carried out in the following manner:

On the outside of the site selected for consecrating the simā, and facing the four quarters, four boundary-marks were fixed; and in order to bring into prominence the advantage derived from fixing the boundary-marks in a form other than that of a four-sided figure, each of the additional four boundary-marks was placed at the end of a line drawn from the middle of the line joining each of the two corners facing the four quarters. Within the space thus enclosed by the eight boundary-stones, a rope was stretched, and along it a line was drawn on the ground. As the simā was to be consecrated within the line, and, as it was desirable to make manifest the limit of its site, a small trench, a span in depth and the same in width, was dug outside that line. In order to obviate junction with other gāmakītta, both inside and outside the limit of the boundary-stones, such means of connection as the branches of trees were cut down. The small trench was smeared with mud, and some water was placed in it. The eight boundary-stones were beautified with gilding and vermillion, and were wrapped up in red and white cloth. By way of showing honour to the Blessed One, near the boundary-stones, umbrellas, banners, lamps, incense, and flowers were offered; water-pots, whose mouths were covered and adorned with kumudā flowers, were placed; and other offerings such as of cloth were made.

The preliminary arrangements connected with the consecration of the simā having thus been carried out, the nine thérās and the five young priests were invited, and the eight boundary-marks in the eight quarters, commencing with the one in the East quarter, were successively proclaimed. The proclamation was continued till the first boundary-mark, which had previously been proclaimed, was reached. In this manner the boundary-marks were proclaimed three times.

On the following morning, flags and streamers were planted at various places around the gāmakītta belonging to the Minister Narasūra; drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded; and the guards, mounted men, and swift messengers, who had been stationed for the purpose of stopping the progress of travelling priests, and of causing other priests residing on that gāmakītta to be speedily excluded from it, were sent out to patrol all round it. It was only when the absence of other priests on that gāmakītta had been reported, that the kamavāčā relating to the consecration of a simā was read seven times with proper intonation, and that the ceremony of consecration was concluded. At the conclusion of the ceremony, gongs and other musical instruments were sounded three times, and the populace were commanded to raise a shout of acclamation. In commemoration of the consecration of this simā by the priests, who had received their upasampādā ordination in the udakukkhapāsimā situated on the Kalyāṇī River, it received the appellation of the Kalyāṇī-simā.

Previous to the consecration of the Kalyāṇī-simā, and also since the return of the thérās from Sihaladipa after receiving their upasampādā ordination there, the leading priests, who were imbued with faith, learned, and able, had approached Rāmādhhipatirāja and said to him thus: "Mahārāja, it is, indeed, an anomaly that we, who have received both the pabbajjā and upasampādā forms of ordination of the Religion of Buddha, and practised all the precepts that have been enacted, should find our upasampādā ordination to be impure. We desire, Mahārāja, to receive the upasampādā ordination at the hands of these thérās, and thus shall our ordination become pure." To this Rāmādhhipatirāja thus replied: "Reverend Sirs, if any leading priests who are replete with faith, should, after investigating the ruling of the Vinaya, that is in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, find that their upasampādā ordination is impure, and should desire to receive the pure form of the upasampādā ordination at the hands of the thérās, who have returned home after receiving such ordination at the hands
of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the extremely orthodox Mahāvihāra sect, I am not in a position to say to them: 'Do receive it,' or to prevent them by saying; 'Do not receive it.' On the other hand, if the leading priests should, after investigating the ruling of the Vinaya, find that their upasampadā ordination is pure, and should not desire to receive at the hands of these theras the form of the upasampadā ordination, that has been handed down by the ordained priests of Sīhaladipa, I would not venture to urge them by saying: 'Do receive it.' The ruling of the Vinaya should, indeed, be the guiding principle. Do you investigate the Dhamma well."

Then Rāmadhipatirāja thought thus:

"The office of upajjhāya is the basis of both the pabbajjā and the upasampadā forms of ordination; and it is decreed by the Blessed One that such an office should be conferred only on qualified priests, who, by reason of their having been ten years in orders, have acquired the status of a therā. But these theras received their upasampadā ordination this year only; and not one of them is, therefore, qualified for the office of upajjhāya. Whence can we get such an upajjhāya? He, indeed, is qualified for the office of upajjhāya, who has returned home, after receiving the pure form of the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect. After appointing such a one as upajjhāya all the leading priests, who are desirous of receiving the form of the upasampadā ordination, that has been handed down by the spiritual successors of the ordained priests of Sīhaladipa, will be afforded an opportunity of receiving such ordination at the hands of these theras, who have returned from that island." Accordingly, the King commanded that a search be made for such a priest. Then Parakkamabhānasīthēra said: "Mahārāja, there is a therā called Suvaṇṇasobhadāna. He received his upasampadā ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect. He is, indeed, qualified for the office of upajjhāya. Mahārāja, he is a solitary dweller in the forest, and observer of dīvanagā, has few desires, is easily satisfied, and austere in his mode of living; eschews all evil through an innate feeling of shame, is repellant of his sins, an observer of the precepts, and is learned and competent." The King sent messengers to invite Suvaṇṇasobhadānathēra, and asked him, "Reverend Sir, when you visited Sīhaladipa, in which niyā were you ordained, and what was the strength of the Chapter that ordained you? Who was your upajjhāya, and who your kammavātchāchāriya? How many years have elapsed since you received your upasampadā ordination in Sīhaladipa?"

Suvaṇṇasobhadānathēra replied thus to the King: "Mahārāja, in the udakukkhāpasama situated on a mahājātassara, called Kalambu, and at the hands of a Chapter composed of innumerable priests, with Vanaratnamahātherā, ex-Mahāsaṅgharāja, as my upajjhāya, and with Vijayabāhu-saṅgharāja, who was formerly known as Rāhulathadattherā, as my kammavātchāchāriya, I received my upasampadā ordination. Since then twenty-six years have passed away." The King was extremely delighted, and invited the therā to assume the office of upajjhāya in respect of the priests desiring to receive the upasampadā ordination. The therā then said: "Mahārāja, the therās of old, in whom human passion was extinct, disregarded their own interest in effecting the purification of the Religion in foreign countries. Mahārāja, I will follow in the footsteps of these holy men, and even like them, will purify the Religion." So saying, he gave a promise to the King.

Reverse face of the third Stone.

Immediately after the consecration of the niyā, the priests, who had faith, and were learned and able, and who, being aware of the impurity of their previous upasampadā ordination, were desirous of receiving the form of ordination, that had been handed down through a succession of the ordained priests of Sīhaladipa, approached the King and renewed their former request. Having approached the King, they said: "Mahārāja, now that a niyā has been consecrated in a valid manner, and that a mahātherā, who is qualified for the office of upajjhāya,
has been appointed, we are prepared to receive the Sihaēa form of the upasampadā ordination."

On the morning of Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Migaśtra, the King visited the Kalyānismā accompanied by the leading priests. The nine thēras, together with the five young priests, and Suvaṇṇasūpahāthēra, who was qualified for the office of upajjhāya, were invited and seated in the Kalyānismā. Setting aside the leading priests, who were desirous of receiving the Sihaēa form of the upasampadā ordination, the King approached the thēras, who had visited Sihaalidipa, and having approached them, said to them thus: "Reverend Sirs, these leading priests are desirous of receiving, at your hands, the Sihaēa form of the upasampadā ordination. Vouchsafe, Reverend Sirs, to confer such ordination on them."

To this the thēras replied: "Mahārajā, we were sent by you to Sihaalidipa, where we received the pure form of the upasampadā ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahāvihāra sect. Mahārajā, previous to our receiving such ordination at their hands the māhāthēras of Sihaalidipa addressed us thus: 'Reverend brethren, this is the custom of the Sihaēa māhāthēras of old. Previous to the conferment of the upasampadā ordination on priests, who have come from foreign countries, they are directed to make a confession that they have become laymen, to doff their priestly robe, to suffer themselves to be established in the condition of laymen by accepting the gift of a white garb, and again, to become sāmaṇḍras by receiving the pabbajjā ordination, by accepting a gift of the priestly robe, and by professing openly their faith in the 'Three Refuges.' (It is only when all these stages have been passed through, that they are permitted) to receive the upasampadā ordination in their capacity as sāmaṇḍras. It might be asked: What is the reason of such procedure? Reverend brethren, the priests, who came to this country with the conviction that their previous upasampadā ordination was impure, but that the Sihaēa form of it was pure, being imbued with faith, received fresh upasampadā ordination. Reverend brethren, these priests would subsequently attach themselves to others who might have been their own disciples, and, being dissatisfied with their condition, would, disregarding the time that had elapsed since their new ordination, reckon their status from the date of their old one. This is not approved by us: hence the custom described above. Therefore, if you, who are replete with faith, desire to receive the pure form of upasampadā ordination, do you act in accordance with the custom of the māhāthēras of Sihaalidipa. If you comply, we shall be able to confer the upasampadā ordination on you; but if you do not, by reason of not being in accordance with custom, we shall be unable to confer such ordination on you.' It was only when we had conformed ourselves to the custom of the māhāthēras of Sihaalidipa, that they conferred the upasampadā ordination on us."

Then the large number of leading priests said: "Reverend Sirs, since you yourselves received the pure form of the upasampadā ordination only after conforming to the custom of the māhāthēras of Sihaalidipa, even in this wise, do we, who are replete with faith, desire to receive it. Therefore, we are prepared to receive the pure form of the upasampadā ordination after conforming ourselves to the custom of the māhāthēras of Sihaalidipa." The thēras, who had returned from Sihaalidipa, being thus in concord with all the leading priests, the latter, headed by Dhammakittīthēra, were eventually treated in accordance with the custom of the māhāthēras of Sihaalidipa, and the upasampadā ordination was conferred on them, with Suvaṇṇasūpahāthēra as upajjhāya, and with the nine thēras, who had returned from Sihaalidipa, as āchāriyas, the kammavāca being read by two of these thēras in turn.

On Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Migaśtra, which was the first day of the conferment of the upasampadā ordination, Rāmādhippatiśāra was present in person, and directed the preparation of a bounteous supply of food and various kinds of drinks suitable for consumption before or after noon, for the use of the thēras, who conducted the ordination ceremony, of the leading priests, who had been ordained, and of other leading priests, who were
candidates for the ordination. For the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of sādhu at the conclusion of each conferment of the upasampada ordination, drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded. Scribes skilled in worldly lore, and innumerable nobles and learned men were appointed to note the number of priests that had received the upasampa
dada ordination. And, in order that the ceremony might be performed at night, many lamps were provided. It was near sunset when the King returned to his palace.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 15. — The Parrot's Tale and the Mainâ's Tale.¹

Once upon a time there was a king who had an only son, the pride of his parents. The prince grew up strong and beautiful, and no pains were spared to give him a fitting education. When he was old enough the king got him married to the daughter of a neighbouring king, and they lived happily for some time in their father's house.

After a few months the prince wanted to go and live with his wife in another country. So he got a ship fitted for the voyage, and at once set sail with her. Now, when they had got half the way the prince remembered that he had a popyat (parrot) at home, which he would have liked to take with him, and he said to his wife: — "Oh dear! I left my parrot behind me at home."

This put the princess in mind of her mainâ, which she, too, had forgotten at the time of leaving their palace, and so she, too, said: — "Yes, dear, I, too, have left my mainâ behind me, which I should have liked to have taken with me."

They, therefore, turned their ship round homewards, and when they had returned to their house, the prince took his parrot and the princess her mainâ, and again set sail. After a favourable voyage they reached their destination, where they hired a large house, and put up there.

When a few days had passed the princess one day said to her husband: — "My dear, we are now married and live happily. I should like to see my mainâ married to your parrot, and I am sure they will like it."

"Very well," said the prince; "we have only to put them into one cage, and they will be a married couple. What more is necessary to be done?" The princess then told him to go and fetch a cage, which he did, and they both took the parrot and the mainâ, and put them into it. Now it must be known that parrots and mainâs seldom agree; so they pecked at each other, and pecked so long and so fiercely, that they plucked each other's feathers to such an extent that both began to bleed, and looked like lumps of live flesh.

The following morning the prince took them some food, but he was astonished when he saw the state they were in, and wondered what was the matter with them, whereupon the mainâ said:

"Listen, O king, to my story. There once lived a king who had an only son, who was brought up with great tenderness, and when he was old enough he was married, whereon he left his father's house and lived with his wife. He was very profligate, and had many friends who were daily entertained at a sumptuously laid-out table. In the meanwhile his wife had gone to her parents' house. In the course of his profligacy the prince soon squandered all his treasure, and, as is always the case, his friends all abandoned him. The poor prince had now barely anything left to maintain himself on, and he thought he would go to his wife's house, where he doubted not he would be welcomed by his royal father and mother-in-law. He,

¹ [A novel version of a very old tale. The previous tale published in Vol. XXI. p. 374 should have been numbered 14. — Ed.]
therefore, took the earliest opportunity to go there, and, as he expected, he was given a cordial welcome.

"The prince lived in his wife's house for several months, when he again thought of his friends. So he told his father-in-law that he wished to take his wife with him. The father-in-law had no objection; on the contrary he gave them plenty of money, and moreover offered to send his regiments with them, if necessary, to escort them. The prince, however, accepted the money, but refused to take any one with him.

"On the way they had to pass a forest, and he took this opportunity to rob his wife. He had recourse to the following stratagem. They had passed a well, and the prince said he felt very thirsty and wanted to drink some water from it, but the princess offered to go and fetch the water. Before she went her husband said to her: — 'You will do well to remove all the jewellery and costly garments you have on, for this forest is infested with thieves and rogues, and should any of them see you they are sure to rob and even kill you.'

"The princess thought her husband's advice sensible, and so divested herself of all her jewellery and costly garments, and went to the well to fetch the water. The prince quietly followed her to the well. She drew out one litre which she drank herself, and stooped to draw a second, when her husband caught her by the legs and threw her into the well, where she remained for a long time, but was rescued by a passer-by, and went back to her father's house. Her father asked her what was the matter, and why she came back in that state. She never said a word against her husband, but said that she had been robbed by thieves in the jungle, and did not know what had become of her husband.

"The prince, after throwing his wife into the well, bundled up all her jewellery, money, and whatever else he could, and went to his own home. Once there, he again joined his wild friends and ate and drank with them, till he had once more squandered all his wealth, as well as his wife's jewellery and rich garments, which had brought him an immense sum of money. When everything had been disposed of, his friends, who saw he was sliding into poverty, again left him, and would not so much as even speak to him. What is a man to do in such circumstances?

"He thought to himself: 'My wife is dead. I must go and tell some tales to my father-in-law, and so squeeze some more money out of him, or how shall I live?'

"So thinking he started immediately for his father-in-law's house. After a tiresome journey he reached it, but to his utter embarrassment he saw his wife standing at a window of the palace. In shame and confusion he retraced his steps, but his wife, who was very kind-hearted and pitied his condition, called out to him, and said: 'Come in, dear, come in. Why do you turn back? There is nothing surprising in your behaviour. Such occurrences are not very rare.'

"The prince, though quite ashamed and confused, again went and lived for some time with his wife at her father's house. A few months afterwards he again told his father-in-law that he wished to go home with his wife. His father-in-law allowed them to go with the greatest pleasure, again giving an immense sum of money, besides jewellery and garments to the princess. This time, however, the prince took his wife home in safety, and having given up his extravagance and bad society, lived with his wife in peace and prosperity."

And then the maid ended her story with this moral: "Such, O king, is the character of husbands, and you can now imagine to yourself the reason of my being in the position you see me."

When the maid had finished her story, the parrot said: "You have listened to the maid's tale, O king, which teaches us that husbands are bad; but wait one moment, and listen to my story, which will shew you that wives are no better than their husbands."

"Very well," said the prince; "out with what you have to say."
The parrot (पीपुर) then began:—

"Listen, O king. There once lived in a certain country a well-to-do couple, husband and wife. It came to pass that the husband had to go to a distant country for employment, and there he had to spend several years. In his absence the wife was day and night visited by a paramour, with whom she ate and drank and made merry. When some ten or twelve years had elapsed she received a letter from her husband that he was soon coming back, and that she might expect him on a certain day. That day soon came, and with it her husband, who came home with a large fortune; but when he reached his house, to his great regret he found his wife sick. Of course, she was not really sick, but only pretended to be so, and had tied up her head and ears with a kerchief, which gave her an appearance of a really sick person.

"During the day she sent a message privately to her paramour not to visit her, as her husband had come home, but that she would come to his house. The day passed, and night came on, and the husband, who had to perform the domestic business himself on account of his wife's illness, being quite fatigued, went to bed and slept very soundly. In the dead of night the wife arose and took the road to her paramour's house.

"Now it happened that a दाकैत, who had learnt that the husband had come back after amassing a large fortune, thought of visiting his house that night with a view to carrying on his vocation of plundering. So just as the दाकैत at the dead of night was about to break into the house he saw the wife come out of it.

"'I will not rob the house to-night, but will follow this woman, and watch where she goes, and what she does,' said the दाकैत to himself, and went quietly after her.

"She went on and on for a long while till she came to her paramour's house, which she entered, and there saw her paramour apparently sleeping. But he was really dead, having been visited by the wrath of God, and killed in his bed! Thinking he was only asleep, she called out to him in endearing terms, and threw herself on the corpse, but not a word came from him in return. Upon this she shook him and asked him why he was angry, why he did not speak to her, and such like questions. At length, after trying to make him speak for more than an hour, she ceased from her attempts; but before going away she thought: 'Well, well, if you will not speak to me, let me at least kiss you for perhaps the last time.'

"But as she put her lips to the corpse it opened its mouth and bit off her nose! Streams of blood ran to the ground, and she was at a loss to know what to do; for how could she go home without a nose? What would her husband and her neighbours say? What answer was she to give when questioned about her nose? In this plight, and thus thinking she retraced her steps homewards.

"On her way there was a hut in which lived an old woman, on whom she called, told her everything, and asked her advice. The old woman was at once ready with an answer, and told her to resort to the following stratagem:—

"'Go home,' she said; 'and quietly lie down beside your husband, and when you have been there for a little while, get up and make a noise, saying, 'My husband has bitten off my nose, my husband has bitten off my nose.' When people collect at the noise they will believe you!'

"Having taken the old woman's advice, the wife went home, and lay down by the side of her husband, who was still fast asleep. After half an hour or so she got up and suddenly commenced bawling out:—'My husband has bitten off my nose, my husband has bitten off my nose!' It was nearly dawn by this time, just at the time when people generally begin to be awake, and in consequence a great throng of neighbours was attracted by the wonderful story of a husband

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* The original expression for these words are: पूना नन्द नन्द, ताइ दाकैतिरिक्त रिहाइ हुआ, देन नन्दित; the literal meaning of which is: "but he was not asleep, God sent him a punishment, and he died."
biting off his wife's nose! When the neighbour saw her they assumed she was telling the truth, and some of them advised her to lodge a complaint against her husband before the magistrate! Accordingly, she went and filed a suit at the magistrate's Court. Her husband was immediately summoned to answer the complaint, and as for evidence there was no lack, for had not the whole neighbourhood seen his wife without her nose before dawn by his side?

"Her husband appeared before the magistrate, and pleaded ignorance of the matter, but was at last convicted and sentenced to be hanged. But fortunately for him, the dākait, who had watched his wife on her night's excursion, had also come to the Court to see how the case was being conducted, and what the ultimate result would be. He now stood up before the magistrate and asked leave to say a word or two, which was given him. He then told the story: first about himself, who and what he was; how, having learnt that the accused had come home after several years' absence bringing, with him a large fortune, he had determined to plunder his house, how, when he came in the night on his plundering errand, he saw the complainant come out of the house and go to her paramour's; how he had changed his mind about plundering and followed her quietly; how he saw what she did with the corpse of her paramour, who was killed by the wrath of God; and how, finally, as she stooped to kiss him, the corpse bit off her nose! He also told the magistrate how she had entered the old woman's hut, who advised her to play the trick which had brought the accused before the magistrate. He then asked the magistrate to lend him the services of two peons, and on the magistrate complying with his request he went and brought the corpse with the piece of the nose still in its mouth! The magistrate ordered the part of the nose to be removed from the mouth of the corpse and to be placed on the nose of the wife, and it fitted her exactly!

"The magistrate then gave judgment accordingly, cancelled the sentence of death passed on the husband, and ordered instead the wife and the old woman to be hanged. The dākait was handsomely rewarded by her husband, and went away, and ever thereafter left off robbing.

"Such, O king, is the character of women. Judge for yourself the reason for the plight I am in."

When the prince had heard the stories of the maind and the parrot, he saw there was a great deal of truth in both the stories! But at the end he got them both reconciled, and they then all lived happily together:— the prince and the princess; and the parrot and the maind.

MISCELLANEA.

THE EVIL EYE.

With reference to Note B on page 168, Vol. XXI, ante, it is worthy of remark that similar ideas prevail in Burma as in Bihar. It is believed there that, if a person looks steadily at a child or animal and says how well or beautiful it is, it will forthwith become ill. This is called la-sōn-kīyá, i.e., "man-magic falls to it." The evil eye can be averted by a string called let-pvē (or amulet) tied round the arm or neck, and this is even worn by pregnant women to protect the child within them. In the latter case, however, it is called m-yat let-pvē, its more especial function being to protect against a hobgoblin, called Mi-yatma. Sometimes women are hired for as long a period as five days simply to guard pregnant woman against this latter personage. The use of a string as an amulet is also known to the Southern Chins, as is shown by the following extract from Appendix IV. to my Essay on the Language of Southern China and its Affinities:

"Four or five days after the birth of a child it is duly initiated into the clan and placed under the guardianship of the Khun. A cotton string, (called khunblang) is tied round its wrist for a few days; as a sign to all evil spirits that the child is under the latter's protection."

BERNARD HOUGHTON.
MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF JATILAVARMAN.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A.; BANGALORE.

The original of the subjoined inscription belongs to the Government Central Museum at Madras, and is referred to in Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 24 (Madras Museum Plate No. 15). Two impressions prepared by Dr. Fleet, and the original copper-plates which had been lent to Dr. Hultzsch, have been kindly placed by him at my disposal for publication in this Journal.

The inscription is engraved on seven copper-plates, each measuring 11½" by 4½", strung on a ring, whose diameter is about 3½" and which is ½" thick. The weight of the seven plates is 328½ tolas and that of the ring 11½; total 339½ tolas. The ring contains no traces of having borne a seal, and the copper-plates seem to have been issued without it. Each of the plates is slightly folded at the extremities, so as to make rims on two of the opposite sides in order to protect the writing from defacement. The first and the last plates are engraved only on one side, and the remaining five on both sides.

The inscription contains two passages in the Sanskrit language and the old Grantha character. The first of these consists of six verses in the beginning (lines 1 to 19) and the second of four of the customary imprecatory verses at the end. The rest of the inscription is in the Tamil language and the Vaṭṭēḻuttu or Chēṟa-Pāṇḍya alphabet, as it has been termed by Dr. Hultzsch, but is interspersed with a large number of Sanskrit words written in the Grantha character.

The following is a list of the words and syllables in the Tamil portion of the inscription which are written in the Grantha character:

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33. ka-bhūmi.
34. bhūmi.
42. kula-dhama.
43. laravinda-mukha.
44. Karavandapu.
46. ēvamādi-vikrama.
49. Mana-darsita-mārgga.
50. guru-charitam.
56. kāndaka-siddhanai.
59. from Pāṇḍya-nāthan.
52. rājya-varsha.
53. ndharmma.
54. karaṇama.
55. grāmā.
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57. from Bhārggava to sūtra.
58. Bāhvrījan Sīhu-Miśra.
59. Yajñā-vidyai.
60. sāstra.
61. Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa.
66. 'Srīvara-mangala.
67. brahma-dēya.
68. sarvva-paṁbara.
72. Pāṇḍya.
73. mataṁga-jāddhayakshan.
76. mra-sāsana.
76. vádya-gēya-saṁgita.
78. Vaidyā-kula.
79. mahā-simanta.
80. Vīra.
81. Dhīrata-ra Mūrtti.
84. mra-sāsana.
92. Arikēsari.
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The historical introduction (II. 19 to 46) is in High Tamil and possesses one characteristic of Tamil poetry, viz. constant alliteration. The only inscriptions in the Vaṭṭēḻuttu alphabet that have been hitherto published, are the Tirunelli plates of Bhūkara-Ravivarman which appeared in a former number of this Journal, and the three inscriptions mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch in the introductory remarks to his paper on those plates (ante, Vol. XX. p. 287).

1 ante, Vol. XX. pp. 285-292. Mr. S. M. Naṭṭē Śāstrī has published his own version of this grant in the September number of Vol. IX of the Christian College Magazine. The following misreadings in it may be noted as the most important:

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Line 1. Śrī Amachechar for Ārīh Kō Pikkaran.
2. iruppattārām, nāippatt-krām.
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The alphabet employed in the subjoined inscription differs slightly from that of the four others. In the latter, the individual characters have a tendency to slant towards the left, while in the former they are more straight. This has perhaps to be accounted for by the different nature of the writing materials commonly in use, and the mode of holding the style, prevalent in the two parts of Southern India to which these inscriptions severally belong. The use of Sanskrit words and Grantha characters is very common in the Pāṇḍya grant, while in the four others most of the Sanskrit words have assumed Drāviḍian forms and are written in the Vatteluttu alphabet. In the latter some of the characters are distinctly round, for example Correo, n, f and h, while in the former they are not quite round. It is not possible to say which of these two is the more developed form, until the immediate source of the alphabet is determined, and the two types of characters compared individually with those of the parent alphabet. From other Pāṇḍya inscriptions which are published, we know that, besides the Vatteluttu, the Tamil alphabet was also used in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The former was probably imported from the Chōrā kingdom and the latter from the Chōla country. As the earlier Pāṇḍya inscriptions, like the present one, are found engraved in the Vatteluttu character, and the later ones, like the stone inscriptions found at Madura, Tirupparaikkurum and other places, and the large Tiruppavagan copper-plate grant of Kulasēkkhara-Pāṇḍya, in the Tamil alphabet, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was the former that was originally used in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The latter was probably introduced during the time when the great Saiva devotees, Tiruṅakāromanbendar and Tirunāvakkikaraiyar, flourished, or on the occasion of a subsequent Chōla conquest. The forms which the characters have assumed in the present inscription, might be due to the influence of the Tamil alphabet on the original Vatteluttu. This Pāṇḍya grant also throws some light on the Vatteluttu numerals, as the plates are numbered on their left margins. The number on the third plate is rather indistinct, and the symbols for four, five, six and seven seem to be closely allied to the corresponding ones used in Tamil inscriptions, while those for one and two do not exhibit any intimate connection with the known South-Indian numerals. The investigation of the origin of the Vatteluttu numerals is closely connected with, and must throw considerable light on the question of the immediate source of the Vatteluttu alphabet. We must have a complete set of the Vatteluttu numerals and their earlier forms, and the earlier forms of the Vatteluttu alphabet, before we can speculate on the origin of either of them, or on the relation which existed between them. Dr. Barnett has expressed himself as follows on this question:—"Of all the probable primitive alphabets with which a comparison of the Vatteluttu is possible, it appears to me that the Sassanian of the inscriptions presents most points of resemblance." A comparison of the Vatteluttu characters with the Tamil alphabet, which is used in ancient inscriptions found in the Chōla country and in other Tamil districts, yields the following results:—The symbols for i, ñ, ñ, ñ, ñ, ñ and ñ are almost the same in both, while those for a, û, û, û, û, û and û are entirely ignored.

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The seven small lines of writing on the right margin of the second side of the second plate seem to have been entirely ignored.

\footnote{South-Indian Palaeography, 2nd edition, p. 51.}
and n are not quite dissimilar, and those for i, o, ai, y, ä and æ do not exhibit any points of close resemblance. In the subjoined inscription more than two hundred and fifty of the virāmas are distinctly marked, in most cases by means of a dot attached to the top of the letter. In some cases the dot is attached to the right or to the left of the letter. There is no attempt at marking the virāmas either in the Jews' grant or in the Syrian Christians' grants, — if the copies published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII. are faithful, — as well as in the Tirunelli grant. As regards Tamil inscriptions, we find that the virāmas are sometimes marked only in the oldest ones. If the marking of the virāma had the same history in the Vaṭṭeluttu script as it seems to have had in Tamil inscriptions, we should conclude that the present grant belongs to a time earlier than any of the inscriptions from the Western coast hitherto discovered.

Of the Pandyya kingdom nothing like a connected history is known, and it is doubtful if it will ever be possible to get a really trustworthy account of it from the earliest times. That it was a very ancient one, is established by various facts. According to some versions of the Mahābhārata, Arjuna is believed to have gone to the Pandyya kingdom during his rambles in the South. The Buddhist king Atoka refers to the Pandyas in one of his edicts. The late Dr. Caldwell considered it nearly certain that it was a Pandyia king who had sent an ambassador to the emperor Augustus of Rome. From the Greek geographers who wrote after the Christian era, we learn that the Pandyia kingdom not only existed in their time, but rose to special importance among the Indian states, though no names of Pandyia kings are known. Tuttukku (Tutticorin), Kokai, Kýyal, Káljimēy (Point Calimere), Kurni (Cape Comorin) and Pamban (Pambum) were known to the ancient Greeks. Kālidasa, the great dramatist, refers to the Pandyia kingdom as one of the provinces overran by Rāghu in his tour of conquest. The astronomer Varahamihira refers to this kingdom in his *Brīhatāranyaka*. The frequent mention of the Pandyas in ancient inscriptions shows that the kingdom continued to exist and that some of its rulers were very powerful. The Western Chalukya king Pulkēsin II. (A.D. 610 to 634) boasts of having conquered the Pandyas among others. The Pallavas are constantly reported to have conquered the Pandyas. The inscription of Nandivarman Pallava-mallama published by the Rev. T. Foulkes, refers to a victory gained by the Pallava general Udayachandra against the Pandyia army in the battle of Managukkula. The Chalukyas, — Western as well as Eastern, — and the Rashtrakūta kings sometimes boast in their inscriptions of having conquered the Pandyas. It was, however, with the Cheras and the Cholas that the Pandyia history was more intimately connected. They formed the 'three kingdoms' of the South, and were constantly at feud with one another. Each of the kings

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9 It is in connection with a marriage of Arjuna that the Pandyia kingdom is supposed to be mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Caldwell (History of Tanjore, p. 13) says that only the Tamil prose translation and the southern Sanskrit versions of the epic state that Arjuna's bride belonged to the Pandyia family, while most of the northern Sanskrit versions state that her father was the king of Manipura.
11 History of Tanjore, p. 17. Captain Taffnell in his *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, Part II. p. 8, says that the small insignificant Roman copper coins found in and around Madra, in such large numbers and belonging to types different from those discovered in Europe, point to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 291, seems to have first started this theory to explain the discovery of the small Roman coins.
13 Raghuvarman, iv. 49.
14 Dr. Kern's edition, iv. 16.
15 See ante, Vol. VIII. p. 245.
16 See ante, Vol. VIII. p. 276; the reading of the first line of Slate iv. first side, is not *Mannekur̥a* as the published text has it, but *Mannekur̥a-grami*.
17 For the Western Chalukya conquest of the Pallavas see Dr. Fleet's *Karnatai Dynasty of the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 27, 28 and 29. Only one of the Rashtrakūta kings is explicitly stated to have conquered the Pandyas. For the Eastern Chalukya conquest see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 51.
18 In Tamil, the phrase min-arair, 'the three kings,' is used to denote the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas kings. In Tamil inscriptions *mira-rgur*, and in Kamaras ones *mira-rgur* are used to mean the same three kings; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 111, note 3.
of any one of these dynasties often called himself ‘the destroyer’ of the other two kingdoms.\(^{14}\) As the history of the Chēras is now very little known, we have only what has been done for the Chōla history to fall upon. The Chōla king Parantaka I. calls himself Madirai-kopḍa, or in Sanskrit, Madhurāntaka, ‘the destroyer of Madura.’ Mr. Foulkes’ inscription of the Bāla king Hastimalla reports that Parantaka I. conquered Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya.\(^{15}\) One of the grandsons of the same Chōla king was also called Madhurāntaka, while one of his great-grandsons, Āditya-Karikāla, ‘contended in his youth with Vira-Pāṇḍya,’\(^{16}\) and another great-grandson, Kō-Rajakēśarivarman alias Rājārājādēva, ‘deprived the Sejiyas (i.e. the Pāṇḍyas) of their splendour.’\(^{17}\) In two of the Tanjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 3, paragraphs 5 and 6, and No. 59, paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 9 and 11), the conquest of the Pāṇḍyas is mentioned along with that of Sēramān, the Chēra king, and in one of them (No. 59, paragraph 3), it is said that both of them were defeated in Malai-nāḷu. Perhaps this shows that the Chēra king and the Pāṇḍyas united together in opposing Rājārāja. The son of the last-named Chōla king, Kō-Parakēśarivarman alias Rājendrā-Chōḷādēva, was also called Madhurāntaka.\(^{18}\) The immense number of copper coins found in the Madura bāḍar, containing the legend Rājārāja, and the Chōla inscriptions which are reported to be found in the Pāṇḍya country,\(^{19}\) almost establish the Chōla conquest. Dr. Hultzsch’s latest Progress Report (Madras G. O. dated 6th August 1892, No. 544, Public) mentions several Pāṇḍya princes. Of these, Māṇabharana, Vira-Kērajya, Sundara-Pāṇḍya, and Lāṅkaēvara alias Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who had undertaken an expedition against Vikramabahu of Ceylon, were contemporaries of the Chōla king Kō-Rajakēśarivarman alias Rājādhirājādēva (Nos. 12 of Dr. Hultzsch’s list); Vira-Kēsarīn, the son of Srivallabha, was a contemporary of Kō-Rajakēśarivarman alias Vira-Rājendrādēva I. (No. 14 of the list). A third Chōla king, No. 18, Parakēśarivarman alias Vira-Rājendrādēva II., whom Dr. Hultzsch identifies with the Eastern Chalukya Kōḷḷottunga-Chōḷa II., is reported ‘to have cut off the nose of the son of Virā-Pāṇḍya, to have given Madura to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and to have cut off the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya.’ In the inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājārājādēva, found at Tanjore and elsewhere, the Pāṇḍyas are always mentioned in the plural number (Sejiyar, Pāṇḍyar). An inscription, found on one of the walls of the great temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot district, reports that Kōḷḷottunga-Chōḷa conquered the five Pāṇḍya.\(^{20}\) The defeat of ‘the five Pāṇḍyas’ is also referred to in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of Kō-Rajakēśarivarman alias the emperor Sri-Kōḷḷottunga-Chōḷādēva (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 58, and ante, Vol. XXI. p. 265), who was evidently identical with the Kōḷḷottunga-Chōḷa of the Chidambaram inscription. Again, the word Paṇḍava, ‘one of the five,’ is used in inscriptions as well as in Tamil literature as a title of the Pāṇḍya kings. It may, therefore, be concluded that very often, if not always, there were five Pāṇḍya princes.

\(^{14}\) The seals of Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants, of which two are now known, and published in Sir Walter Elliot’s Coins of Southern India, — one belonging to the large Tiruppavaṇam grant and the other to the “Madacolam” grant, — contain the following emblems: — two fish, a tiger and a bow. The fish was the Pāṇḍya emblem. But the insertion of the tiger and the bow, the Chōla and the Chēra emblems, is meant to indicate that the kings who issued these grants, conquered the Chōlas and the Chēras. In the description of the seals of the two Leyden copper-plate grants, published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. only the fish and the tiger are mentioned. The bow, which must have been there, has evidently been mistaken for something else. Some of the Chōla coins also contain these three emblems: e.g. Nos. 152 of Sir Walter Elliot’s Coins of Southern India, whose legend has been read by Dr. Hultzsch as Gaṅga-kēndu Chōḷa (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 323), and Nos. 133 and 134 of the same, whose legends are Sri-Rājendrā and Uṭṭama-Chōḷa, respectively.

\(^{15}\) Salem Manuel, Vol. II. p. 372 (verse 11).

\(^{16}\) South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 112.

\(^{17}\) Ibid. pp. 65 and 95.

\(^{18}\) Lines 87 f. of the large Leyden grant (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. p. 265), and South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 112.

\(^{19}\) Mr. Sewell’s Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. pp. 286 and 287; Caldwell’s History of Tennerelly, p. 29. In one of the Tanjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 36) Pāṇḍi-ukḍa is otherwise called Rājārājamanjavalam. This confirms Rājārāja’s conquest of the Pāṇḍyas.

\(^{20}\) South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 188.
ruling at the same time. Almost throughout the Tamil districts of Southern India we meet with Pāṇḍya inscriptions which, to judge from the characters employed in them, must belong to some of the later kings. Among these may be mentioned Sundara, Vīra, Vikrama, Kulaśākhara and Parakrama. Marco Polo mentions a “Sonder Bandi” of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, who may be identical with the Sundara-Pāṇḍya of the inscriptions. Later on, the Pāṇḍya kingdom fell a prey to the ambition of the Vijayanagar kings and their feudatories. Coins bearing one or other of the names Sundara-Pāṇḍiya (Sundara-Pāṇḍya), Vīra-Pāṇḍiya (Vīra-Pāṇḍya) and Kulaśāgar (Kulaśākhara), are not infrequently met with in the bukars of Tanjore and Madura. Another coin, bearing the legend Samarakōlaśāgar (i.e. in Sanskrit, Samarakōlahala), a name which occurs in the traditional lists of Pāṇḍya kings, is also often found. He was a king whose dominions extended as far north as Kānchipura, where an inscription, dated during his reign, is found, and contains the date 1391 expired. From this inscription we learn that he was also called Puvangkakavira (i.e. in Sanskrit Bhuvanaikavira), a name which is likewise found on coins. Coins bearing the legends Kacchi-salugum Perumis, Elluruttalay-śiva, Jagavira-Kānasa, Kalugir-Kānasa, Sēra-kula-liśya, and Pāṭala, are generally ascribed to the Pāṇḍya dynasty. From Tamil inscriptions we learn that the capital of the Pāṇḍya was Madura, and that their dominions were often extensive. That their emblem was the fish, is borne out by inscriptions as well as coins. From certain names which occur in Kanarese inscriptions, and which are referred to in Dr. Fleet’s Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency, it may be concluded that there was a family of Pāṇḍya chiefs ruling in the North as feudatories of one or other of the Kanarese dynasties. Probably, some member of the Pāṇḍya dynasty of Madura, for some unknown reason, migrated to the North and established for himself a small principality; and his successors appear to have preserved their family name. Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍyaśāla, Vīra-Pāṇḍyaśāla and Vijaya-Pāṇḍyaśāla were ruling the Nonambavadi.

21 The Kalūgattu-Parani (canto xi. verse 60) mentions five Pāṇḍya princes who had been defeated by Kulottunga-Chola. This king was, as has been shown by Mr. Kanakasahai Pillai (ante, Vol. XIX. p. 338) and Dr. Fleet (canto, Vol. XX. p. 278 ff.), identical with the Eastern Chalukya Kulottunga-Chiddārāja I. (Saka 935 to 1034), and it is very probable that it is this defeat of the Pāṇḍyas that is referred to in the Chidambaram inscription and in the inscriptions found at Tanjore and other places.

22 Dr. Calwell’s History of Tanjavury, p. 53. But see ante, Vol. XXI. p. 121, where the date of the accession of Sundara-Pāṇḍya is calculated from materials supplied by Dr. Hultsch. We have thus obtained the date of one of the several Sundaras.

23 Sir Walter Elliot’s Coins of Southern India, Nos. 134 and 135.
24 Dr. Hultsch’s Progress Report for February to April 1890, Madras G. O. dated 14th May 1890, No. 355, Public.
25 ibid. No. 1145.
26 ibid. No. 145.
27 Sir Walter Elliot’s Coins of Southern India, No. 136.
29 ibid. No. 147.
30 Mr. Tracy’s Pāṇḍya Coins, No. 3, and Elliot’s No. 147. In an inscription of the Jambukavēra temple on the island of Śrīśagam (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 121) Sundara-Pāṇḍya is called Lakṣa-kulā-lokanas-dilīgu Rāma, ‘a second Rāma in plundering the island of Lakṣa’ It is not impossible that the biruda Kalūgir-Rāma bears the same meaning and is intended to denote the same Pāṇḍya king.
31 ibid. No. 8 (wrongly for No. 6).
32 ibid. No. 1. The correct reading seems to be: [1.] Şanū [2.] jā ko- [3.] ūdān. Šīduḥu means ‘the Chola country.’ *One who conquered the Chola country’ would be an appropriate biruda for a Pāṇḍya king. In the Tiruppa-rakṣกรม inscription, published in the Archeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. Sundara-Pāṇḍya has the biruda Śrīduḥu vallāgī-āruṇya, ‘one who is pleased to distribute the Chola country,’ which has been misconstrued (pp. 44 ff.) Śrūṇduḥu-mulāṇāyugurīya.
33 The Rev. E. Loventhal in his Coins of Tanjavour (p. 7) says that ‘there must have been two distinct Pāṇḍya dynasties, one in Korkai and one in Madura, and there were several branch lines, especially of the Madura Pāṇḍyas. Both the chief lines had the elephant and the battle-axe as their royal marks, probably because they were closely related to each other.’ He adds (p. 8) that, later on, ‘the Madura Pāṇḍyas chose the fish mark as their dynastic emblem, and instead of it a pure Vishnu mark — the fish.’ That is, when they left Buddhism they changed the elephant mark and took instead of it a pure Vishnu mark — the fish.
34 Dr. Fleet’s Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency, p. 51.
Thirty-two thousand as contemporaries of the Western Chalukya kings Vikramādiya VI., Someshvara III. and Jagadeśamalla II. respectively. A Yaśava inscription belonging to the time of Kṛṣṇa (Saka 1175), refers to "the Pāṇḍya who shone at Guttī." The Hōysaḷa king Ballāla II. "restored to the Pāṇḍya his forfeited kingdom when he humbled himself before him." The kingdom referred to consisted of Uchchāṅga, — part of the Koṅkaṇa, — and the districts of Banavakī and Pāṇumgal.

So much of the Pāṇḍya history we learn from inscriptions, numismatics and contemporary authorities. We shall now see what Tāmil literature has to say on this dynasty. The following are some of the Tāmil works which may be expected to throw some light on Pāṇḍya history: — Tiruvaiyāralparuṇam, Periyapāṇam, Pāṭuppāṭṭu and Paṟṟappāṭṭu. The boundaries of the Pāṇḍya kingdom are thus laid down in Tāmil works: — the river Vellāru to the north; Kumari (Cape Comorin) to the south; the sea to the east; and 'the great highway' to the west. According to Dr. Caldwell, the river Vellāru is the one which rises in the Trichinopoly district, passes through the Padukkēṭṭai state, and enters the sea at Point Calimere; and the same scholar has identified 'the great highway' with the Acherchankōvīl pass. This would include a part of the modern state of Travancore into the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The Pāṇḍya king is often called Kōrkaīṟṟi, 'the ruler of Kōrkai.' From this fact it may be concluded that Kōrkai was once the Pāṇḍya capital. In later times the seat of the government was certainly Kōṟḍal (i. e. Madura). The Tiruvaiyāralparuṇam is an account of the divine sports of Śiva, as represented by the god at Madura, and professes to give a history of that town and its kings from very early times. It also furnishes a list of Pāṇḍya kings, most of the names in which sound more like birudas than actual names. Whether the accounts given in this work are based on genuine tradition or not, it has not been possible to determine from a lack of ancient Pāṇḍya inscriptions. It is almost certain that there are some historical facts contained in it. But they are so much mixed up with myths and legends that it is at present hardly possible to distinguish historical facts from worthless matter. The sixth verse in the Sankrit part of the subjoined inscription refers to victories gained by some of the ancient Pāṇḍya kings over Indra, Varuṇa and Agni, and reports that the garland of Indra had been wrested from him by the Pāṇḍya kings, and that some of them survived the great Kaḻapa. Some of the chapters of the Tiruvaiyāralparuṇam describe the futile attempts made by Indra to destroy the Pāṇḍya capital, Madura. One of these consists in inducing Varuṇa to flood the city and drown it under water. A great deluge is said to have occurred during the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Kṛtvīryāḥ, after which Śiva re-created Madura as it was before. It is this legend that is referred to in the present inscription by the words mahā-kāḻap-ēpad-uttārīstha. Again, in the chapter headed Varuṇaṇākk-kal-kećivalkaiy-gajīṟṟaṟṟapāḷalai ("the chapter which describes how Varuṇa was shewn the world of Śiva"), the then reigning king Varuṇa-Pāṇḍya is said to have gained a victory over the Chōḷa king. In the 18th verse of this chapter, the Chōḷa king is described as Nēri-pporuppat, and his army defeated by the expression Kēli-kēnai. It is not impossible that it was the Chōḷa king Kō-Kkiḷḷi who is spoken of as having been defeated by Varuṇa-Pāṇḍya. This Chōḷa king is mentioned in the large Leyden grant and the copper-plate inscription of the Bāga king Hastimalla, as one of the ancestors of Vijayālaya. The Kaliṟṟaṟṟu-Puṟṟaṟṟi also mentions him, though not by name.

[ibid. p. 73.]
[ibid. p. 69.]
[History of Tamerlai, p. 54 f.]
[See note 33, above.]
[Dr. Caldwell, in the Introduction, p. 139 of the second edition of his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, says that this purāṇa was very probably translated from Sanskrit at the request of Ativarāṇa-Śrīvēpda, the poet king of Madura, and that it dates from the 10th century. To this Pāṇḍya king is generally attributed the composition of the Tāmil poem called Nāruḷai (Naṟṟai), see the remarks on p. 144 f. of the Introduction to the Comparative Grammar as regards the other literary productions of this king.

In verse 18 of the chapter headed Ira-ja-pāṟṟaṟṟapiyam, he is described as follows: "tauṟṟu maṇḍar-Drav-aṟṟai-mar-vaṟṟa-si-maṇi kon-tavaṟṟam, be, who, walking alone, seized the jewel of the Uraṇa (Nēgarā)." In Puṟṟaṟṟu V. Māsivādaiyair edition of the Paṟṟappāṭṭu, p. 111, the same king is called Nāgapāṭṭaiyai-Čoḻai, and the tradition about the birth of an illegitimate son to him by the Nēga princess is referred to. In other Tāmil works the same Kēli-Vēlaiyai occurs; see and, Vol. XIX. p. 539.]
That Varaguna-Pândya was a historical personage, is shewn by the same Biña grant, which
reports that the Gaña king Prithivipasi, who was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha, defeated
the Pândya king Varaguna in the battle of Sri-Purambaika (not Sripara, as it is on page 373
of the Salmun Manual, Vol. II.). Sri-Purambaika has probably to be identified with the village
called Tiru-Purambaika in Sundaramurti-Nayâgâr's Têdvâram, and Purambaiam in Tiru-
ânasambandar's Têdvâram. The exact place occupied by Kô-Kkilijî in the Chôla genealogy, is
not known. The two inscriptions which mention the early Chôla kings, say that Kârikâla, Kô-
Chchaâkaâpan and Kô-Kkilijî belonged to the Chôla family. Of these two authorities, the Leyden
grant mentions Kârikâla first and Kô-Kkilijî last, while the Biña inscription mentions Kô-
Kkilijî first and Kô-Chchaâkaâpan last. The Kâlîgattu-Paraíi mentions Kô-Kkilijî first and
Kârikâla last. Thus the three authorities for Chôla history that are now known, do not give
a regular genealogy for this period, and one may doubt if it will ever be possible to reconstruct
it and to determine the dates of these kings from Chôla inscriptions alone. There is only one
Varaguna mentioned in the traditional lists of the Pândya kings. Consequently, the informa-
tion that we now possess for Pândya history, offers no obstacles to the identification of
the Varaguna-Pândya of the Biña inscription with the Varaguna of the Tirumaîiyâdatpurânam.
This purâsa has a chapter
which describes how the ‘god at Madura’ sent the great musician
Biña-Bhadrâ with a letter to Sêramân Purnamâl, the Chôra king, who was a contemporary
of the Saiva devotee Sundaramurti-Nâyanâr. The letter directed the Chôra king to give
presents to the musician, which was duly done. The same event is referred to in that chapter of
the Periyapurânam which gives an account of the life of Sêramân Purnamâl. In this narra-
tive we have perhaps to take ‘the god at Madura’ to mean the Pândya king. If this suggestion
is correct, it would imply that the Chôra king was a vassal of the Pândya. From the Tirmâlai-
âdatpurânam we also learn that the old college (jâlam) of Madura was established during the
reign of a certain Vanâsâkkhâra-Pândya, and was provided with a miraculous seat (palagad) by
the god Sundarâsvâra.

The second of the works enumerated as throwing some light on the Pândya history, is the
Periyapurânam. The accounts contained in this work may be considered less open to question,
as many of the statements made in it have been strongly confirmed by recent discoveries.
As the author of the work does not profess to write a history, but only the lives of the sixty-three
devotees of Siva, the historical information contained in it is only incidental. One of these
sixty-three devotees was Nêduâmâna, a Pândya king. He is described as having been victorious
in the battle of Nâlîvâlî. This is probably Tinnevelly (Tirunelveli). As the battle was
fought in the Pândya country itself, it implies that the king only succeeded in repelling an
invader from the North or from Ceylon. We are told that he married a daughter of the Chôla
king, whose name is not mentioned, that he was originally a Jaina by religion, and that his
queen, who was a Saiva at heart, sent for the great Tirumaînasambandar, who succeeded in
converting the king to the Saiva religion through a miraculous cure of his malady, which
the Jaina priests could not make any impression upon. The date of this Pândya king and, with
it, that of Tirumaînasambandar are still wrapped in mystery. That Dr. Caldwell’s identification
of this king, who was also called Sundara-Pândya, with Marco Polo’s “Sonder Bandî” is in-
correct, and that the three great Saiva devotees Tirumaînasambandar, Tirumânâvakaraiyâr and
Sundaramurti-Nâyanâr must have flourished prior to the eleventh century A.D., is, however,

Sir Walter Elliot, in his Coins of Southern India, p. 123 ff. has published six lists of Pândya kings. In the
first, two kings are mentioned with the same Varaguna, while each of the other five mentions only one king of that
name.

1888.

42 Chapter 57 of the Madras edition of 1884.
44 Nêlîvâlî vengi ngâra Nêrundera, “Nêrundera,” Nêrundera, whose fortune was constant (and) who gained (the battle of)
Nâlîvâlî, occurs in verse 8 of the Tirmâlaiâdatpurânam, which contains a list of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, and which
was composed by Sundaramurti-Nâyanâr.

clearly established by inscriptions found in the great temple at Tanjore. The *Perigappāṭṭu* informs us that one of the Chōḷa kings ruled also over the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This was the Saiva devotee Kōḻi-Chaṅgaṭi-Chōḷa-Nāyaṇār, who was also called Sōṅgaṉār. The same king is, as stated above, mentioned in the large Leyden grant as one of the ancestors of the Chōḷa king Vijayālaya. His conquest of one of the Chēra kings is described in a small work called *Kulavuññāpadu*, the text and translation of which have been published in this *Journal* (ante, Vol. XVIII, pp. 258-265). The *Perigappāṭṭu* tells us that he built several temples of Siva in different places. Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār refers in his *Tēvāram* to one at Nāṇpilam in the Tanjore district, and Sundaramūrti’s predecessor, Tirunāgasambandar, to another at Tiru-Ambar. This last reference furnishes us with one of the limits for the period of the latter poet, the other limit being the time of Sēramiṉ Perumāḷ, who was a contemporary of the former poet.

Another of the Tamil works which may be of use to the student of Pāṇḍya history, is the *Pattappāṭṭu* (i.e., "the ten poems"). As the name implies, it consists of ten poems, or rather idyls, composed by different members of the college of Madura, to which reference has already been made. Of these, two are dedicated to Neṇṭunjeliyān, a Pāṇḍya king. The first of these two, called Madurai-kkāṇji, was composed by Marudāṇār of Māigūdī, and the second, called Neṇṭunaiyāndai, by Nakkirinār, the president of the college. The first refers to a battle fought at Talai-Aḷāṅgān by the Pāṇḍya king against the Chēra and the Chōḷa kings and same minor chiefs. Some of the ancestors of Neṇṭunjeliyān are also incidentally mentioned. The name of one of them was Vaṭṭimbalambanimagr-Pāṇḍiyān according to the commentary. This, however, could not have been the actual name of the king, but only a *biruda*. Another of the ancestors of Neṇṭunjeliyān was Pat-iḻaṟ-iḻai-motion-kuṟdu-Pēruvāḷi, whose piety is very highly spoken of. As I shall have occasion to speak of this king in an article on another Pāṇḍya grant which I am going to publish, I shall now be content with a mere mention of his name.

The last of the Tamil works above enumerated, as being of some use to students of Pāṇḍya history, is the *Purappāṭṭu*. This work is unpublished, and consequently, the historical value of its contents cannot now be stated precisely. The *Purappāṭṭu* is said to describe in detail the battle of Talai-Aḷāṅgān, which is referred to in the *Madurai-kkāṇji*. Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai, M. A., of the Maharaja’s College at Trivandrum, refers, in an article published in the August number of Vol. IX of the Madras Christian College Magazine, to another work called "Eraiyānd Arapparul." This work, he adds, is generally ascribed to Nakkirar and celebrates the prowess of a Pāṇḍya king who is called Arikēsari, Varōḍaiya, Pārākūr from Vichāri, and mentions amongst his conquests "Villinjam (near Trivandrum), Kottar (near Nagercoil), Naraiyaru, Chēvoor, Kadaiyal, Anukudi and Tinnelvelly." It is thus clear that Tamil literature is not devoid of works that throw some light on Pāṇḍya history. Their contents, however, have not been appreciated, because we have not had the means to test their usefulness. It is important here to note that the Sinhalese Chronicles might, with advantage, be consulted to elucidate some of the points in Pāṇḍya history, which may be left obscure by Tamil literature and the Pāṇḍya inscriptions.

As I have already remarked, the subjoined inscription opens with six Sanskrit verses. Of these, the first invokes Brahman, the second Vishṇu and the third Siva. This might be taken as an indication of the non-sectarian creed of the reigning king. As, however, he has the *biruda*

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48 South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. Nos. 38 and 41.
49 *Tēvāram*—iḻai-motion-kuṟdu Sōṅgaṉār, ‘Sōṅgaṉār who became a Pāṇḍya and ruled the world,’ occurs in verse 11 of the *Tiruttutuṭṭatiṟṟu*.
50 Page 14 of the Madras edition of 1884.
51 The following are the names of the minor chiefs (koku-nilai-sōṅgaṉār) mentioned on page 169 of Purāññ V. Śāmīkiṭāiyar’s edition: Tīḍiyūḷ, Kēḷiṇi, Kubamāṇi, Ironiṭo, Vumāṇi and Purnāṇi.
52 Page 180 of the same.
53 Page 339 of the same; in the text of the poem (p. 159, line 79) Pat-iḻaṟ-iḻai-motion-kuṟdu-Pēruvāḷi occurs.
54 See note 1 on page 169 of the same.
parama-Vaishāvya, 'the most devoted follower of Vishnu,' in line 51, and as, in l. 35 f., he is reported to have built a temple to Vishnu, we have to understand that the king, though a worshipper of Vishnu, was not intolerant towards other religions. The fourth verse describes the Pāṇḍya race as descended from the Moon as ancestor. The fifth refers to Māravarman and some of his ancestors, and describes him as the 'destroyer of the Pallavas' ('Pallava-bhāną-Ja'). The sixth verse describes his son Jātiavarman. The Tamil portion is dated during the seventeenth year of the reign of Nēḍēṇ̄Jaʃaiyāṇa. Evidently, Jātiavarman and Nēḍēṇ̄Jaʃaiyāṇa denote the same individual and are synonymous. Jāti is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil Saʃaiyāṇ (one who has matted hair), a name which is also applied to Śiva.46 The adjective Nēdu may qualify the word sāda, and the name would then mean 'one whose matted hair is long.' But it is more probable that Nēdu has to be understood as a sort of title prefixed to the names of some of the Pāṇḍya kings. In line 61 of the Maduraikkōli, a Tamil poem already referred to, one of the Pāṇḍya kings is called Nēdiyōn. Nēdumān of the Periyapurāṇam and Nēdujianyōn of the Patuppattu are names in which the prefix Nēdu is used as a title. If translated, these two names might mean 'the tall Pāṇḍya.' The names Nēdumān, Nēdujianyōn and Nēduʃaiyāṇa are quite similar, and one is almost tempted to think that they must have denoted the same individual. Beyond this similarity of the mere names we possess no materials for their identification. In the present inscription, the king Nēduʃaiyāṇa is called Tēŋaʃan, Vāņavan and Sembian. Tēŋaʃan or Tēŋa, 'the king of the South,' is used as a title of a Pāṇḍya king in Tamil inscriptions and literature. Vāņavan and Sembian are titles applied to the Chēra and Chōla kings, respectively. The fact that this Pāṇḍya king assumed the Chēra and Chōla titles, shows that he conquered those kings, or was, at least, believed to have done so. A similar fact in connection with Chōla history is revealed by the title Mūmuṭi-Chōla, which was assumed by one at least of the Chōla kings. Mūmuṭi-Chōla means 'the Chōla king who wore three crowns, viz. the Chēra, the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya crowns.'47 After giving the above-mentioned titles of the king, the Tamil portion of the inscription enters into an account of his military achievements which occupies nearly two plates. The battles of Vēļūr,48 Vinnam and Soḷiyakkudi against an unknown enemy are first mentioned. The king next attacks a certain Adyaŋ and puts him to flight in the battles of Ayiravēlī, Aiyirū,49 and Fugaliyūr. The Pallavas and Kēralas, who are his allies, are also attacked and defeated. The king of Western Kōngu is subsequently attacked, and his elephants and banner taken as spoil. The whole of Kōngu is then subdued, and 'the noisy drum sounds his (i.e. the king's) name throughout Kaukabhāṃ.' The king enters Kāṇjavēppērū, and builds a temple 'resembling a hill' to Vishnu. The ruler of Vēnu is then conquered and put to death; his town of Vēļītam, 'whose fortifications are as strong as those of the fort in Laiṅkā,' is destroyed, and 'his elephants, horses, family treasure and good country' captured. The Pāṇḍya king afterwards builds a wall with a stone ditch round the town of Karavandaparama.

46 A facsimile of the seal of the Tiruppāvasam copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which are published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. pp. 21-33, is given on page 123 of Sir W. Elliot's Cosm of Southern India. It contains a Sanskrit inscription which ends with the name Jātiavarman. In line 15 of the first plate of the inscription occurs the Tamil form of this name, viz. Saʃaiyāṇa. Jātiavarman, and in line 14, the actual name of the king, Kūkalakuravadeva. 47 See note 14, above. 48 In the Tiruppāvasam copper-plate grant the name Vēļūr-kūrčheči occurs twice (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. p. 22, Pl. 21, figs. 3 and 5) in the description of the boundaries of the granted village. As the word kūrčheči is not found in Tamil dictionaries, it is probable that kūrčheči is a mistake, if not a misreading, for kūrčhe, which has almost the same meaning as the word puruša, which precedes the name Vēļūr in the text of the present inscription. Vēļūr-kūrčheči means 'Vēļūr, (which is) a village belonging to a hilly or forest tract,' and parjavāl Vēļūr which occurs in the text, would mean 'Vēļūr, (which is situated) in a forest or hilly tract.' Consequently, it is not impossible that the two villages are the same. Mr. Sewell in his Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 248, mentions a village called Vēļūr in the Malabar district, which is 23 miles north-north-west of Cannanore. Another village of the same name is mentioned in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. p. 77, text line 60. 49 It is not certain if Ayiravēlī and Aiyirū have to be taken as denoting two distinct villages. It is not impossible that Aiyirū is the name of the village and Ayirū-velī means 'one thousand vedi of cultivated land.'
The battle of Sejiyakkuli was one of the first fought by the king. The name which means ‘the Pandya village,’ might indicate that it was situated in the Pandya country. If it was, the battle must have been fought either against a foreign invader or a rebellious feudatory. It is not apparent who Adiyappan was, against whom the king next turned his arms. Ayiravati, where one of the battles against Adiya was fought, was probably included in the Chola dominions, as it is said to have been situated on the northern bank of the Kaveri. The fact that the Pallava and Keralia kings were his allies, might indicate that he was not a minor chief. These considerations lead to the inference that he was probably a Chola. Nejirajadayan calls himself Sembiyan (i.e. the Chola), but the conquest of the Cholas is not explicitly stated in the historical introduction, and no Chola king of the name Adiya is known. The kings of that dynasty had, each of them, several names and many birudas. There are, however, only two cases known from inscriptions, of wars between the Chola and Pandya kings, in which the names of the contending kings are given. Of these, the first is the war between Rajasingha-Pandya and the Chola king Parantaka I, which is mentioned in the inscription of the Bapa king Hastimalla, and the second is that between the Chola king Adityara-Karikala and Vira-Pandya, which is referred to in the large Leyden grant. It is more probable that Adiya was identical with the king of Western Kongo, who was captured by Nejirajadayan. Adigaiman, also called Adiga, is mentioned in the Periya- puram as an enemy of the Saiva devotee Pugali-Sula, a Chola king whose capital was Karuvur (i.e. Karur in the Coimbatore district). Adigaiman and Elijah are mentioned in the unpublished Tamil work Purandhara, as kings, in whose praise the well-known Tamil poetess Avanayar composed several verses. In his South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 106, Dr. Hultzsch has published an inscription which refers to certain images set up by Adigaiman Elijah, and to their repair by a successor of his, who was called Vyamuka-ravandiyval (in Tamil, Vedukkadaigiyiya), the lord of Takaata, and who was the son of a certain Rajaraja. This Takaata has probably been identified with Takaadar, which is referred to in the Purandhara as having been captured by a Chera king. The syllables which are transcribed as Kanjivayappadur, may also be written Kaniyivayppadur. In Sundaramurti-Nayagar's Tevaram (Foster Press edition, 1883, p. 114; Arunachala Madaliyar's 3rd edition of the Periya puram, 1884, pp. 7 and 22) Kaniyivayppadur is mentioned. But there is no clue given as to the situation or the village. Consequently, we cannot decide whether the village mentioned in the present inscription has to be identified with that referred to in the Tevaram or not. Besides, Kaniyiv or Kaniyivay is reported to be the name of a village in the Tanjore district. The name Kaniyivayppadur may also be explained as ‘the large village in or near Kaniy, i.e. Kannipuram. The building of a temple to Vishnu at this village might then refer to the construction of the Varadaraja temple at Little Conjeevaram, which is not far from the Pallava capital Kanchi. Kanyakabumi, ‘the land of kites,’ might then be taken for Tirukkaalukkuran, a few miles distant from Chingleput. But the conquests which are recorded in this part of the inscription, relate mostly to the western half of Southern India. Besides, if Kanyakabumi is pronounced as it is written, it does not rhyme with Koghabumi which it ought to do. Consequently, though the name is written Kanyakabumi, the second of the k's being Grantha, the composer evidently pronounced it Koghabumi, which is the Tamil form of Gaubhabumi, the

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60 A name quite similar to Sejiyakkuli is Vembasari, which occurs three times in the Tiruppavam grant (Plate xi. a, line 9; Plate xii. b, lines 4 and 8). The second and third Sentences of note 60 read as follows:—Vembasari means ‘one who wears (a garland of flowers) of the vembu (the margosa or asa tree, Azadirachta Indica).’ The Pandya king is often represented in Tamil literature as wearing a garland of margosa flowers. Consequently, Vembasari denotes the Pandya king, and the village is evidently called after him.

61 For example, K-Bajakasaivarunnaa etias Bajargajadha had the following birudas:—Sola Anmol, Mummoji-Chola, Bajara, Nityavirodha and Sripadukshakara (Christian College Magazine, Vol. VIII. p. 271). And his son K-Paracanasivarunnaa etias Rajaendra-Cholajadeva was also called Madhurantaka, Gaubgala-Ko-ji and Uttama-Chola.

62 Tirukkaalukkuran, ‘the sacred hill of the kites,’ is the name given to the hill as well as the village close to it. The village is sometimes also called Pakkiyarivtha, ‘the bathing-place of the birds (i.e. kites);’ see ante, Vol. X. p. 199 f.
well-known Gaṅga country. That such incorrect spellings were not uncommon in ancient days, is shown by an inscription of the great temple at Tanjore (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 35, line 156), in which the word *chaturvedimāṇagalam* is written *chaturvedimīnakalam*. Its connection with the town of Kāṇchī being thus rendered improbable, Kāṇjivāya-pūrṇar may have to be understood as ‘the large village of Kāṇjivāyil or Kāṇchivāyil,’ the *rū* which ought to have been the result of *sankhā* between *l* and *p*, having been assimilated and its place taken by a second *p*. In Tamil dictionaries, Vēṅ is mentioned as one of the twelve districts, where *Kōṇ-Chikil* (i.e. vulgar Tamil) used to be spoken. Vēṅi, which is mentioned in the inscription immediately before Vēṅ, is probably ‘Vilimā’ which, as has been already stated, was a place in Travancore captured by one of the Pāṇḍya kings. From the manner in which Vēṅi and Vēṅ are mentioned in the inscription, it may be concluded that the former was one of the towns, if not the capital of the latter. According to Mr. W. Logan’s Malabar (Vol. I. p. 240, note 2), Vēṇādu was, in ancient times, identical with the modern state of Travancore. Karavandapurum is the last place mentioned in the historical introduction. Karavantapura is mentioned in a small Vaṭṭeluttu inscription, which, with the permission of Dr. Hultsch, I publish below from a photograph received from by Dr. Burgess.

**TEXT.**

1 Srī [ṣ]** Ko-Maṇa-Jadaiyarku
2 rājya-vārjanaham aravadu sēlla-
3 nirpa markavarku maha-
4 sāmantān-āgīya Karavantapur-ādhi-
5 vāsi Vaiyyan Pāṇḍi-Ami-
6 rdamaṅgalav-araiyan ājy*ū-
7 pa Sattai-Gaṇavadi ti-
8 ruttuvittadu tīru-k[ū]*[j] ;[j]j-
9 lum srī-taḍāgamum idaṃ=ul-*a-
10 rām-n[a]damum !! m[a]rr=ava-
11 rku dharma-[pa]mnā āgīya Na-
12 kāṇgpoyrīyār cheya-
13 ppatadu Durggā-dēvī-kō-
14 [y]* īlum Jēśhitai-kō[ṣ]* īlum [l]*

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63 Examples of similar assimilation are: *adapada* for *nārīpadu* (forty), *kēppaṇam* for *kēppaṇam* or *kē-panam* (a quarter femam) and *kēkkil* for *kēkkil* or *kē-kōli* (a quarter cash). The village of Kāṇchivāyil is mentioned in Mr. Foulkes’ inscriptions of the Pallava king Nandivarman and its Tamil endorsement, and in the grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and its Tamil endorsement. About its position Mr. Foulkes remarks as follows in the Salem Manual, Vol. II. p. 354:—“It is clear that Kāṇchivāyil lay, either wholly or in principal part, on the right bank of the Pāṇḍ in the upper, or upper-middle, part of its course, somewhere above Vēḷlore.” The large Leyden grant (lines 96 ff) and some of the Tanjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. Nos. 9 and 10) mention an officer of Rājarṣēdeva who was a native of Kāṇchivāyil. From an unpublished inscription of the ruined temple at Kēlam-kandālam in the Arcoṭ taluk, North Arcot district, it appears that this village belonged to Rēgar- Avali in Uyyakond-aralānākālu, which last was, according to a Tanjore inscription (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 4, p. 47), situated between the rivers Kērul and Kāvē. Kāṇchivāyil is mentioned in a Tamil inscription dated Saka 1467, which is published in the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. pp. 154-156. It is not improbable that the village of Kāṇchivāyil which is mentioned in the inscriptions published by the Bēv. T. Foulkes, was situated in the Koṅgu country. If it was, it may be the same as the koṅgu inscription, granted that there was not more than one village of that name in the Koṅgu country.

64 Among the conquests of Kōlōttunga-Chōla, the Kāṭākṣaṭu-Paraṇśi (canto vi. verse 71) mentions Vēṅi, which was very probably identical with the Vēṅiyan of the present inscription and with the ‘Vēṅyan’ mentioned in the "Ekaśyana Aggappati" (note, p. 64).

65 Vaiyyan is a corruption of the Sanskrit Vaidyā, which actually occurs as the name of a family in line 73 of the copper-plate inscription which is the subject of this paper.

66 Read dharma-pataṁ. The apparent length of the vowel in *p* on the photograph may be due to the bad position of the impressions before photographing. If this is the case, pataṁ for pataṁ would be a mistake similar to that of rama sa rama which occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Rēgar-aval temple at Tanjore (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 46, lines 9, 10 and 50).
TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! While the sixth year of the reign of Kō-Māraṇi-Jaḍaiyaṇ was current, Sattan Gaṇapati, who was his (i.e., the king’s) great feudatory (māhā-saṃvāta), who resided in the village of Karavanta-pura, (who belonged to) the Vaidya (race), (and) who was the chief of Pāṇḍi-Aṃra-dāmasaṅgam, repaired the sacred temple, the sacred tank (ātri-tāḍāga) and (all) that is charitable (in connection with) this (tank). Besides, Nakkaṅgiṛi, who was his lawful wife, built a temple of the goddess Durgā and a temple of Jyēśthā. 87

As is seen from the above translation, this inscription is dated during the sixth year of the reign of Kō-Māraṇi-Jaḍaiyaṇ, and mentions a certain Sattan Gaṇapati, who was the chief of Pāṇḍi-Aṃra-dāmasaṅgam, and was living in the village of Karavanta-pura, which is very probably identical with the Karavanda-puram mentioned in the subjoined inscription. The characters in which the above short inscription is engraved, are the same as those of the present one. It is therefore not impossible that both of them belong to the reign of the same king.

In the long historical introduction of the subjoined inscription, there is no clue as to the date of the grant. As palaeography is a very unsafe guide in determining even the approximate dates of South-Indian inscriptions, we must wait for further researches to enable us to ascertain the date of the Pândya king Neṇuṇa-jaḍaiyaṇ. This inscription records the grant of the village of Vēlaṅguḍi in Teṃ-Keṭalavati-nāḍu, whose name was subsequently changed into Śrīvara-maṅgam. The donee was Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa, the son of Siḥa-Miśā, who lived in the village of Sabdāli, which had been granted to the Brāhmaṇas of the country of Magadha. Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa may be a vulgar form of the name Sujjata-Bhaṭṭa. The name Siḥa-Miśā shows that the donee’s father must have been an immigrant from Northern India. Siḥa is the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit siṣaḥ, and Miśa is a title borne by some of the Brāhmaṇas of Northern India. It is extremely interesting to learn that there was a colony of Magadha Brāhmaṇas settled in the Pândya country. The circumstances under which, and the time when, this settlement took place, are not known. The ājānapti of the grant was Dhṛtarāṣṭra Mūrti-Eyipat, the great feudatory of the king and the chief of Viramaṅgam, who was born in the village of Vangalaṇa. Special reference is made to the excellence which his family had attained in music.

Some of the graphical peculiarities of the Tamil portion of the subjoined inscription require to be noted here. As in all other Tamil and Vaṭṭelutta inscriptions, the long e and the long o are not marked, though I have, for practical reasons, made these marks in the transcript. The distinction between long and short i is not strictly observed. The i in karudi (line 54) and vali (line 80) seem to be distinctly long. In line 48, the i of vir appears to be short. In line 52, ni in nin and ni in nila are exactly alike. In the Sanskrit portion (line 8) ṣriyaṁ may also be read ṣriyam. Mēkku is written mekkatu in line 65. The most important, however, of these peculiarities is, that the rules of Tamil sāndhi are not observed in many cases. Of these the following may be noted:

| Line 20, ānai oruṅguḍan instead of ānai-y oruṅguḍan. | Line 21, ṭadā-oli | ādā-oli.
| 24. mā-irum | māv-irum.
| 24f. ą-ırı | āyira. |

87 Jyēśthā or, in Tamil, Siṭṭai or Mūḍi, ‘the elder sister,’ is the goddess of misfortune, who is believed to be the elder sister of Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. p. 60, note 7.

88 The Tiruppūrappam copper-plate grant, which has been referred to more than once, mentions a village called Vēlaṅguḍi (Plate xi. a, line 13) and a river called Keṭalavati-nāḍu (Plate xi. a, lines 8 and 19). Perhaps the village of Vēlaṅguḍi granted by the present inscription belonged to a district which was situated to the south of the above-mentioned river, and which was, consequently, called Teṃ-Keṭalavati-nāḍu. Compare the name Vajjakara, Ṛṣṭhīnirmeṣha-valamā throttle, which occurs repeatedly in the Taṇjore inscriptions (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. No. 4, paragraphs 18, and pāsēm), and in which Vajjakara, ‘the northern bank,’ is used with reference to the river Kēvērī.
Of these I have corrected only ćō-il and ā-tra in the text, because the former is likely to be misunderstood, and the latter is distinctly wrong. In some of the other cases, the sankhti, though optional in usage, would be necessary according to the rules of grammar. Among the rest, there is a considerable number of cases in which the sankhti is not optional. Such violations of the rules of grammar are not uncommon in other inscriptions; but there is an unusually large number of them in this grant. Many of these anomalous cases occur in the historical introduction (II. 19 to 46) which is in High Tamil, where they are not expected. The fact that the small Vaṭṭeḷattu inscription published above, also contains some of these peculiarities, shows that they were not merely local. The style of the whole of the Tamil portion of the subjoined inscription is almost free from mistakes, and shows that the composer could not have been ignorant of the rules of sankhti if they had been commonly in use. These rules could not have been absolutely unknown as they are observed in a few cases in this grant. Consequently, we are led to the conclusion that the rules of sankhti, which are given in Tamil grammars, were not universally recognized and followed in the Tamil country, at the time when these inscriptions were composed. But this inference cannot be established without comparing a large number of other inscriptions belonging to the same period.

TEXT.

First Plate.

[On the left margin] Svasti [I*]

1 Brahma vyanjita-vivesa-tantram-anaghām vaktraeis-chaturbhir-griñan-bibhad-balas-patnāga-puṅga-

2 latara-chekhāyaṁ-jatā-mañḍalāṁ [I*] añyan-nābhi-saṁra-prasūti-kamalaṁ Vaiṣṇoṁ-

3 kaś chrome put(atu) pramadarāįa-bhavāṁ puñyā muniḥ a [I*] yasmiñ-ādvīr-bhavati para-

4 māṁṣcharyabhihotād-viṇḍāṁ yasmiñ-ēva praviṣati punarvīvisvamāṁsta-paramāṁ-

5 ntā [I*] tat-viś-chhandonayana-tanu vayō-viñānam-daitya-gāṁtya jyōtiḥ pūtā dya-

6 ni-jita-nav-ammbbōdam-ammbhōja-nāṭram a [2*] aṁhas-saṁghatīha-hāriṇoṁ-ati-dṛdrha-

7 maḥ-bhaktāṁ yayōḥ kurvavitāṁ-atrāmatra cha sambhavanty-avikalas-samapa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 ttayō déhinām [I*] usta[ñ]a-śumberha-śriyam kalayato yāsahñittama[ñ]a[II*]-

9 ge lassha-maulau nākassadām Pina-kīchharanau tau vaś-chiram raksha-

* Read “ādihīṭhāyakāḥ.
  " Read “sankhti.”
  " Read yēravā.”
10 tām & [3*] Ahur-mānla-paikritam-amrita-ajñōtitaśaṁ yasya devam yasyām =Ā-
11 gastyō vijita-Nahash-āmbhūti-Vindhyā paśūdāhā [1*] saāvad-bhogyā
dālōhi-raśana yōna viśvambharaśyan sūyān-ṛggaṁyējati yasa-
12 sā pāndarāh Paṇḍya-vānāh = [4*] asmin Vāsava-hāra-hāriṣa mahā-ka-
13 ĺp-āpād-uttārīsuh Śvargābhāsā-Jalāsā-Bharata-aya-Vīṣṇushu yātēsav-a-
14 tāh [1*] jātaḥ Pallava-bhaṇjanānvi samarē sarvva-samābhāṣād-bal-ānmaṁd-aantā-
15 । Gāvī bhūma-ka

Second Plate; Second Side.
16 takaḥ Ścī-Śrāvavarmma niropaḥ = [5*] tasmat=Ṭarādhināḥbād=Budha iva vibudhahā
17 t=Pradyumna dyumna-dāhūnas=Triputrabdha iv-ādyukta-ākṣiḥ Kumāraḥ [1*] jātō
18 Jambhari-kalpo
19 jagati Jāṭilavarmma-eti vikhyāta-kṛttih sarvāv-ārvāv-āru-garvva-graha-dahana-vidhān-
19 ĺpā-patalaḥ = [6*] Annāg-aṛi=a dar-kadira-neha-vēr-Raṇaḥ Vaṇavana Se-
20 mbiyaḥ Vaḍa-varaira-ivrāgāvala=a ěrāvadadā-ādāoli-munnir-ulana mu-
21 ĺd-aljjikam vali-kejī-tiṇi-dōn-manggaiv perumāṇ=ṛṇu-alas-ādī tem=bu
22 ṛa-karaśi-ppi=ma-ma=mā-ma=ra=mā=mā=ra=ra=va
23 ivalī Vinnas-je-
23 liyakudi ěṛu-ivrāvṛt=tevvar=alīya=kkōdū-jāli3\textsuperscript{73} ap-
24 ruklī vālaṇītum [1*] mā-irum perum-buṇaḥ Kāvīri vaḍa-karai ā-
25 [y]jirāvēli Ayirūr tankulam Pugalīyurūn=tiqal-vēl=Ādiyā

Third Plate; First Side.
26 ni= ĺḍa purāṅgānd-avān=oli-udai-maṇi-tātē=ādāl-vem-[a]-dāvai-
27 udān kavandum [1*] Pallavanam-Kēralaṇam=ūng=ṅgavku=ppa-ū-
28 g=āgī=ppa-padā-ōdā pār ěliya=ppavvaṁ=ēṇa=p paranē=ēju
29 ndu kuṭa-pālun-guṇa-pālunm-āṇga vandu viṇ=iruppa vēl
29 padā-ōdā mē mrb=che=a=ān-guṇa-vai-un=iru-pālunm=ḍa=ya=
30 ppādai viditvā Kkuṇa-Kongatt saḍaṁ maṇaṇi=kko-kalip-
31 rrōkūn=koṇḍuv pūṇa koṇi aṇi-maṇi-neu-maṇi-ṇṇaṇa madil aga
32 ttu vaitu Kkaṅkabhūmī adan=alavun=gaṇi-muruṇa taṇ piyar=āraiyā K-
33 kongabhūmi aṇi-ppaduttu=kkoṇḍū-jāli ēṣa=tiqivituu=ppūpāj
35 lai-aṇi-maṇi=Raṇjivyapprērūr pukku-Tiṭremlākk-amaṁ-

Third Plate; Second Side.
36 d=uraṇya=kkūtraṇa-rnāṇa=dr-kō[y*]jil=ākki-um [1*] āli-mmunar=agav=ā[ā]-
37 go gāl-vāntat=ṛagd=ṛunaṇum pāli-nō-madil parand=ōgī-sp-
38 pagalaṇaṁ=agalar=ōdum anīy-aṅgāliya?=ara=ṇi=ārī maṇi-
39 y-īaṅgaṇe=daṇ-maṇi-madil Viḻiṇam-aduv=alīya=kkōra-
40 vēlā urai nīkkī veṛra-tānai Vēn-maṇnaṇai vēṛ=alit-
41 tāvān vilu-nīdiōdā kuṇaṇa-uu ṭulai-kkāriūṇ-gūnda nāv-Μū[a]nūnam=a[m]-
42 ṇmāvūn=kula-bhānaṇaṁ=nug-nām-avai kopāṇuṃ [1*] arāvinda-mukhat-
43 t=liyavara=nnu-gaṁ=ambugaḷ=pōr-maṅḍar pulamb=ey-
44 dum pōn-maṇi-neu-vīdī=Kkaravandapuram poliy=eyda=kkāṇ-aga-
45 rad=ōr-ball-agaḷōu viśumbu tōundu mugi=ruṇjilal-a-

Fourth Plate; First Side.
46 śuṁba=arádav-agaṇ=enni-nedh-maṇi-madil vaiḍiv-amaṇiitum [1*] ēva-
47 maṇi-viktamaṇa=ttuṇetiō-pala seyaṇa maṇi-maṇi-Kkōda-
48 1 pukku Malar-maṇi-maṇi viri-irundu Manu-darśita-mārggattipāl
Fourth Plate; Second Side.

56 l virumbappadam Bhārygava-gōtra-sambhūtan Āśvalāyana-sūtra-
57 tta Bahvrijan Sihu-Misraṅku magan-āgi yajñā-vidyai-oḍeṇ-
58 jāda-śāstraṅgalai-κkaraṇa-κaṅda Saj̤aṅa-Bhaṭṭaṅkū-Tton-Kaḷa-
59 vall-ntu Vēḷaṅguḍiyai-puṇḍai-ttaṅ palam-bē
gā-koḷaṅnaiyum miśṭiṣṭhiyum [u] Satāṅga sarvva-
61 r nīkki Śrīvara-maṅgaḷam-eṇa-ppiyar-īṭtu brahma-śyam-ā
gō-kkaraṅnaiyum miśṭiṣṭhiyum [u] Satāṅga sarvva-
62 parihuṅam-gō-tn-mārōd-āṭ[t]i-kkudukkappati [1]\[t]
63 g-idaṅ peru-māṅg-eļḷai [1]\[t] [k]įITICAL [k]įITICAL
64 ñgalatt-eļḷaiṅkm Milandiyaṅkuḍi eļļaim
65 mēkkun-tēṇ-eļḷaiṅk Perumagarrū-eļḷaim-Kallī-
66 kkuṅi eļļaim Kuddi eļļaim
67 i-eļḷaiṅ Kaḍambaṅguḍi eļļaim
68 eļļaim-kuṅi-kjaṅkkuvaṅ Kārāa-
69 vayal-eļḷaiṅk-ｔｔेṛkkuṅm=ivr-iṣiṅtta pe
70 ra-māṅg-eļḷaiṅ agatu=kkkuṅ-gal[i]ṇa

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

71 tti manṇavaṇaṇu pāṭiyināl vaḍīv-amai
72 ya piṅī śūndāṅ Pāṇḍyāṅku maṭaṅga-jaṅḍhya-khaṇa-
73 n Paṅdi-ilaṅgo-maṅgaḷa-ppēr-araišaṅ-
74 giya Koḷuṅuṛ-koḷuṛṛattu-Kkoḷuṇuṛ-uṣc ṣa-
75 ñgaṅ-Siridaraṅ [1][t]
76 y-ttāmra-saṅsana-jevyittāṅ vādya-ge-
77 ya-saṅgoḷtāṅgalāṅ=maliv-seydiya Vanga

Sixth Plate; First Side.

78 landai Vaiḍya-kula manṭaṁaṇtāṁ-āy maṛṛ-an.īsaṁai
79 gnaṅarku máṛṛ-śamantaṁ-āy Virampaṅga-ppēr-araiśaṁai
80 vali-tulaṅkkum Dhiruṭarāṅ Mūṛṭi-Eyinaṅ [1][t] maṛṛ-iḍaṁai-
81 g-āgiya Mūṛṛ-śamantaṁ-āy Virampaṅga-ppēr-araiśaṁai
82 kkattāraṅ malaṅ-āḍi eṇ mūḍita mēlaṇa-e
83 gru koṛravaṇeṇ paṇti-aruļi-ṭṭeṛ-eṇa

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

84 tamra-saṅsana-jevyittāṅ II Brahmadāya-paṇpā-
85 landaṛ-рит n-anṭyad-astī bhuvī dharmma-saḍhanam [1]\[t] tasya ch-āgaha-
86 ṛgaṇ-ритa tatha n-anṭyad-astī bhuvī pāpa-saḍhanam [II] Bahubhi-
87 ṛṛ-vasūṇdhā datā ṛajaḥbhi-Sagar-ādībhī [1][t] yasya yasaṁ yadā bhū-
88 mis-tasya tasya tadā phalam II na vishan vishan=ty-śuṛṛ-bhramaśaṁ vi-
89 šham=uchyaṭe [1][t] vishan=ekākinaḥ hanti brahmaśaṁ putra-pautri-
Seventh Plate.

90 kam kam Brahmasva-rakshanād-nayat-puṣya-mūlan-sm vidyatē [18] tasy-ātīlaṅgha-
91 nādi-nayat-pāpa-mūlan-sm vidyatē 5a Pāṇḍi-purum-baṇai-kāraṇ ma-
92 gaṇ Pāṇḍi-purum-baṇai-kāraṇ-agīya Arikēsā
93 ri
ejutta ||

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion.

Hail!

(Verse 1.) May that pure ancient sage (Brahmā) — who resides in the primeval lotus, which has sprung out of the tank of Viṣṇu’s navel, who invokes with his four months the sinless Brahman (i.e. the Veda), which has revealed all sciences, and who bears a mass of matted hair, the colour of which is redder than the morning sun — maintain for a long time your joy!

(2.) May that extremely wonderful lustre (of Viṣṇu), — whose body consists of the Veda, who rides on a bird, who destroys the Daityas, whose splendour surpasses that of a new cloud (in blackness), who has lotus eyes, from whom this universe springs at the beginning of the Yuga, and into whom it again enters at the end of the Yuga, — protect you!

(3.) May that pair of feet of Pūrṇākī (Śiva), which remove all sins, by practising strict devotion to which, perfect success is produced to men in this world and in the next, and which appear to be lotuses (placed) as ornaments on the heads, — (which bear) glittering diadems, — of the gods, — protect you for a long time!

(4.) May that Pāṇḍya race, — which is white with fame, by which this earth, that has the ocean for its girdle, has been perpetually enjoyed, the first ancestor of which is said to be the nectar-rayed god (i.e. the Moon), and the family priest of which was Agastya, who vanquished Nāhusha, the ocean and the Vindhya (mountain), — be victorious for a long time!

(5.) In this (race), after those who had deprived Vāsava (Indra) of his garland, who had survived the disaster of the great Kāla, and who were famous by victories over the lord of heaven (Indra), the lord of the waters (Varuṇa) and Bhārata (Agni), had passed away, was born the illustrious king Māravarman who, though he destroyed the Pallava in battle, captured terrible armies (kataka) of rutting elephants by crushing the armies of all rulers of the earth.

(6.) Just as the wise Budha (sprang) from the lord of stars (the Moon), Pradyumna from the first Padmanābha (Krishṇa), and Kumār (Subrahmanyā) (who wears) an active lance, from the destroyer of Tripura (Śiva), (who is) an abode of lustre, so, from him (i.e. Māravarman) was born (a son), who was renowned in the world by the name Jātillavarman, who was equal to Jambhāri (Indra), (and) whose irresistible valour burnt the planet (consisting of) the great arrogance of all the rulers of the earth.

Tamil portion.

(Line 19.) The lord of kings (who possesses) stout shoulders resplendent with (i.e. expressive of) strength, who is such (as is described above), who has fought against the southern

18 Read "pātraṃ.
19 The word is a perfect, which is here translated "- repeatedly," also means "- repeatedly," which would imply that there were intervals when the Pāṇḍya dynasty was not supreme.
20 The tradition preserved in Tamil literature that the Pāṇḍyas belonged to the lunar race, is here confirmed; see pp. 4, 6, 8 and 17 of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV.
21 From other Pāṇḍya inscriptions which have been published, it appears as if Indra had presented his garland to the Pāṇḍya family; see pp. 6, 17, and 43 ff. of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV. It was this garland which Rājendra-Chola took away from the Pāṇḍya king along with the "crown of Sundara;" see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 96, line 3, and p. 100, line 7.
22 The word "though" (apā) in the translation has to be explained by the double meaning of pālava and kataka, each of which signifies also "a bracelet."
having seen Adiyan (who were) a resplendent lance, turn to flight at Ayirar, (at) Pugaliyar and at Ayiraveli, (situated) on the northern bank of the Kaviri, (which has) abundant waters (and which is) rich (in) fields, (he) seized his (the enemy's) chariot (adorned with) sounding bells, along with a troop of horses (which were) fierce in battle; when the Pallavas and the Keralas ( Kings), having become his (the enemy's) allies, swelled and rose like the sea with numerous armies, so that the earth trembled, and when the western and eastern wings (of the army) joined, and were encamped (together), (the king) advanced against (the enemy) with a troop of spearmen and despatched, so that disaster befell both of them on both wings; captured the powerful king of Western Kongu, along with (his) murderous elephants; placed (his) banner within the walls of Koudal (i.e. Madura), which has spacious halls decorated with precious stones; subdued Kongabhum, so that the noisy drum was sounding his fame throughout Kanyakumari (situolated) in a woody region (that was) beautified by flower gardens; and built a temple resembling a hill to Tirumal (i.e. Vishnu) (in which he) might joyfully abide.

(V) He unsheathed the victorious weapon, in order to destroy (the town of) Vijnanam, which has the three waters of the sea for (its) ditch whose strong and high walls which rub against the inner part of the receding sky, rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course, which is (as strong as) the fort in the beautiful (island of) Ilagai (Lankâ), and

While his ancestors claim to have conquered Varasa himself, the present king modestly says that he only fought against the southern ocean. This tradition of the victory gained by the Pâpyala over the sea, is also preserved in the large Tiruppadvam copper-plate grant of Kulasâkhara-Pâpyala, where a village, or part of a village, is called after a certain Vellattaruvâgâni, (one who has conquered the floods or the ocean.) In the same inscription, villages and private individuals are called after the following names and biradis of Pâpyala kings:—Tukaliyil-tigâ, (one who makes girls without hesitation), Vira-Ganga-Poyan, Vira-Pâpyala-Poyan, Indra-Sambâlan, (one who is equal to Indra), Parikrama-Pâpyala, Varagupya, Srilallabha and Sundara-Pâpyala. Of these, Srilallabha has been mentioned (ante, p. 60) as a Pâpyala king, whose son was a contemporary of the Châla king KhâJaikasâraharmân of the Vira-Râjendrâhera I. Kulasâkhara-Pâpyala himself, in whose reign the grant was issued, might have rooms some of these names and biradis, the rest, however, belonged to his predecessors. The great fish evidently refers to the two fishes which we find on Pâpyala coins and seals, Vada-varsa, 'the southern mountain,' might refer to the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district, which is sometimes represented as the northernmost boundary of the Tamil country. But, in other Pâpyala inscriptions as which have been published, it is distinctly stated that the fish banner was floating on Mount Mâri (Adhagapurupura, Kanakasanka and Kaakas-Mâri); and the Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, pp. 8, 10, 13, 18, 22 and 43.

The day was evidently well known to the composer of the inscription and to his contemporaries.

Neither pungal-batni nor pungal-baratti is found in Tamil dictionaries; baratti is, according to Winslow, 'a goad, Trichomasthas (Kâla). With pungal-batni compare pungal-marrâgâni and pungalparattam which are the names of two plants.

In a Tamil inscription of the Tanjore temple (South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 47) this river is called Kâvari, and in two Sanskrit inscriptions found in the Trichinopoly cave (Vol. I, pp. 29 and 30), the word is spelled Kâvari. The epithet which is given to it in the first of the two Sanskrit inscriptions, vâ, druma-maḍdâ-maḍdâ, 'wearing a garland of gardens,' might suggest a possible derivation of the name, Kâvari, the name found in Tamil inscriptions, perhaps means 'cutting through or intersecting (r) gardens (69).

Another possible translation of the same name is:—' captured the powerful king of Western Kongu along with his murderous elephants; imprisoned (him) within the walls of Koudal (i.e. Madura), which has jewel-like and spacious halls decorated with banners.'

The sea is supposed to contain three kinds of water, viz. rain water, river water, and spring water. Another translation of the passage which describes Vijnanam would be the following:—Vijnanam, whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent with jewels, (and which) — (with its temple which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, and which runs against the interior of the vast sky, — is like the fort in the beautiful island of Ilagai (Lankâ), whose long walls rise so high that even the sun has to retire (in its course)."
whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent with jewels, conquered and destroyed the king of Vēnu, who had a victorious army, and took possession of murderous elephants resembling hills, horses with manes, the family treasures and the fertile country, along with his magnificent treasures.

(Line 42.) (He) built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture caused by the sky coming in contact with it, and the clouds resting on it, so that the town of Karavandapura might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets, where even warriors are afraid of the arrow (like) pointed and long eyes of women with luscious faces.

(L. 46.) Having achieved these and many other similar conquests, having entered the city of Kaḷal (which has) a hall of jewels, being seated on the throne of the king of the earth (i.e. Lakshmi), having followed, (like his) father, the path pointed out by Manu (?) and having himself performed the uprooting of thorns (i.e. rebels), (he) is protecting the whole world surrounded by the ocean.

(L. 50.) While the seventeenth year of the reign of (this) Noṭunāḍaiyaṇ, the king of the earth (who bears) a high crown (on which are set) jewels of permanent lustre, who is the lord of the Pāṇḍya, is fond of learned men, is the foremost of heroes, is very brave, is the destroyer of enemies and the most devoted follower of Vīshnu, was current:

(L. 53.) Having considered that charity was always his duty, (he) gave, with libations of water, the village of Vēlamudi in Ten-Kalavai-nādu, having cancelled its former name from old times, and having bestowed (on it) the new name of Srīvaramaṇgalam, as a bhūmahākṣarā and with all exemptions (parahāra), including kāḍānmai and sālātikā, to Sujita-Bhāṣaṭ, who was the son of Sihu-Misra, who had thoroughly mastered all the Sāstras along with the knowledge of sacrifices, who was born in the Bhrāgavagotra, followed the Āśvalayana-sūtra, and was a Bhrūṛa, who was beloved by the goddess of learning (Sarasvatī), and who reigned in the village called Sabdāḷ, which had been apportioned to the Bhrāmaṇas (mahīdēsa) from the good country called Magadha.

(L. 62.) The four great boundaries of this village are: the eastern boundary is to the west of the boundary of Nilaikkanmaṇgalam and of the boundary of Mīlāndiyankudi; the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of Peramaggur and of the boundary of Kaḷikkudi; the western boundary (possessing) permanent beauty, is to the east of the boundary of Kaḷam background and of the boundary of Kuṇgudi; the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of Kāḷalavayal.

72 The word cīmanu literally means 'moist land, slippery ground.' The literal translation of this passage which describes Karavandaparam is as follows: 'whose top is a place in which the moisture (caused) by the clouds retiring on it immediately after the sky has plunged into water, never ceases.'

73 The technical meaning of these two terms is not clear. According to Windrow, the word kāśīṭā means 'husbandman' or 'agriculturist.' According to Dr. Gambert's Malayalam Dictionary, kāśīṭā, which must be the same as the Tamil kāśīṭā, means 'farmer,' 'village,' 'agreement between Jāmī and Cudiyān about their respective rights to mortgage or mortgage debts.'

74 The word pippāyana seems to be used here as an alternative, like many in lines 63 and 81, and ānu in line 75.

75 The technical meaning of these two terms is not clear.

76 This is evidently the country of the same name in Northern India. The fact that there was a colony of Magadha Bhrāmaṇas settled in the Phalēya country, shows that communication between Northern and Southern India was not so infrequent in ancient days as might be imagined. This inference is confirmed by some of the inscriptions of the Chola king Rajendra-Chola, in which he is reported to have extended his military operations as far as the river Ganges, and to have conquered Bounagul (Vangīla-I-4) and the Khāla country (Khāla-nālu); see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. pp. 98 and 106, and Vol. II. p. 186.

77 There is a village of this name mentioned in the large Travancore area (corporate grant) (Plate viii, line 3).

78 A village of the same name is mentioned twice in the grant above referred to (Plate vi b, line 5, and Plate ix a, line 1).

79 According to the Manual of the Travancore District, 'Truckkurtgudi' is a village in the Nāṭegrārī taluk, close to the Travancore frontier. See note, Vol. II. p. 366, where the village is mentioned with its proper spelling, Trukkurtgudi.
(Line 69.) Having set up stones and planted milkbush (kalli) on the four great boundaries thus described, Siridaran (i.e., Sridhara), (who was a member of) the assembly (sanga) of Koluvâr in Koluvâr-kurram, the great chief of Pandi-ilang-ramañal26 and the overseer of the elephants of the Pandya (king), followed, by order of the king, a female elephant, (which was let loose) to determine the boundaries of the granted village.26

(Line 75.) Dhritaratan Marti-Eyinan, — who was the great chief of Virmangalim, who deprived iminical kings of their strength, who was the great feudatory (mâhâ-sâmanauta) of the king, and whose birth had conferred splendour on the Vaidya race of Vangalandaî which was famous for (skill in playing) musical instruments, singing and music, — caused, as the dîjañâs (âlattu) of this (grant), a copper edict to be drawn up. The king himself declared: — "The lotus feet of those who protect this (gift), shall rest on my crown,"97 and caused (this) clear copper edict to be drawn up.

(Line 84.) "There is no means on earth of acquiring merit, except the protection of gifts to Brahmaïas; and likewise, there is no means on earth of incurring sin, except their confiscation.

"Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; as long as (a king) possesses the earth, so long the reward (of gifts) belongs to him.

"They declare that poison (itself) is not (the worst) poison; (but) the property of Brahmaïas is declared to be (the worst) poison. (For), poison (if taken) kills (only) one person; (but) the property of Brahmaïas (if confiscated, kills the confiscator) together with his sons and grandsons.

"No other source of religious merit is known than the protection of the property of Brahmaïas, (and) no other source of sin is known than transgressing on it."

(Line 91.) The signature of Arikasari, who was the chief drummer of the Pandya (king) and the son of the (late) chief drummer of the Pandya (king).

FOLKLORE IN HINDUSTAN.

BY W. CROKE, C.S.

No. 4.—The Lucky Herdsman.1

Once upon a time a herdsman was watching some sheep near the jungle, when a tiger came out and asked him for a sheep. The herdsman said: "They don't belong to me. How can I give you one?" "All right," said the tiger, "I will eat you some night soon." When the herdsman came home, he told his wife, and she said: "We had better get some of the neighbours to sleep in the house as a guard." So some of the neighbours brought their beds and slept in the herdsman's house. The herdsman's bed was in the middle. In the middle of the night the tiger came in quietly, and raising up the herdsman's bed, carried it off on his shoulders. When he had gone a little distance the herdsman fortunately woke, and, as he happened to be passing under a banyan tree, he caught hold of one of the shoots and climbed up. The tiger, knowing nothing of this, went off with the bed.

The herdsman was so afraid of the tiger, that he stayed up in the tree all day. In the evening a herd of cows came from the jungle and lay down under the banyan tree. They remained there all night and next morning went off, as usual, to graze. When they had gone away, the herdsman came down, removed all the matter, and cleaned the place.

26 In this name, ilang is synonymous with the name-kirti garudâjâ. The village was evidently called after the heir-apparent to the Pandya throne.

27 The custom of determining the boundaries of a dowerless village with the help of a female elephant, seems to have been quite common in ancient times; see the large Tiruppiram copper-plate grant, Plate x, lines 3 to 5, and the large Loyden grant, Plate ii, line 173.

97 This is addressed to the reigning king's successor.

A folk tale told by Parashuram Majhi, one of the aborigines of South Mirzapur.
Next night the cows came again, and were delighted to find the place clean, and wandered who had done them this service. Next morning they went again to graze, and on returning found that the place had again been cleaned. This happened a third time; and then the cows called out, “Show yourself, our unknown friend! We are very grateful to you, and wish to make your acquaintance.” The herdsman thought this might be some device of the enemy; so he kept quiet and did not show himself.

Then the cows made a plan. There was one of them, who was a poor, old, weak creature; so they said to her: “You lie here and pretend to be very sick; our friend is sure to come down to help you after we are gone. When he comes catch hold of his dhūṭī, and detain him until we return.” The old cow did as she was told, and caught hold of the herdsman’s dhūṭī, and though he tried to drag himself away, she would not let him go until her companions came back.

When the cows returned, they told the herdsman how much they were obliged to him, and said, “You may have as much of our milk as you want.” So the herdsman continued to live in the banyan tree and used to milk the cows every day.

One day, as he was strolling about near the banyan tree, he saw a hole out of which came some young snakes, who looked very thin and miserable. The herdsman took pity on them and gave them some milk every day. When they got strong, they began to move about in the jungle, and one day their mother met them. “Why! how is this?” said she: “I left you starving, and you are now well and strong.” Then they told her how the herdsman had taken pity on them. Hearing this she went to the herdsman and said: “Ask any boon you will.” “I wish,” said he, “that my hair and skin should turn the colour of gold.” This happened at once and the old snake went away.

One day the herdsman went to bathe in the river. As he was bathing a hair came out of his head, and he put it into a leaf platter (dáunaf) and let it float down the stream. A long way down a Rājā’s daughter was bathing. She took up the hair. “My father must marry me to the man who has hair like this.” When she came home she would eat no dinner. Her father was distressed and asked the cause. She showed him the hair, and said, “Marry me to the man who has hair like this.” So her father sent his soldiers to find the man. At last they traced the herdsman and said, “Come along with us.” “I will not,” said he. Then they tried to drag him away, but he played on his flute (bānslī) and all the cows rushed up, charged the soldiers and drove them away. They returned and told the king. He sent some crows to get the flute. They came and perched on the banyan tree, where the herdsman was staying, and let their droppings fall on him. He threw stones at them, but could not drive them away. At last he was so angry he threw his flute at them, and one crow took it in his bill and flew off with it.

When the Rājā got possession of the flute, he sent another party of soldiers to seize the herdsman. He blew another flute, but this had no power over the cows, and he was captured and carried off.

Then he was brought to the Rājā’s palace, married to the princess and given a splendid house and lots of money. But he was unhappy and preferred his life as a cowherd. One day he asked his wife to give him the flute, which the crow had carried off. She took it out of her box and gave it to him. When he blew it the sound reached the cows, and they all rushed to the Rājā’s palace and began to knock down the walls. The Rājā was terrified and asked what they wanted. “We want our cowherd,” they answered. So the Rājā had to give in, and built a palace for his son-in-law near the banyan tree, and gave him half his kingdom. There the herdsman and the princess lived happily for many a long year.

Notes.

This, a tale told by a genuine non-Aryan aboriginal, a resident in the wild country south of the Sōn, is interesting as a variant of the Santal “Story of Jhore,” which is given by Dr.
A. Campbell in his *Santal Folk-tales*, (Pohkuria, 1891) pp. 111, *et seq.* There are, however, some important differences:—

(1) Jhore quarrels with the tiger, because, when he is called in to judge between him and the lizard, he judges it in favour of the latter.

(2) Jhore is shut up in a bag by his mother, which the tiger carries off.

(3) The animals in Jhore’s story are buffaloes, and he wins their affection by looking after their calves.

(4) In Jhore’s story the old buffalo cow lies in wait and gets the calves to tell her who befriended them. The dhōtī incident is absent in the Santal story.

(5) Similarly, the snake incident is wanting, and in the Santal story the Princess simply finds in the river some of Jhore’s hair, which is twelve cubits long.

(6) In the Santal story the Rājā sends a jōgī and a crow to seek for Jhore. Finally a parrot-quet is sent, who makes friends with Jhore and gets the flute.

(7) After losing his first flute Jhore calls the cows with another, and finally the parrot-quet has to steal the bundle of flutes, which Jhore has.

(8) The buffaloes in the Santal story come to the king’s palace, because Jhore’s wife would not believe the story about the love of the buffaloes for him, which he was always telling her. So he has a pen made thirty-two miles long and thirty-two miles broad and the buffaloes come at the sound of his flute and fill it. These are the domesticated buffaloes of the Santalas nowadays.

The story is also of interest from its obvious analogies to European folklore. The cattle herd’s flute is the oriental equivalent of the lyre of Orpheus, or the lute of Arion: and we have the incident of the herc being saved by his lute in No. 126 of Grimm’s *Tales*, “Ferdinand the faithful and Ferdinand the unfaithful.” The feeding of snakes is also a common property of folklore. In the *Costa Romanorum*, chap. 68, we have the snake who says to the knight: “Give me some milk every day, and set it ready for me yourself, and I will make you rich.”

There are further instances given in Mr. Andrew Lang’s edition of Grimm. (Vol. II. pp. 405, *et seq.*). So with the golden hair, which, however, is usually that of the heroine: see Grimm’s *Goosegirl*, with his notes (Vol. II. p. 382.) I know there is some European equivalent of the hero (or heroine) being recognised by the golden hair floating down the river, but I cannot lay my hands on the reference just now, as I am away from my library. However, we have the same incident in the “Boy and His Stepmother” in Dr. Campbell’s Santal Collection. Altogether, this story is interesting, and probably other readers of the *Indian Antiquary* can suggest additional parallels.

**Note by the Editor.**

This tale is, like some of Mr. Crooke’s other tales, simply an agglomerate of incidents to be commonly found in Indian folktales generally. Instances innumerable of each incident in some form or other could be called from my notes to *Wide-awake Stories* and from this *Journal*. To take these incidents *seriatim*:

That of the bed and banyan tree is mixed up with very many Indian tales, but for ‘tiger’ read usually ‘thieves.’ A good specimen is to be found in *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 77-78.

Grateful animals and their doings are also exceedingly common everywhere in Indian nurseries. A collection of instances from *Indian Fairy Tales*, *Folktales of Bengal*, *Legends of the Parjāt* and the earlier volumes of this *Journal* will be found at p. 412 of *Wide-awake Stories*.

Golden hair belongs, in every other instance I have seen, to the heroine, and instances of the incident of a golden hair floating down a stream and leading both to good fortune and to calamity are to be found collected at p. 413 of *Wide-awake Stories*.

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1 I do not wish by this statement to detract from the value and interest of Mr. Crooke’s tales. They, in fact, strongly support the theory I propounded in *Wide-awake Stories*, and which has since been accepted by the Folklore Society.
In this tale the golden hair leads up to a very simple and boldly stated variant of the impossible task as a preliminary to marriage, which is often really nothing but a folk-tale reminiscence of the ancient custom of the swayamvara. Many instances will be found collected at p. 430 of Wide-awake Stories.

Flute stories are as common in India as in Europe. Perhaps the best of all in the East is the exquisite Pañjâb tale of "Little Auklebone," which is comparable to Grimm's "Simmel Bow." This tale is known in the Pañjâb as "Gîfêthî Ram" and is to be found in Wide-awake Stories, pp. 127 ff.

I have quoted above from Wide-awake Stories, as that is the latest publication, so far as I know, giving a collection of incidents in Indian folktales, but, from the many folktales from all parts of India published in this Journal in the eight years that have elapsed since that book was issued, many further instances could be easily added in support of the above notes.

A FOLKTALE OF THE LUSHAIS.

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

The Story of Kûngôri.

Her father, who was unmarried, was splitting bamboos to make a winnowing basket, when he ran a splinter into his hand. The splinter grew into a little child (after a time) the child was brought forth motherless and they called her Kûngôri. Even as a grain of rice swells in the cooking, so little by little she grew big. Two or three years passed by and she became a maiden. She was very pretty, and all the young men of the village were rivals for her favour; but her father kept her close and permitted no one to approach her. There was a young man named Kêimi. He took up the impression of her (foot from the ground) and placed it on the bamboo grating over the house-fire (there to dry and shrivel up), and so it fell out that Kûngôri became ill.

Kûngôri's father said, "If there be any one that can cure her, he shall have my daughter." All the villagers tried, but not one of them could do any good. However (at last) Kêimi came. "I will cure her, and I will marry her afterwards," said he. Her father said, "Cure the girl first and you may then have her."

So she was cured. The foot-print, which he had placed to dry on the fire-shelf, he opened out and scattered (to the wind). Kûngôri became well and Kêimi married her. "Come, Kûngôri," said he, "will you go to my house?" So they went. On the road Kêimi turned himself into a tiger. Kûngôri caught hold of his tail, and they ran like the wind. (It so happened) that some women of the village were gathering wood, and they saw all this; so they went back home to Kûngôri's father and said, "Your daughter has got a tiger for a husband." Kûngôri's father said, "Whoever can go and take Kûngôri may have her; but no one had the courage to take her. However, Phôthir and Hrangchâl, two friends, said, "We will go and try our fortune." Kûngôri's father said, "If you are able to take her you may have her," so Phôthir and Hrangchâl set off. Going on, they came to Kêimi's village. The young man Kêimi had gone out hunting. Before going into the house Phôthir and Hrangchâl went to Kûngôri. "Kûngôri," said they, "where is your husband?" "He is gone out hunting," she said, "but will be home directly." On this they became afraid, and Phôthir and Hrangchâl climbed up to the top of the high fire-shelf. Kûngôri's husband arrived. "I smell the smell of a man," said he. "It must be me, whom you smell," said Kûngôri. Night fell, everyone ate their dinners and lay down to rest. In the morning Kûngôri's husband again went out to hunt. A widow came and said (to the two friends), "If you are going to run away with Kûngôri take fire-seed, thorn-seed, and water-seed with you." So they took fire-seed, thorn-seed, and water-seed; and they took Kûngôri also and carried her off.

Kûngôri's husband returned home. He looked and found Kûngôri was gone; so he followed after them in hot haste. A little bird called to Hrangchâl: "Run! run! Kûngôri's husband will catch you," said the bird. So (the friends) scattered the fire-seed, and (the fire sprung up) and the jungle and under-growth burnt furiously, so that Kûngôri's husband could not come any farther. When the fire subside, he again resumed the pursuit.  

1 From Major T. H. Lewis's Progressive Exercises in the Lushai Dialect, Calcutta, 1891. The story was taken down by the author as told by a Lushai.)
The little bird cried to Hrangchāl: “He is catching you up,” so they scattered the water-seed, and a great river widened (between them and their pursuer).

However, Kūngōri’s husband waited for the water to go down, and when the water went down he followed after them as before. The bird said to Hrangchāl, “He is after you again, he is fast gaining on you, sprinkle the thorn-seed,” said the bird. So they sprinkled the thorn-seed and thorns sprouted in thickets so that Kūngōri’s husband could not get on. By biting and tearing the thorns he at length made a way, and again be followed after them. Hrangchāl became dazed, as one in a dream, (at this persistence of pursuit), and crouching down among the roots of some reeds, watched. Phōthir cut the tiger down dead with a blow of his dāo. “I am Phōthira,” said he. So the tiger died.

Hrangchāl and the others went on again, until they came to the three cross roads of Kuavang, and there they stopped. Phōthir and Hrangchāl were to keep guard turn about. Hrangchāla went to sleep first, while Phōthir stayed awake (watching). At night Kuavang came. “Who is staying at my cross-roads?” he said. Phōthira (spoke out boldly): “Phōthira and Hrangchāla (are here),” said he; “crouching under the reeds, we cut off the tiger’s head without much ado.” On this Kuavang understood (with whom he had to deal), and, becoming afraid, he ran off. So Phōthira (woke up Hrangchāl saying), “Hrangchāla, get up; you stay awake now; I am very sleepy; I will lie down. If Kuavang comes you must not be afraid.” Having said this, he lay down (and went to sleep). Hrangchāla stayed awake. Presently Kuavang returned. “Who is this staying at my cross-roads?” he said. Hrangchāla was frightened. (However), he replied: “Phōthira and Hrangchāla (are here) they killed the tiger that followed them among the reed-roots.” But Kuavang was not to be frightened by this; so he took Kūngōri (and carried her off). Kūngōri marked the road, trailing behind her a line of cotton thread. They entered into a hole in the earth, and so arrived at Kuavang’s village. The hole in the earth, by which they entered, was stopped up by a great stone. In the morning Phōthira and Hrangchāla began to abuse each other. Spaks Phōthira to Hrangchāla, “Fool of a man,” said he, “where has Kūngōri gone? On account of your faint-heartedness Kuavang has carried her off. Away! you will have to go to Kuavang’s village.” So they followed Kūngōri’s line of white thread, and found that the thread, entered (the earth) under a big rock. They moved away the rock, and there lay Kuavang’s village before them! Phōthira called out! “Ahoy! give me back my Kūngōri.” Kuavang replied, “We know nothing about your Kūngōri. They have taken her away.” “If you do not (immediately) give me Kūngōri I will use my dāo,” said Phōthir. “Hit away,” answered Kuavang. With one cut of the dāo a whole village died right off! Again Phōthir cried, “Give me my Kūngōri.” Kuavang said, “Your Kūngōri is not here.” On this Phōthir and Hrangchāl said, “We will come in.” “Come along,” said Kuavang. So they went in and came to Kuavang’s house. Kuavang’s daughter, who was a very pretty girl, was pointed out as Kūngōri. “Here is Kūngōri,” said they. “This is not she,” said Phōthir, “really now, give me Kūngōri.” So (at last) they gave her to him.

They took her away. Kūngōri said, “I have forgotten my comb.” “Go, Hrangchāl and fetch it,” said Phōthir, but Hrangchāla dared not venture. “I am afraid,” said he. So Phōthir went (himself) to fetch (the comb). While he was gone, Hrangchāl took Kūngōri out, and closed the hole with the great stone. After this, they arrived at the house of Kūngōri’s father. “You have been able to release my daughter,” said he, “so take her.” Kūngōri however, did not wish to be taken, said Kūngōri’s father, “Hrangchāl is here, but where is Phōthira?” “We do not know Phōthira’s dwelling-place,” was the reply.

So Hrangchāla and Kūngōri were united. Kūngōri was altogether averse to the marriage, but she was coupled with Hrangchāl whether she would or no.

Phōthira was married to Kuavang’s daughter. Beside the house he sowed a koy-seed. It sprouted and a creeper sprang (upwards like a ladder). Phōthira, when he was at Kuavang’s, had a child (born to him); and he cooked some small stones (in place of rice), and, when his wife was absent, he gave the stones, which he had cooked, to the child, saying, “Eat.” While it was eating Phōthira climbed up the stalks of the creeper (that had sprang up near the house), and got out (into the upper world). He went on and arrived at the house of the Kūngōri’s father. They had killed a gagal, and were dancing and making merry. With one blow Phōthira cut off the head of Hrangchāl! Kūngōri’s father cried, “Why, Phōthira, do you cut off Hrangchāla’s head?” “I was obliged to cut it off,” said Phōthir. “It was I who released Kūngōri from Kūmi’s village;”

2 The good spirit of the Lushais. He does not however cut a very fine figure in this tale.
Hrangchala dared not do it. When Kuavang carried off Kāngori also, Hrangchala dared not say him nay. He was afraid. Afterwards we followed Kāngori’s line of cotton thread, which lead us to Kuavang’s village. Kāngori (after we had released her from there) forgot her comb. We told Hrangchali to go and fetch it, but he dared not. "I am afraid," said he, "so I went to get it. He then took Kāngori and left me behind, shutting the hole in the earth with a great stone. They went away. I married Kuavang’s daughter, and, while she was absent, I climbed up the stalks of the creeper, and came here." On hearing this; "Is it so," said they, "then you shall be united." So Hrangchala died and Pōthira and Kāngori were married. They were very comfortable together, and killed many gāydl. They possessed many villages, and lived happy ever after. Thus the story is concluded.

MISCELLANEA.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SIX UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

1.—Anathā Stone Inscription of the Paramāra Chāmuṇḍarāja, of the (Vikrama) year 1136.

Dr. Hörnle has sent me, some time ago, a very imperfect pencil-rubbing of an inscription discovered at Anathā 1 in Rajputānā, together with a rough transcript of the text and an English translation of it, received from Mahānāma Pādhyāya Kaviṛāj Śyāmal Dās, member of the State Council of Māvān. This inscription contains 33 lines of writing which cover a space of 2' 6" broad by 2' 2" high. The writing appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is about ½." The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 87.

The inscription is a pārāṣārti or laudatory account of a line of princes or chiefs who belonged to the Paramāra family, and its object is, to state (in line 44) that the prince Chāmuṇḍarāja, in honour of his father Mandana, founded a temple of Śiva, under the name of Mandana, and to record (in lines 45-50) the endowments made in favour of that temple. The pārāṣārti was composed by the poet Chandra, a younger brother of Vījayaśāhāra and son of Sumatidas, of the Sādharā family. 2 And it is dated in line 53:—

sāṃsvat 1136 Phālguṇa-suṣṇi 7 Sukkrā, corresponding, for Vikrama 1136, expired, to Friday, the 31st January A. D. 1080, when the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.

Beginning with two verses which invoke the blessings of Dāvi and Śiva (Śaiva), the poet tells the well-known fable how on Mount Arbuta (or Ablu) the sage Viśñū, when his cow Nauṇi was carried off by Viśvāmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmitra. In the family of Paramāra there was born in the course of time Vairisimha (line 8), who had a younger brother, named Dāmbarasimha (line 10). And in the family of Dāmbarasimha was born Kaṁkādēva (line 11), who near the Narmadāa defeated the forces of the ruler of Kāraṇā and thus destroyed the enemy of the Māvāka king Śriharsha, but who apparently lost his own life on that occasion. Kaṁkādēva's son was Čandrapāt (line 13); his son was āti (line 14); from him sprang Maṇḍana (line 15); and his son again was Chāmuṇḍarāja 3 (line 30); who is said to have defeated Śrādhūrāja. Beyond what has been stated here, the inscription contains nothing of importance. The princes Vairisimha and Śriharsha, mentioned above, are of course the well-known Vairisimha II. and Śriharashādeva-Siyaka of Māvāka.

2.—Chitōr Stone Inscription of the Guhila Family, of the (Vikrama) year 1531.

Sir A. Cunningham has supplied to me a peneli-rubbing, 4 taken by Mr. Garriick, of the inscription at Chitōr of which a photo-lithograph has been published in his Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XXIII. Plate xxv. This inscription contains 54 lines of writing which cover a space of 2' 6" broad by 2' 1¼" high. Line 39 appears to have been almost completely scratched out; otherwise the writing is on the whole well preserved. The inscription was found in Rajputānā, on an inscription of seven lines, dated in Sāṃsvat 1027. From a very faint photograph of this inscription, shown to me by Dr. Burgess, I am able to state that the inscription was put up during the reign of a Mahārāja Mahārāja who also bore the name Chāmuṇḍarāja, and that it is dated in the (Vikrama) year 1023.

1. I cannot find Anathā on the maps at my disposal. In the papers sent to me it is stated that “a sight of the ruins of Anathā confirms the view that a large city existed there in ancient times, where only a small village stands at present, surrounded by several temples in ruins.” The rubbing of the inscription was procured through the assistance of the Political Agent of Bānswārā.

2. The names of the writer and of the engraver are illegible in the rubbing.

3. In Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XXIII. p. 124, Mr. Garriick reports that at a small hamlet called Nimtok,
size of the letters is about \( \frac{1}{8} \). The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 61.

This is a 
**prakriti** of the Gubila family of Mādagāra, similar to the Mount Abū stone inscription of Samarambhā of the Vikrama year 1342 (ante, vol. XVII, p. 345), and composed by the same poet Vidasārman (line 54) who, indeed, in line 46 of the Mount Abū inscription refers to this and similar prakritis composed by himself. It was engraved by the artisan Sajana (line 54), and is dated in line 54—same 1831 varsha Ashadhā-sad 3 Sukrē Pushāyē, corresponding, for northern Vikrama 1331 expired, to Friday, the 8th June A.D. 1274, when the 3rd tithi of the bright half ended about 20 h., and when the moon was in Pushāyā for about 17 h. after mean sunrise.

The inscription opens with verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, (Śrī-Sumāthivarna, Trinayana, Chandrachūḍa) and Ganapati. The poet then states that he is about to eulogize the Gubila vānsā. He glorifies the country of Mādagāra, and its town Nāghrāda, and relates how through the favour of the sage Hārītarāk̄a Bappa became lord of Mādagāra. Afterwards he gives the names of the descendants of Bappa, from Gubila to Naravarman, and prizes each of them in three or four verses, in general terms which are of no historical value. After verse 60 he adds in prose:—

**annātāra-varṣa-vartanaśu devīya-prakāśata vādānavam.**

The princes glorified are:

1. Bappa.
2. Gubila (v. 15).
3. Bhōja (v. 15).
4. Sula (v. 15).
5. Kālābhōja (v. 21).
7. Bharatribhata (v. 27).
8. Simha (v. 30).
9. Mahayāka (v. 33; in the Mount Abū inscription called Mahāyāka).
10. Shummaṇa (v. 38).
13. Saktikumāra (v. 46).

This shows that Śrī-Sumāthivarna in line 46 of the Mount Abū inscription is a name of Śiva.

This finally settles the meaning of the same word in verse 8 of the Mount Abū inscription.

This name is doubtful, because the rubbing is here very faint.

14. Āmraprasāda (v. 49; omitted in the Mount Abū inscription).
15. Suchivarman (v. 52).

3.—Narwar Stone Inscription of Gaṇapati of Nalapura, of the Vikrama year 1355.

From Dr. Burgess I have received a pencil-rubbing of the inscription in the Narwar Fort which is mentioned in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 313. This inscription contains 21 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) b' by 1' 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) h. The writing appears to be well preserved throughout, but about half a dozen aksharas cannot be made out with certainty in the rubbing. The size of the letters is about \( \frac{1}{8} \). The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 25.

The inscription is a prakāśit, the proper object of which is, to record (in verses 22-25) that the Kāya-śāra Pulhadiva (or Pulhaja), in memory and for the spiritual benefit of his deceased younger brother Hansarāja, built a tank and a temple (chaitiya) of Sambhu (or Śiva), and also laid out a garden.

The prakāśit was composed by Śiva, a son of the treasurer Lōhāda and grandson of Dāmodara who belonged to a family of writers at Gopādri (or Gwālior); written by Arasimha (1), the son of Abhinanda; and engraved by Dhanauka (2). And it is dated in line 21:—

**śrīvarma 1355 Kartikā-(va)di 5, on a day of the week which, so far as I can see from the rubbing, is either Guru or Sukra. Supposing the day to be Sukra, the corresponding date, for Vikrama 1355 expired and the pūrahamāna Kārtiṣka, would be Friday, the 26th September A.D. 1295.**

The inscription was composed during the reign of Gaṇapati of Nalapura; and the poet therefore, after invoking the blessings of Śiva (Manmathasūdana and the Sun, begins with praises of the town Nalapura, and then gives the following genealogy of the prince Gaṇapati:

1. In Nalapura (i. e., Narwar) was born the prince Chāna (v. 4).
2. His son was Kṛivarman (v. 5).
3. From him sprang Asalladāva (v. 6);
4. From him Gopāla (v. 7);
5. And from him Gaṇapati, who acquired fame by conquering Kirtidurgā (vv. 8 and 9).

* The name of this prince is omitted in the list, given in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 316.
* This, in all probability, is the Kirtigirīṣa-vraja (i. e., Dēgādhi), mentioned in line 7 of the Dēgādhi rock inscription of Kirtivarman; once, vol. XVIII, p. 238.
Verses 10-20 give the genealogy of the two brothers Palnadéva (or Palñaja) and Haisaraja. This part of the inscription commences with a verse in praise of the fort of Gópāchāla (or Gválìor). At Gópāchāla lived a family of Kāyasthas, of the Kāyapa gṛha, who had come from Mathurā. In that family there was a certain Alhana, whose son was Kānñaja, whose son again was the minister (mañtri) Vijana. Vijana married Mēnagā, who bore to him two sons, Gāṅgādeva and Yāmunadēva. Gāṅgādeva married Lōsā, and she bore to him four sons, Palñaja, Hariñja, Sivaraja, and Hamsaraja.

4. Sarwaya Stone Inscription of Gaṇapati of Nalapura, of the (Vikrama) year 1343. Dr. Burgess has also supplied to me a pencil-rubbing of the inscription, found in a tank at Sarwaya, eight miles to the east of Sipri, which is mentioned in Sir A. Cunningham's Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. II. p. 316. This inscription contains 33 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 10" broad by 1' 11½" high. The writing is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is about ½”. The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 33.

The inscription is a prākāsa, the proper object of which is to record (in verses 23-26) that, during the reign of Gaṇapati, the son of the prince Gopāla, the thākhara Vāmana (evidently a high official) built a public tank (vāpikā), clearly the tank at which the inscription has been found. The prākāsa was composed by the poet Sūma, a son of Sūmadhara, written by Mahārāja, the son of Sūmarāja, and engrained by Dvārinā, the son of Mādhava. And it is dated in line 33: samvat 1343 Chhatra-sudi 8 Gurudīna Shushākṣa, corresponding, for southern Vikrama 1343 expired, to Thursday, the 28th March A.D. 1292, when the 8th tithi of the bright half ended 17 h. 17 m., and when the moon entered the nakṣatra Pushya 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

The inscription opens with three verses invoking the blessings of the goddesses of eloquence Sāradā, and of the gods Kṛṣna (Rādha-dhvāra) and Hara. It then has a verse in praise of the town Mathurā on the Yamunā, from which, as we are told further on, proceeded a family of Kāyasthas, known as the Mathuras. In that family there was one Chandra, of the Kāyapa gṛha; his son was Dehāna; his son Kāśava; his son Padmanābha; and his son Dejula. Dejula had three sons, Udaya, Nānā and Alhu. Of these, Nāma married Padunā, the daughter of Mahārāja; and she bore to him three sons, Dhānā, Vijaya, and Vāmana who built the tank, mentioned above. Vāmana married first Ajayadeva (?), a daughter of Lōhāja, and afterwards Uma, a daughter of Asadēva.

5. Khāröd Stone Inscription of Ratna-deva III. of Ratnapura, of the Chāḍi year 983.

Dr. Burgess has also supplied to me a pencil-rubbing of the inscription at Khāröd in the Central Provinces which is mentioned in Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. VII. p. 201, and Vol. XVII. p. 43. This inscription contains 28 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' broad by 1' 6½" high. To judge from the rubbing, the writing has suffered a good deal all the way down on the proper left side; but with a good impression all that is important might nevertheless be made out with certainty. The size of the letters is about ½". The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 44.

The inscription is dated in line 29: Chāḍi-samvat 983, corresponding to A.D. 1181-82; and it is valuable, because (in lines 4-15) it gives a complete list of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapura down to Ratnakara III., and proves thus beyond doubt that there really were three chiefs of Ratnapura, called Ratnakara or Ratnadeva. Besides we find in this introductory part of the inscription some names of persons and places which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty. In the family of the Hathayas there was a prince (evidently Kēkalla) who had eighteen sons (line 5), one of whom was Kalinga. His son was Kamala, the lord of Tumāna; from him sprang Ratnakara I., and then came Prithvıdeva I. His son was Jājalladeva I., who defeated Bhujabalisa, the lord of Suvarnapura (Jājalladeva-nyapati-tat-sahun-abhun-Suvarnapura-nābham: Bhujavalasam-avasal) and Chakrāvarta (line 6), who defeated the prince Chōjakas, the lord of the country of Kalinga. His son was Prithvideva II. (line 8); and his son name Hariñja also occurs in a fragmentary inscription at Udappur in Gválìor; ante, Vol. XX. p. 84.

10 I am pretty sure that this Hariñja is mentioned as son of the Dāli copper-plate of the Chanda's Vikramāman, of the Vikrama year 1327, of which I possess Sir A. Cunningham's transcript (Archaeol. Survey of India, Vol. XXI. p. 75). The same copper-plate undoubtedly mentions 'Gopāla, the lord of Nalapura.'—The

11 This is perhaps the Löhāla mentioned in the preceding inscription.


13 See 40. 33.
again was Jājalladēva II. (line 10), who married Somalladēvi (line 12), and whose son was the prince Ratmadēva III. (line 13), during whose reign the inscription was put up.

6. — Nāgpur Museum Stone Inscription of Brahmadēva of Rāyapura, of the (Vikrama) year 1458.

To Dr. Fleet I owe a good impression of the Nāgpur Museum inscription, brought from Rāyapura in the Central Provinces, which is mentioned by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 77. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 10" broad by 1' 44" high. With the exception of a few akārās which are broken away in the bottom lines, the writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about 1/2. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is Sanskrit. By far the greater part of the inscription is in verse. The whole is written very carelessly.

The inscription opens with eight verses in honour of Ganēsa, Bhairati, the author's preceptors, and the god Śiva. It then records the foundation of a temple of Hātakēsvara (Siva) by the Nāyaka Hājirājādēva, apparently a minister or other official of the chief Brahmadēva of Rāyapura, in the following prose passage (in lines 9-12), which I give as I find it:—


This passage is followed by a verse in praise of the town Rāyapura, and by other verses (in lines 13-17) which give the genealogy of the town. At Rāyapura there was the great prince Laskhmadēva (Lakshmadēva); his son was Śimha; his son Rāmāchandra; and his son again Hari-rāyābrahman (in the sequel called simply Brahmadēva). The concluding lines of the inscription (18-25) have reference to the founder of the temple, Hājirājā, and are void of interest.

The date of this inscription I have ante, Vol. XIX. p. 26, shown to correspond to Friday, the 10th February A. D. 1492. Of the four princes, the Khaḷāḷi stone inscription of Brahmadēva of the Vikrama year 1470 (for 1471) mentions three, under the names of Śimha, Rāmādēva, and Haribrahmadēva, referring them to the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya family. And a large mutilated inscription at Rāmtek in the Central Provinces, of which I owe a pencil-rubbing to Dr. Fleet, mentions Śimha and Rāmāchandra.

Dr. Burgess.
months of the year that month which contains the Paushāḥ paṃgaṃḍgī, or, in other words, that month of the calendar during which the moon is full in the nakhastra Pushya. Differing from Patañjali, the author of the Kāśikī-vidi on P. IV, 2, 21, would permit us to form by that rule not only names of months and half-months, but also names of years, and accordingly, in addition to the instance Paushāḥ māsāḥ and Paushāḥ vāhamaśāḥ, he also gives the example Paushāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ. When first I read the remarks of the Kāśikī-vidi on Pāṇini’s rule, I could not but think that there might be some error in the printed text; but I soon found out that the published edition really gives the text which is furnished by the MSS., and from a note of Hēmachandra’s on his own rule VI, 2, 36, I became convinced that he too was acquainted with, although he apparently did not approve of, Jayāditya’s strange interpretation.

That Jayāditya is wrong in forming the word Pausha of Paushāḥ saṃvatsarāḥ by P. IV, 2, 21, seems certain. Explained by that rule, Paushāḥ saṃvatsarāḥ would mean ‘the year which contains the Paushāḥ paṃgaṃḍgī,’ or that particular year during which the moon is full in the nakhastra Pushya; but, as almost all years have such a full-moon, nearly every year would have to be named Pausha, and since such a year would ordinarily contain eleven other full-moons tithis, it would, according to Jayāditya, have to receive eleven similar names. To revert to our dates, the year of the first of them undoubtedly contained the Kārttika paṃgaṃḍgī, but the year is named Vaiśākhāḥ, not Kārttika saṃvatsaraḥ.

The fact is, that neither the three great grammarians Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, nor the grammarian Chandra, whose work was known to Jayāditya, have given any rule by which we could account for the words Pausha or Vaiśākhā in phrases like Paushāḥ saṃvatsarāḥ or Vaiśākhāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ; but we do find the requisite rule in the later grammars of Śakaṭayana and Hēmāchandra, and in the Jaināndra-vyākaraṇa.

Hēmāchandra’s rule¹ VI, 2, 5, is—

udita-gurū ṇahād yuktē tāde;  

and his own commentary on this rule is—

uditō gurūḥ bhīhasapīt yaśmin bhī nakhastrē tādvācchinas tríyāṁad yuktē rśēḥ yathāvihītam pratyāyāḥ bhavati sa cāḥ yuktē rśēḥ ‘bhād saṃvatsaraḥ syāt 1 paṣyāṇōdita-gurūṇaḥ yuktēḥ sadh vapāḥ samvatsaraḥ dharmāḥ 1 phalguṇibhir udita.

¹ Hēmāchandra and Śakaṭayana place this rule immediately before the rule or rules which correspond to gurūbhīr yuktēḥ Phālguṇaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ i udita-gurū iti kīm i udita-sāmaṣcāraḥ paṣyāṇaḥ yuktēḥ vāsam ity aṭra na bhavati i bhād iti kīm i udita-gurūṇaḥ pārvatārṇaḥ yuktēḥ vāsam i abha i iti kīm i māsē divāsē vē na bhavati i

Here we are on ground with which, thanks to Mr. S. B. Dikshit, we are now familiar. To form the name of a year, we are directed to add a certain suffix to the name of that particular nakhastrē belonging to that year, in which Jupiter has risen. A year joined with (or containing) the nakhastra Pushya in which Jupiter happens to have risen is named Paushaḥ vāsah. Vaiśākhāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ is that year in which Jupiter rises in Vaiśākhā. Hēmāchandra does not distinctly tell us what kind of year he is speaking of, whether of the Jovian year or of the solar or luni-solar year; but seeing how he opposes the word abhaḥ to vāsaḥ and dvēsaḥ, I would say that (rightly or wrongly) the Pausha year, in his opinion, would be the ordinary luni-solar year during which Jupiter happens to rise in Pushya. To take the word abhaḥ to denote (pratisattvamgynā) the Jovian year, would seem to me a somewhat forced interpretation.

Of course, Hēmāchandra has not invented his rule, but has here, as elsewhere, borrowed from Śakaṭayana whose wording of the rule is—


gurūdayāḥ bhād yuktē ’bde,

while the Jaināndra-vyākaraṇa has, similarly, gurūdayāḥ bhād yuktē ’bdeḥ. Not possessing a complete copy of a commentary on Śakaṭayana’s grammar, I do not know how native scholars would explain the word gurūdayā grammatically, but we may, I think, be sure that Hēmāchandra has correctly given its meaning by substituting for it udita-gurū.

On a previous occasion I have shown that the authors of the Kāśikī-vidi frequently quote from the grammar, or allude to the teaching of Chandra where that grammarian differs from Pāṇini or has additional rules. The fact that Jayāditya in no wise refers to the rule of Śakaṭayana’s which I have given above, and which is absolutely necessary for the proper explanation of words like Pausha in Paushaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ, is one more argument to prove that the Śakaṭayana-vyākaraṇa is more modern than the Kāśikī-vidi.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

P. IV 2, 3 and 4.

¹ See Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction, p. 16.
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACETI,
1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

(Continued from page 83.)

The number of leading priests, who received the upasampadā ordination during the five days, namely, from the 8th to the 13th, was 245. On Saturday, the 14th day, the King sent the following invitation to the 245 leading theras, who had received their upasampadā ordination:—To-morrow, which is a Sunday, and the full-moon uposatha day of the month Migasra, may the Venerable Ones be pleased to perform uposatha in the Kalyāṇisimā in the company of the fifteen theras, who conducted the upasampadā ordination ceremony? It is our desire to serve the Venerable Ones with food, and to present them with other requisites at the conclusion of the uposatha, and to derive feelings of piety from such an act.” On the morning of the uposatha day, the King, surrounded by a large concourse of people, went to the Kalyāṇisimā, and, having ordered the provision of seats and of water for washing the feet, awaited the arrival of the newly-ordained theras and the fifteen conductors of the upasampadā ordination ceremony. All the theras assembled together, and performed uposatha in the Kalyāṇisimā. At the conclusion of the uposatha ceremony, the King served all of them with a bounteous supply of various kinds of hard and soft food, and with different kinds of betel-leaf, &c., and bidāyajja. The following articles were then presented to each of the theras:—two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making tissigarā robes; a betel-box with cover, areca-nuts, nut-crackers, &c.; a palmyra fan; an umbrella made of the leaf of the wild date-palm (phoeus sylvestris); and an alms-bowl with cover and stand.

In compliance with the wish of all the priests, the King conferred the title of Kalyāṇitissamahātherā on Susarnasābhyanathātherā.

Thenceforward, the King permanently stationed, in the neighborhood of the Kalyāṇisimā, nobles and learned men for the purpose of serving food and furnishing the requisites to the ten theras, headed by Kalyāṇitissamahātherā, who, together with the five young priests, conducted the upasampadā ordination ceremony, as well as to the leading priests, who had received their upasampadā ordination in the Kalyāṇisimā, and to the numerous priests who presented themselves for ordination. There were likewise stationed numerous scribes charged with the duty of recording the number of priests ordained; and musicians to sound the drum, conch-shell, and other instruments for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of sālu at the conclusion of each reading of the kammavācchā relating to the upasampadā ordination.

The ten theras who conducted the ordination ceremony, the 245 leading priests who had received such ordination, and the numerous priests who were their disciples, conferred, day after day, without interruption, the Sīhāla form of the upasampadā ordination on other leading priests, who came and expressed a desire to receive it.

Rāmādhipatirāja of his own accord, and with the approbation of the whole Order, despatched the following message to all the priests residing in Rāmānādāsa:—

"Venerable Ones, there may be men, who, though wishing to receive the pabbajjā ordination, are branded criminals, or notorious robber-chiefs, or escaped prisoners, or offenders against the Government, or old and decrepit, or sick with severe illness, or deficient in the members of the body in that they have cut or rudimentary hands, &c., or are hump-backed, or dwarfish, or lame, or have crooked limbs, or are, in short, persons, whose presence vitiates the pārīcā. If people of such description are admitted into the Order, all those, who may see them, will imitate, or laugh at, their deformity, or revile them; and the sight of such men will not be capable of inspiring one with feelings of piety or reverence. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, not to admit, with effect from to-day, such men into the Order.
There may be men, living under your instruction, who desire to receive the upasampadā order. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, not to confer on them such ordination, in your own locality, without the previous sanction of Ramādhīpītirāja or of the leading therās of Haṃsavatīpuṇa. Should, Venerable Ones, you disregard this our command, and conduct the upasampadā ordination ceremony in your own locality, we shall inflict punishment on the parents of the candidates for such ordination, their relatives, or their lay supporters.

There are sinful priests, who practice medicine; and others, who devote their time to the art of numbers, carpentry, or the manufacture of ivory articles, or who declare the happy or unhappy lot of governors, nobles, and the common people, by examining their horoscopes or by reading the omens and dreams, that may have appeared to them.

There are some priests, who not only make such declarations, but also procure their livelihood, like laymen addicted to the acquisition of material wealth, by means of painting, carpentry, the manufacture of ivory articles, turnery, the making of idols, and such other vocations. In short, they follow such unbecoming professions, and obtain their means of livelihood.

There are priests, who visit cotton-fields and preach the Dhamma with long intonation, and trade in the cotton which they happen to receive as offerings.

There are priests, who visit fields of hill rice, rice, barley, &c., and preach the Dhamma and trade in the grain which they happen to receive as offerings.

There are priests, who visit fields of capsicum and preach the Dhamma, and trade in the capsicum which they happen to receive as offerings.

There are priests, who trade in many other ways.

There are priests, who, contrary to the rules of the Order, associate with such laymen as gamesters, robbers, drunkards, men who obtain their means of living by robbery, or who are in the service of the King, or with other men and women.

All these are sinful priests. Do not, Venerable Ones, permit these sinful priests to take up their permanent residence under your protection.

But there are also other priests, who are replete with faith, who observe the rules prescribed for the Order, whose conduct is good, and who are devoted to the study of the Tipiṭaka, together with its commentaries, &c. Venerable Ones, permit such priests to take up their permanent residence under your protection.

If, Venerable Ones, laymen, who are replete with faith and are of good family, desire to receive the pabbajjā ordination on your hands, they should be taught calligraphy, and after they have acquired a knowledge of the proper intonation of the letters, they should be instructed in the confession of faith in the ‘Three Refuges,’ and taught the precepts; and eventually, Venerable Ones, confer the pabbajjā ordination on them.

If there are sāmaṇeras, who have completed their twentieth year, and are desirous of receiving the upasampadā ordination, they should be taught a brief summary of the chaṭuvāri-saddhiśila, that are observed by priests, who have received the upasampadā ordination, namely, pāṭimokkha, upasampadā, indriya-nicchaya, ājīvapāriyāsikkhi, and pāchāyāpāni-mittasāla. They should further be instructed both in the letter and spirit of the Bhikkhu-pāriyātana and the Khuddasikha, from beginning to end, and be directed to learn by heart the ritual of confession and the chaṭu-pāchāyāpa-chahāvākkha. Do you ultimately report your action to Ramādhīpītirāja as well as to the leading priests residing in Haṃsavatīpuṇa. Then Ramādhīpītirāja will furnish these candidates with the priestly ‘requisites,’ and have the upasampadā ordination conferred on them.
"Venerable Ones, let all of them conform themselves to such conduct as is in accordance with the precepts prescribed by the Blessed One in the Vinaya.

"It was owing to the division of the priests of Ramaññadesa into different sects in former times, that such impurity, heresy, and corruption arose in the Religion. But now, through all the Venerable Ones being imbued with faith, they have received the Sihala form of the upasampada ordination, that has been handed down by the spiritual successors of the Mahavihara sect. Whatever may be the mode of tonsure and of dress followed by the mahatheras of Sihala, let such practice be conformed to, and let there be a single sect."

Having sent the above message to the priests throughout the whole of Ramaññadesa, Ramaññadipatiraja communicated the following intimation to the priests, who were possessed of gold, silver, and such other treasure, corn, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, male and female slaves:

"Sirs, if you are really imbued with faith, you will endeavour to give up your gold, silver, and such other treasure, corn, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, male and female slaves. Having done so, conform yourselves to such conduct as is in accordance with the precepts prescribed by the Blessed One. If you do not endeavour to follow this course, leave the Order according to your inclination."

Some of the priests, owing to their being imbued with faith, gave up all such possessions and conformed themselves to such conduct as was in accordance with the precepts; while other theras did not endeavour to give up all their possessions, and they left the Order.

There were priests who had flagrantly committed parajika offences; these were requested to become laymen. There were others, whose commission of parajika offences had not been proved, but whose reproachable and censurable conduct was difficult to be justified: these were asked to become laymen. There were sinful priests, who practised medicine, or the art of numbers, &c., as mentioned above; or who lived misdirected lives by following such vocations as painting, &c., as if they were laymen addicted to the acquisition of material wealth; or who traded in the gifts obtained by preaching the Dhamma; or who traded in many other ways: all these were commanded to become laymen.

It was in this manner that Ramaññadipatiraja purged the Religion of its impurities throughout the whole of Ramaññadesa, and created a single sect of the whole body of the Priesthood.

From the year 838, Sakkaraj, to the year 841, Sakkaraj, the priests throughout Ramaññamanjila, who resided in towns and villages, as well as those who lived in the forest, continuously received the extremely pure form of the Sihala upasampada ordination, that had been handed down by the spiritual successors of the Mahavihara sect.

The leading priests were 800 in number; and the young priests numbered 14,265; and the total of the numbers of both classes of priests was 15,065. At the conclusion of the upasampada ordination ceremony of these 800 leading priests, the King presented each of them with the following articles:—two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making takhiara robes; a betel-box, with a cover, containing betel leaves, areca-nuts, and a nut-cracker, together with a towel, &c.; an umbrella made of the leaves of the wild date-palm (phoevis sylvestris); an alms-bowl, with a stand and cover, and a palm-leaf fan. Moreover, suitable ecclesiastical titles were conferred on all the leading priests.

Subsequently, in accordance with his previous promise, the King furnished 601 samahaeras, who had mastered the chatuparamitadhikara, studied the Patimakka and the Khuddasikka, learnt by heart the ritual of confession and the pachalmakka, and completed their twentieth year, with alms-bowls, robes, and all other priestly requisites, and commanded them to receive the upasampada ordination in the Kalyanissma. Adding these newly-ordained priests, there were, at the time, in Ramaññadesa, 10,666 priests.
Rāmādhipatirija, after he had purified the Religion of Buddha, expressed a hope—

"Now that this Religion of Buddha has been purged of the impure form of the upasampadā ordination, of sinful priests, and of priests who are not free from censure and reproach, and that it has become cleansed, resplendent, and pure, may it last till the end of the period of 5,000 years!"

1. In former times, Asokhamarakajī, to whom incomparable majesty and might had accrued, out of love for the Religion, became agitated in mind at the sight of the impurities that had arisen in it.

2. He solicited the assistance of Moggaliputatissathēra, and effected the purification of the Religion by expelling 60,000 sinful priests from the Order.

3. In Lankādipa, Parakkamabāhurāja, whose name began with Sirisanghabōchi, was friend of the Religion of Buddha.

4. Seeing the impurities of the Religion, agitation arose in his mind, and he expelled numerous sinful priests, who held heretical doctrines.

5. He effected purification by sparing the single orthodox sect, whose members were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahāvihāra.

6. Subsequently, the purification of the Religion was again, in like manner, effected by other kings as Vijayabāhu and Parakkama.

7. In times past, our Bōdhisattva, while fulfilling the pāramīs, ruled over the celestial kingdom of Tidasilayasagga.

8. At that time, the Religion of Kassapa Buddha was in existence, and Ānandathēra became Usinmara, and ruled over the kingdom of Bārapalpurā.

9. Although he perceived the impurities, he remained indifferent, and did not effect the purification of the Religion. Then Sakra, the Lord of the dēvas, set aside his celestial bliss and,

10. Accompanied by Maṭali, who had assumed the form of a black dog, went to the King, called Usinmara, and inspired him with fear.

11. Having received a pledge for the purification of the Religion, and after admonishing him, Sakra returned to Tidasilaya.

12. Therefore, King Rāmādhipati, the Lord of Rāmaṇādēsa, following respectfully in the footsteps of the virtuous,

13. Purified the Religion with a view that it might last till the end of 5,000 years.

14. For having purified the Religion in the manner described above, I, Rāmādhipati, have acquired merit, which is as inexhaustible as nirvāṇa, the state of purity and quiescence.

15. May the excellent Kings, who are imbued with intense faith, and who will reign after me in Hamśavatipura, always strive to purify the Religion, whenever they perceive that impurities have arisen in it!

16. Although the thōras, headed by Majjhantikathēra, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had performed their last deeds, took a delight in solitude, they set aside their bliss of nirvāṇa.

17. And, in former times, exerted themselves in the interest of the Religion. Therefore respectfully following in their footsteps.

18. May the priests of Hamśavatipura, who delight in their condition of purity, and are enthusiastic (in the cause of the Religion) purify, in after times, the Religion whenever they perceive any impurities in it!
19. If this is done, the beings, who are immersed in the whirlpool of the three forms of existence, will be enabled to cross (to the other shore), or to free themselves from the conditions of sin and suffering, or to attain the pure and excellent and supreme Buddhahood, which is embellished with the attributes of the wise and is the fruition of supreme exertion.

Here end the lithic inscriptions called Kalyāṇī.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON TULŚI DĀS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, I. C. S.

It is a source of gratification to me, that my attempt to describe the modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān has elicited criticism at the same time kindly and lively, at the hands of native scholars.

In the present article I propose to bring forward some interesting facts about the greatest of Indian authors of modern times, Tulśī Dās, which that criticism has elicited.

(1) DATE OF THE POET.

The date of this poet has never been a matter of doubt to native scholars, and it was not until after I had completed my work already alluded to, that it ever struck me that it was necessary to verify it. When the publication of Prof. Jacob's Tables for computing Hindu Dates in the Indian Antiquary (ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 145 and ff.) and in Epigraphia Indica (I. pp. 463 and ff.) placed it in my power to do this, I tested by them the date given by Tulśī Dās himself for the composition of his Rāmāyana, but altogether failed to make the week-day come right. After numerous failures I referred the matter to Prof. H. Jacob himself, who went into it on more than one occasion with inexhaustible kindness. It was some satisfaction to me to find that, while there was no error in my own calculations, there was a way of reconciling the discrepancy between the poet's statements and actual facts. This has since led me to test every other date relating to Tulśī Dās, which native friends, or the poet's own verses have put in my possession. It will be convenient to give a list of them here.

(a) Date of the composition of the Rām-charit-mānas (commonly called the Rāmāyaṇa.) (Rām, Bd. XXXIV. 4,5), Sambat 1631; Chaitra 9 Sudi, Tuesday.

(b) Date of the composition of the Rām Satśai (Rāmā-satpaśatākā) (Sat. I., 21), Sambat 1642, Vaiśākha Sudi, 9, Thursday.

(c) Date of the composition of the Pārbaṭi Mahāt (Pār. I., 5), Jaya Sambat, Phalguna Sudi, 5, Thursday.

(d) Date of composition of the Rāmāyaṇa (Rāmājaṇ). A tradition, recorded by the editor, Chhakan Lal, fixes it at Sambat 1555, Jyaśeṣṭha Sudi, 10, Sunday.

(e) Date of the composition of the Kabitta Rāmāyaṇa. Sambat 1669-71.

(f) Date of drawing up a deed of arbitration (vide post). Sambat 1669, Aśvin Sudi, 13.

(g) Date of Tulśī Dās's death. An old tradition fixes it on Sambat 1680, Srāvaṇa Sudi 7.

It remains now to test these seven dates, so far as possible.

(a) Date of the Rāmāyaṇa. The authorities are:

1, Rām, Bd. XXXIV, 4, 5 and ff.

1 The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, by George A. Grierson, Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.

2 I quote from the very correct text of the poem printed by Bībhrām Dāsa Śiṅgh, of the Khadg Bhāka Press, Patna. This is by far the best edition of the poem which has yet appeared. In transliterating I represent āmcāsīka, for want of a more convenient type, by a. The guttural a (ʔ), I leave without any diacritical mark. This will cause no confusion.
Sambata sōraha sai ikatūd 1
Karauñ kathā Hari-pada dhari śīrī 11
Naumī Bhauva-bāra Madhu-māsā 1
Awadh-putṛ yaha charīa prakāśā 11
Jehi dīna Rāma-januś śrutī gīvahī 1
Tirathā sakala talaś chali āvahī 11

"Laying my head at Hari’s feet, I tell my tale in Sambat 1631. On the ninth tīkhi, Tuesday, in the month of Chaitra, was this history made manifest in the city of Ayodhya. On the day which the scriptures sing of as that of Rāma’s birth, when (the spirits of) all holy places there assemble."

Note. — Rāma’s birthday is on the 9th of the bright half of Chaitra.

2. The date in the poem is borne out by a passage in the Rāma Rasikāvali of Raghu Rāj Singh (B. 1824).

Kachhu dīna kuri Kāśi mahan bāsā 1
Gayē Awadh-pura Tulasī Dāśa 11
Tulasī anāka kīhau sata-sangō 1
Nīśi dīna range Rāma-ratī-ranga 11
Sukhada Rāma-naumī jaba di 1
Chaita-māsā aśi anāda pāi 11
Sambata sōraha sai Ṣaka-tiśā 1
Sudāra suvarī Bhānu-kula-tiśā 11
Bāsara Bhauva suchita chiacha-châyana 1
Kiya arambha Tulasī-Rāmāyana 11

"After dwelling for a space in Banaras, Tulsī Dāś went to Ayodhya. There he associated with many holy men, and joying in the (pure) raptures of Rāma passed his nights and days in bliss. When the happy Rāma-novami came, and when he experienced the delights of the month of Chaitra, in Sambat 1631, reverently did he call to mind the Lord of the Solar Race, and, with care, on Tuesday, he commenced the soul-fulfilling Tulasī-Rāmāyana."

The problem, therefore, is to test the date Sambat 1631, Chaitra sudi, 9, Tuesday.

Prof. Jacobi’s calculations give the following results:

A.—Sambat 1631, expired.
   (a) Chaitrādi year.—The date is equivalent to Wednesday, 31st March 1574 A. D.
   (b) Kārtikādi year.—The date is equivalent to Sunday, 20th March 1575 A. D.

B.—Sambat 1631, current.
   (a) Chaitrādi year.—The date is equivalent to Thursday, 26th March 1573 A. D.
   (b) Kārtikādi year.—The date is equivalent to Wednesday, 31st March 1574 A. D., — the same as A (a).

It will be seen that none of these possible dates give the day of the week as Tuesday. Prof. H. Jacobi, therefore, calculated the date according to various Siddhántas. With his permission, I here give his calculations in full, in order to place the matter beyond doubt. 3

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{KY.} & 4600 & \text{17160} & 15 \left[12\right] & \text{Ind.} & \bullet = 22 \cdot 95 \\
75 \text{ years} & \text{(3)} & 1945 & 173 \left[1\right] & \text{Ind. sudi} 9 = 1 \cdot 95 & \text{Ind. badi} 9 = 16 \cdot 95, \\
\text{(3)} & 705 & 188 \left[13\right] & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

3 The calculations given here, and also those subsequently given by me, are based on the tables in the Epigraphia Indica.
The month Madhu, or Chaitra, of the Chaitrādi year is to be taken in the first column of the Table III. New moon about 26th sol. Chaitrā. Śudi 9 about 4th sol. Vaiśākha. Add equation to above value.

\[
\begin{align*}
4675 \ KY. \ & (3) \ 7 \cdot 05 \ 188 \ [13] \\
4th \ Vaiś. \ & (1) \ 1 \cdot 02 \ 36 \\
& (4) \ 8 \cdot 07 \ 224 \ 13 \\
& \ 0 \cdot 83 \ 14 \ March. \\
& \ 8 \cdot 90 \ 31 \ March \ 1574 \ A. \ D.
\end{align*}
\]

(1) The ninth titki ended about 5 ghat. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 31st March, 1574 A. D.—This date will be calculated hereafter according to several Siddhāntas for Oudh.

If we take column 12 of Table III. we get the date for the Kārttikādi Sam. year 1631 viz.

\[
\begin{align*}
4675 \ KY. \ & (3) \ 7 \cdot 05 \ 188 \ [13] \\
24th \ Chaitr. \ & (6) \ 1 \cdot 66 \ 920 \\
& (9 = 2) \ 8 \cdot 71 \ 105 \\
& \ 67 \\
(2) \ 9 \cdot 38
\end{align*}
\]

(2) The ninth titki ended on Sunday.

Sam. 1631 current = KY. 4674. We calculate both kinds of years.

\[
\begin{align*}
KY. \ 4600 \ & (9) \ 17 \cdot 60 \ 15 \ [12] \ Ind. \ • = 2\cdot75 \\
74 \ years \ & (2) \ 8 \cdot 65 \ 927 \ 1 \ Ind. \ sudi \ 9 = 12\cdot75 \\
4674 \ KY. \ & (2) \ 26 \cdot 25 \ 942 \ [13] \\
16 \ Chaitr. \ & (4) \ 12 \cdot 73 \ 383 \\
& (6) \ 8 \cdot 98 \ 325 \\
& \ 75 \\
(2) \ 9 \cdot 79
\end{align*}
\]

(3) The 9th ended on Thursday.

The Kārttikādi year

\[
\begin{align*}
KY. \ 4674 = \ & (2) \ 26 \cdot 25 \ 942 \ [13] \\
4th \ Vaiś. \ & (2) \ 11 \cdot 82 \ 233 \\
& (4) \ 8 \cdot 07 \ 225 \\
& \ 0 \cdot 83 \\
& \ 8 \cdot 90
\end{align*}
\]

(4) Śudi 9 = Wednesday. This date is the same as (1), as of course it ought to be.

We now calculate according to the Special Tables the date 4th solar Vaiśākha KY. 4675.

(1) Śrīya Siddhānta with bija.

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Ky.} & 4600 & 215^0 & 48' & 0' & 185^0 & 58' & 0' & 282^0 & 43' & 18' & \text{cor.} \\
\text{75 years} & 233 & 21 & 0 & 67 & 6 & 13 & - & - & - & 1 \ 47 \\
\text{4 Vaiś.} & 12 & 11 & 27 & 13 & 3 & 54 & 59 & 8 & - & 26 \ g h. \ 11 \ p. \\
\hline
469^0 & 26' & 27' & 266^0 & 3' & 17' & 283 & 41 & 26 & \text{(1)}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[= 109\]
Corr. Table XXII. 26 gh. 5° 16′ 58″ 5° 39′ 41″ 0 25′ 38″
11 p. 2 14 2 24 11
— 26 gh. 11 p. 5° 19′ 12″ 5° 42′ 5″ 0 25′ 49″
(2)

Subtract (2) from (1)

109 20 27 266 3 17 283 41′ 26″
5 19 12 5 42 5 25 49″

104° 1′ 15″ 260° 21′ 12″ 283° 15′ 37″
(3)

Equation for Moon’s Anomaly

" Sun’s "

283 15 27

= 2 7 8

Add this to (3) ε — O

= 104° 1′ 15″
(4)

Result No. (5) is the true Distance of Sun and Moon at mean sunrise at Lankâ. We calculate, now, the same for true sunrise at Benares.

North Lat. 25° 20′, Long. + 1 gh. 13 p. 1 gh. 13 p.
12° 11′ 13° 4′
2 3 8 2 50 13

14′ 49″ 15′ 54" 1′ 12″
(5)

Subtract the Result from (3)

104° 1′ 15″ 260° 21′ 12″ 283° 15′ 37″
14′ 49″ 15′ 54″ 1′ 12″

103° 46′ 26″ 260° 5′ 18″ 283° 14′ 25″
(6)

Find the ayana"sā for 4675 KY = 8 × 4675 — 3600
(§ 58) = 91075
200

The sidereal Long. O = 283° 14′ 25″ — 282° 43′ 18″ = 31′ 7″

" tropical " O = sid. Long. + ayana"sā = 16° 46′ 7″ + 1006′
(§ 60)

On 25° 20′ North Lat. the 1800 minutes of the 1st Sign rise in 1332 Ams, therefore

1006′ of trop. Long. O in 744. Subtract, 1006 — 744 = 262 asus. 262 asus = 44

vi"nâlas (palas). Subtract the amount for 44 palas from

103° 46′ 26″ 260° 5′ 18″ 283° 14′ 25″
8 56 9 35 43

103° 37′ 30″ 259° 55′ 43 283° 13′ 42″
(§ 61)

Equation for Moon’s Anomaly

" Sun’s "

259° 55′ 43″ 4 = + 4 57 57

= 2 7 10

Sum of Equations = 2 50 47
(6)

Add ε — O (6)

= 103 46 26

106° 37′ 13″
(7)

Add correction for Sun’s Equation + 16 p.

= 3 15

Result Distance ε — O for true Sunrise at Benares

= 106° 40′ 28″
(8)

The end of the 9th tithi 108° 0′ 0″ occurred when ε — O had increased by

1° 19′ 32″ or 6 gh. 31 p. after true sunrise.
April, 1893.]

NOTES ON TUL’SI DAS.

(2) Arya Siddhānta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KY. 4600</th>
<th>217° 8' 0''</th>
<th>184° 7' 0''</th>
<th>282° 0' 0''</th>
<th>+ 4 gh. 10 p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75 years</td>
<td>233 13 30</td>
<td>67 25 34</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>-24 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Vaish.</td>
<td>12 11 27</td>
<td>13 3 54</td>
<td>0 59 8</td>
<td>-19 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 gh.</td>
<td>3° 51' 37''</td>
<td>4° 8' 14''</td>
<td>15° 44''</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 p.</td>
<td>10 58</td>
<td>-4 2 35</td>
<td>4 20 0</td>
<td>19 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4°</td>
<td>2 35</td>
<td>4° 20</td>
<td>0 37° 19''</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean distance 103° 30' 22" being smaller than found above (3), the final result also will be smaller; we need therefore not go on with our calculation.

(3) Brahma Siddhānta

| (4) Siddh. Nir. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 205° 0' 0'' | 172° 13' 30'' | 283° 2' 22'' | +11°14' |
| 238 7 30 | 67 27 48 | - - | - - |
| 5th Vaish. | 24 22 53 | 26 7 48 | 1 58 16 |
| 467 30 23 | 265 31 6 | 284 1 38 |
| -2 23 2 | 2 33 18 | 11 33 |
| 105 7 21 | 263 27 48 | 283 50 5 |

| 71 gh. 2° 14' 6'' | 2° 25' 45'' | 10° 50'' |
| 44 p. | 8 56 | 9 35 | 43 |
| 2 23 2 | 2 33 18 | 11 33 |

B. S. | S. S. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sum of 105 7 21</td>
<td>Sum of 104 20 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq. + 2 53 25</td>
<td>Eq. + 2 51 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 7 21</td>
<td>107 12 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By comparing above (5) and (3) we see that \( \phi - \odot \) at true sunrise in Benares was about 12° 1' less than at mean sunrise at Lanka. Accordingly for Brahma Siddhānta the value of \( \phi - \odot \) is 107° 48' 45'' and the end of 9th tithi about 54 palas after true sunrise at Benares. If we had taken Oudh the moment would have occurred 7 palas earlier. For Siddhānta Sirēmāni the result is still farther off sunrise.

Conclusion.—As the ninth tithi ended according to all Siddhāntas some time after true sunrise at Benares (or Oudh) of Wednesday, 31st March 1574 A. D., that day was südī 9. But as religious ceremonies etc. frequently are referred to the running tithi, not to the civil day on which that tithi ended, it may be assumed that Tul’si Dās commenced his work on Tuesday while the suspicious 9th tithi was running. Probably most ceremonies of the Rāma navamī were celebrated on that day because the greatest part of the ninth tithi belonged to it. This is also the purport of the precepts in Kālanirnaya on the navamī, Calcutta Edition, p. 229, so far as I understand them.

Taking everything into consideration, I believe the date of Tul’si Dās to be correct, and I think it impossible to impugn the genuineness of the poem or the verse quoted on the ground that the date is not in the common civil reckoning.

With reference to Prof. Jacobi’s final remarks, I may note that some native scholars have impugned the genuineness of Rām. Bh. ch. xxxiv. on this very ground of date. The difficulty is certainly a serious one. Prof. Jacobi has proposed one solution, and others have been offered by native scholars. I quote here some remarks on the point, kindly communicated to me by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pāṇḍit Sudhākara Dwivedī, which are valuable not only for the special purpose which elicited them, but also for the general argument on which they are based. He says, “I once considered that the recitation of the Ramāyaṇa being in the vernacular,
it first became popular amongst Bāsiyās and Kādyasthas, who began to write the poem in their own alphabet, the Kāśī. It was hence not improbable that the original reading was not Bhaumavāra, but Samuṣṭi-vāra, i.e. Wednesday, and that suṣṭi subsequently became corrupted to bhauma,—an easy transition in the Kāśī character. Later, however, I discovered that, while Tulśi Dās was in Ayōḍhya, he was not a Vaiṣṇava, but a Śrāvaka one. These Śrāvaka Vaiśṇavas are also great worshippers of Mahādeva; thus, the poet himself writes in the Bālakīrṇa of the poem “Sambhā prasadā sumati kāya kula,” and from this we gather that he counted the Rāma navami as falling on the Tuesday, according to the Saiva calculation. According to the Saivats the Rāma navami is calculated as the day whose midday falls on the ninth tithi, because Rāma was born on midday, and not as the day on which the ninth tithi ends. Accordingly on the former day the festival of the Rāma navami was held. Tulśi Dās was unable to agree with the Vaiṣṇavas, as regards eating. They eat together, seated in a row, but he always cooked his food himself and ate separately, and it was owing to this disagreement that after composing the Bāla, Ayōḍhya, and Aranyaka Kāṇḍas of his poem, he left Ayōḍhya and went to Banaras where he completed it, as appears from Kusandakāṇḍa,

(4) Date of the composition of the Rāma Sat'sāṭ.

Authority, Sat. I. 21.

Aṣṭamā titha-dhāma reṣa
Ganapati-dwija Guru-bhāra
Mādhava sita Siya-janama-tithi
Suta-saiyā abatāra

"The (two) tongues of a serpent, the (four) adders of a cow, the (six) flavours, the (one) task of Gaṅga (i.e., Sam. 1642), Thursday, the lunar day in the light half of Vaiśākha, which is the birthday of Śiśu (i.e., the ninth), is the date of writing the Sat-sāṭ."

Here again difficulties arise, so I take the liberty of giving the calculations in full for the three possible cases (the Kṛṣṇa Kāla current date, being the same as the Chaitrādhi expired one).

Problem. To find the equivalent of Sambat 1642, Vaisākha sudī 9, Thursday.
A. Sambat 1642 expired.

(a) Chaitrādhi year.

Sam. 1642 expired = K. Y. 4686.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{KY.} & \quad 4600 \\
86 \text{ years} & \quad = (0) 17:90 \\
\text{KY.} & \quad 4686 \\
1 \text{ sol. Jyaiṭha} & \quad = (1) 29:56 \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
8:42 & \quad 60 \quad [13] \\
0:57 & \quad 14 \text{th April} \\
1 & 28 \text{th April}
\end{align*}
\]

Therefore the 9th tithi expired just after sunrise on Wednesday, the 28th April, 1585 A.D., and was running on the preceding Tuesday.

---

1 Similarly Kṛṣṇa, having been born at midnight on the eighth of the dark half of Bhaḍrapada, Saivas hold the festival on the civil day (sunset to sunrise) whose midnight falls on the eighth.

2 Padma Sudhakar Drivvéd points out that it is necessary, if the date is genuine, to assume it to be in the Vikrama Sambat though the word Sambat does not occur in the date. If we take it as a Śaka date, the year is 1728, a century after the death of our poet.
(b) Kārttikādi year.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc|c}
& \text{KY. 4686} & \text{21 sol. Vaiśākha} & \\
& (3) & (5) & \\
\hline
& 8'92 & 908 & \\
& 19 & 14th March & \\
& & 21 & \\
\hline
8'22 & 48th March = 17th April. & \\
\end{array}
\]

Therefore the 9th tīthi expired on Sunday the 17th April 1586 A. D.

B. Sam. 1642 current = KY. 4685.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cc|c}
& \text{KY. 4600} & \text{85 years} & \\
& (0) & (2) & \\
\hline
& 17'60 & 10'52 & \\
& 15 & 747 & \text{ind. } \bullet = 1'88 \\
& 12 & \text{su. } 9 = 10'88 & \\
\hline
\text{KY. 4685} & (2) & 28'12 & 762 & \text{[13]} \\
13th sol. Vaiśākha & (3) & 10'17 & 363 & \\
\hline
& 8'29 & 125 & 13 \\
& 71 & 14th March & 13 \\
& & & \\
\hline
9'00 & 40th March = 9th April 1584, A. D. & \\
\end{array}
\]

Add for longitude of Oudh 1 gh. 4 p.

Therefore the ninth tīthi expired at 1 ghatikā 4 palas after sunrise at Oudh, on Thursday, April 9th, 1584 A. D.

Accordingly, if the date is correct, Tulśi Dās, in dating the Sat’sal used the current, not the expired, Sambat year. Paṇḍit Sadhākara Dvīvādi points out that this is against the custom of the poet, and throws the greatest suspicion on the genuineness of the verse in which it occurs. It may be added that, if we take the Saka era, the date comes out correctly, as Thursday May 5, 1720 A. D. It is unnecessary to give the calculations.

(c) Date of composition of the Pārībati Māṅgal.

Authority, Prār. I., 5.

\[\text{Jaya Sambat} \, \text{Phāḷyuna} \, \text{sudi} \, \text{pānchāi,} \, \text{Guru-din} 1 \]
\[\text{Ahunī bīraḥcāraḥ} \, \text{mangalā} \, \text{suni} \, \text{sukka} \, \text{ekhinu} \, \text{ekhinu} 2\]

"I compose this (Pārībati) Māṅgal, the hearing of which gives pleasure at every moment, in Jaya Sambat, Phāḷyuna Sudi 5, Thursday, in Aḥvint."

Jaya Sambat is one of the years of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter, and as Tulśi Dās died in Sambat 1680, we must search for the Jaya which fell about the middle of the 17th Sambat century.

A reference to Prof. Jacobi’s tables will show that Jaya Sambat was current on the first day of Sambat 1643 (K. Y. 4687)\(^7\). A reference to Table VIII. will at once show that Phāḷyuna Sudi 5, Sambat 1643 must have fallen after the expiry of Jaya, or in the year Manmatha. Therefore the Phāḷyuna Sudi 5 of Jaya must have fallen in Sam. 1642. But in Sambat 1642, Phāḷyuna Sudi 5 fell on Sunday, not Thursday. It is not necessary to give the calculations.

\(^6\) The reading of the printed Editions is bīraḥcāraḥ, but Paṇḍit Sadhākara Dvīvādi informs me that the best MSS. have bīrācārah.

\(^7\) (K. Y. 4600 = 33'82) (Table VI.)

\[87 = 28'070 \text{ (Table VII.)}\]

\[4687 = 1'8870\]
Under these circumstances I appealed to Benares, and have to thank Paññit Sudhākār Dvivedī for solving the doubt. He says that the year referred to is Sambat 1643, not 1642, Sambat 1643 = KY. 4637, and the calculation (according to Jacobi’s tables)\(^2\) is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KY.</th>
<th>4600</th>
<th>87 years.</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8th Phal. (solar)</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>c’s an 505 eq.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>17-60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19-72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2-12</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{Ind. } \bullet = 10-28 \]
\[\text{Ind. su. } 5 = 15-28\]

Accordingly, at the beginning of Friday, 8th Solar Phālguna, the 6th tithi was running, and the 5th tithi ended on the preceding day; or Thursday, the 2nd February, 1588 A. D.

We are enabled to check this date by the fact that Tulsi Dās mentions that he commenced his work in the Nakshatra Aśvini.

Paññit Sudhākār Dvivedī writes that in Tulsi Dās’s time, the Makaṇḍaṇa, a practical astronomy founded on the current Sūrya Śūdākānta, was popular in Benares. Calculating the Ahārgaṇa and the true longitudes and the true motions of the sun and moon respectively, we find that the 5th tithi ended at about 52 ghatiṣkās and 37 vihaśṭikās, and Rāvaṇa Nakshatra ended (and Aśvini began) at about 20 ghatiṣkās and 10 vihaśṭikās after true sunrise at Benares. The same result follows from the §37 of Jacobi’s tables. Tulsi Dās’s Nakshatra was Viśākha, and his Bāra or Zodiacal sign was Tula (the Scales). Hence, according to astrology, Rāvaṇa was not a propitious nakshatra for him. Accordingly, the date given by the poet means that he began to write the Pārīvāt Maṅgai after Rāvaṇa had ended, and after Aśvini had begun, i.e., after 20 ghatiṣkās 10 vihaśṭikās after true sunrise at Benares, on Thursday, February 2nd 1586, A. D.

I may add that on 5 Pāraguna Sudi Sam. 1642, the moon was in Aśvini at the beginning of the day. This is a further reason for assuming that by Jaya Sambat Tulsi Dās meant Sam. 1643. For if it had been 1642, there would have been no reason for his mentioning the nakshatra then running; whereas, if it was in 1643, there was every reason for his doing so, part of the day being in Rāvaṇa and unlucky, and part being in Aśvini and lucky. The poet evidently wished to point out that he commenced the work at an hour of the day which was propitious.

One other fact follows. Phālguna Sudi 5 Sam. 1643, did not fall in Jaya Sambat. But the first day of Sambat 1643 did fall in Jaya. Therefore Tulsi Dās gave the name of the Jupiter sixty-year-cycle year to the V. Sambat year, which commenced within it. In other words, according to the accepted system of chronology, the V. Sambat took its name from the Jovian year which expired in it, just as the civil day took its name from the tithi which expired in it.

(c) Date of composition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Chhakkan Lal says\(^8\) that in 1827 A. D., he made a copy of this work, from the original

\(^{2}\) The Paññit calculated the year both according to the Indian system, and according to Jacobi. I gave the latter calculation, as being more intelligible to my readers.

\(^{8}\) Chhakkan Lal’s language may be noted, ‘Sri saṅvat 1655 Jīh Sudi 10 Rabīḍar ki līkhī pustak Bṛṛ Gosālā jē kē hasta-komaj ki, Pravāhā pālī, Bṛṛ Kāli jē mēh rōbā. Un pustak pār e bṛṛ purnā rāma-śūjan jē kē satēsēi Chhakkan Lalā Kṛṣṇath Būndyanād Mīrājūr-bālā nē apē hāthā bē ngūn saṅvat 1838 mēh līkhā thā;’ It will be observed, that it is distinctly claimed that the MS. was written by Tulsi Dās’s own hand, and that it certainly was written twenty-five years before his death. It may be presumed that it was the poet’s original copy. It will subsequently appear that if the poem was composed in Sam. 1655, the Dohālābād could not, as current tradition says, it was composed at Tījār Māll’s request. On this point, Paññit Sudhākār Dvivedī informs us that the MS. which Chhakkan Lal copied was in possession of a pūrṇāt named Rāmaśriśāṅk. On one occasion, Rāmaśriśāṅk took it
copy in the handwriting of the poet, which was dated by the poet himself. *Sambat* 1655 *Jyaistha Sudi*, 10, Sunday. It is unnecessary to give the calculation. Taking the *Chaitra* expired year, it is equivalent to *Sunday*, June 4th, 1598 A. D.

(c) *Date of the composition of the Kabitta Rāmāyan* This depends on an interpretation of K. R. cixxi. 1. The passage is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Ekā tu kārdā kāli-kāla kāla mūla tā meh} \\
& \text{Kōda meh ki khaēju kā sanichārī hai mīna ki} \end{align*}
\]

"In the first place, the Kāli Yuga, the root of woe, is terrible. And further, in it, like the itch appearing in leprosy, Saturn has appeared in the sign of the Fish."

Here again I have to thank Paññit Sudhākara Drīvādī for calculating the date and for the following information: The periodical time of Saturn is about thirty years. He entered Pisces (a token of great calamity) in Tulā Dās's time, on or about the 5th of *Chaitra Sudi* *Sambat* 1640, and remained in that sign till *Jyaistha* of 1642. He again entered it on about the 2nd of *Chaitra Sudi* *Sambat* 1669, and remained in it till *Jyaistha* of 1671. These results are those given by the *Makaranda* based on the *Sūrya-siddhānta*.

The sixty year cycle of Jupiter is divided into three periods of twenty years each, of which the first belongs to Brahmā, the second to Viṣṇu, and the third and last to Maḥādeva or Rudra. In Tulā Dās's time, the *Rudra-bhīr*, or twenty years belonging to Viṣṇu commenced in *Sambat* 1655, and from about that time the Maśalmāns began more especially to profane Benares. The poet frequently refers to this fact, and no doubt does so in the *Kabitta* above quoted. Accordingly it was to the second occasion on which Saturn was in Pisces, i. e., between *Chaitra Sudi* *Sambat* 1669 and *Jyaistha Sambat* 1671, i. e., between 1612 and 1614 A. D., that the *Kabitta* above quoted was written.

(f) *The deed of arbitration.*

This has been published in the *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān*. The following is the translation of the portion which immediately concerns us:

"Whereas Anand Rām, son of Tōḍar, son of Dās Rāy, and Kanhāy, son of Rām Bhaḍra, son of Tōḍar aforesaid appeared before me, &c., &c. " In the *Sambat* year 1669, on the 13th of the bright half of *Kuśāvar*, on the auspicious (subha) day of the week, was this deed written by Anand Rām and Kanhāy. . . . . . . The division of the share of Tōḍar Mall, which has been made . . . . . ."

Then follow a list of certain villages, which formed Tōḍar Mall’s property, viz., Bhadaini, Lahar-tārā, Naipūrā, Chittipūrā, Siśpur, and Nādēsar.

On this I remarked as follows: In connexion with the above, it is interesting to speculate who this Tōḍar Mall, the father of Anand Rām, and grandfather of Kanhāy was. Can he have been Akbar’s great Finance Minister? He died in 1583, and his son might well be alive in 1612. He was born at Lahar-pur in Oudh, and one of the villages mentioned above, Lahar-tārā, has a somewhat similar name. In India, contiguous villages have often very similar names.

out it in his bundle, to recite it somewhere, and, as ill luck would have it, it was, bundle and all, stolen from him in the railway train. It may be mentioned that in Rāmākrishṇa’s house there is a jealously guarded portrait of Tulā Dās, said to have been painted for the Emperor Akbar. It is shown to the public once a year on the 7th of the bright half of Sṛ-luṇa, the anniversary of the poet’s death. Paññit Sudhākara Drīvādī maintains that the date 1555 refers to the year in which the copy was made, and not to that of the composition of the original poem. Whenever Tulā Dās wished to show the date of his work, he wrote in the commencement, as he did in the *Rāmāyanam* and in the *Pārīvatī Mangala*. If Chakkanašī is to be believed, at any rate the copy was in the poet’s handwriting.

18 E. g., Dohādī 240, K. R., Ut., 170 and ff.
11 But not necessarily the whole work, *vide* post. The commentator Baij’nāth fixes the period as between *sambat* 1635 and 1657, but he has no authority on such a point, and no calculation will make . . . . . .
First as to dates. That of the deed of arbitration (taking the Chaitrādi expired year) is equivalent to **Sunday, September 27, 1612 A.D.**

There is now no doubt about the identity of the Tōdar Mall referred to. The arbitration deed is now in possession of the Mahārājā of Benares. Inquiry from him, and from the present possessor of the shrine originally owned by Tulśi Dās, shows that it was Pratīpal Singh, the eleventh in descent from Akbar's great minister, who gave it to the then Mahārājā.

(g) **Date of Tulśi Dās's death according to an old rhyme,**—

- **Sambata sāvaha sai asi**
- **Asi Gānya kē tīra 1**
- **Saivana saivam saivam**
- **Tulśi tajau saivam 11**

"On the 7th of the light half of Sravana, Sambat 1680. Tulśi left his body, at Asi, on the bank of the Ganges."

Here we are given no week-day by which to control our calculations, but, assuming that the Chaitrādi expired year is meant, it is equivalent to **Thursday, July 24th, 1623 A.D.**

To sum up. The following are the dates at which we have arrived:

(a) **Date of commencement of composition of the Rām-charit-mānas.** Tuesday, March 30, 1574 A.D.

(b) **Date of composition of the Rām Sat'sī.** Thursday, April 9th, 1584 A.D. This is very doubtful.

(c) **Date of composition of the Pārbat Māngal.** Thursday, 2nd February, 1586 A.D.

(d) **Date of composition (or ? copying) of the Rāmāvarta.** Sunday, June 4th, 1598 A.D.

(e) **Date of composition of the Kabītī Rāmāvarta between the years 1612 and 1614 A.D.**

(f) **Date of the deed of arbitration.** Sunday, September 27, 1612 A.D.

(g) **Date of Tulśi Dās's death.** Thursday, July 24th, 1623 A.D.

Of these (a) depends on the supposition that the poet dated from the running and not from the expired tithi. All the dates depend upon expired Chaitrādi Sambat years, except (b) which depends on a current Chaitrādi Sambat year, a most improbable assumption.

In concluding this portion of my notes on Tulśi Dās I must again acknowledge my obligations to the brilliant mathematician whose name has so often occurred in them, Mahāmahapādhyāya Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dwivedī. The fortunate circumstance of his profound knowledge, at the same time of Hindu astronomy and of old Hindi poetry, has greatly facilitated my researches, and the ungrudging way in which has placed his time at my disposal puts me in his debt to an amount which I can scarcely repay.

*(To be continued.)*

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**FOLKTALES OF ARAKAN.**

**BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.**

No. 1.—**The Snake Prince.**

A certain fairy called **Sakkaru²**, having lived a thousand lives in the Tawatinsa fairy-land, it became his turn to be born again in the world of men. Accordingly King **Sakrā**, who by

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1 Translated from a Burmese MS. furnished by Maung Tha Hwin, Myoık of Saadoway.
2 The Indian names and the allusion to Sakrā (Indra) are, together with one or two allusions to Buddhist ideas, doubtless tacked on to the original story to bring it into line with the orthodox Buddhist value.
In that country there lived a washerman and his wife, who had two maiden daughters, called Shwe Kyen and Dwé Pyū. It happened one day that the washerwoman and her two daughters tied up some clothes and went to wash them at the landing place by the wild fig tree. After washing them the woman, desiring some of the figs, looked up into the tree, and besides the figs saw there the hamadryad. The washerwoman then, telling her daughters that she would jest with the snake, said to him, "My lord hamadryad, if you want my daughter Dwé Pyū I will give her,—only throw me down 4 or 5 figs." Thereupon the hamadryad shook its tail and knocked down 40 or 50 of the fruit. The washerwoman said to her daughters, "Indeed, the snake seems to understand. I only asked for 4 or 5 figs, and because he loves Miss Dwé he threw down 40 or 50. The sun is going down, let us pick up the figs and take the clothes home." They tied up the clothes, but as they were going to start, the washerwoman, saying she would jest again with the snake, told him mockingly, "Mr. Snake, if you want Dwé Pyū follow as home." On the way back they came to a tree-stump at a place where two paths met and here Dwé Pyū said to her mother, "It will be terrible if the hamadryad does come after us." Her mother, also being anxious, told the stump: "If a big hamadryad comes here and asks if we have gone this way, say that you have not seen us. Take this fig as a month-stopper." They went on, and, on coming to another cross-path, the washerwoman instructed an ant-hill there as she had the stump, and giving it also a fig, passed on. After they had gone home the Snake Prince, being in love with Dwé Pyū, followed after them. On reaching the stump, not being certain as to which way they had gone, he asked it, "Did you see which way Dwé Pyū and her mother and sister went?" The stump replied, "I stay here according to my nature. I neither know nor saw." But the hamadryad, perceiving the fig by the stump, became very angry and said, "Do you dare to dissimulate whilst the fig I gave is staring you in the face as a witness? I will this instant strike you with my teeth, so that you split into four." Whereupon the stump, being greatly frightened, pointed out the way that the washerwoman and her daughter had gone.

From the stump the hamadryad fared on to the cross-path by the ant-hill and, on questioning it, at first it dissimulated as the stump had done; but when the snake threatened, it pointed out truly the way. The latter reached at last the washerman's house, and it being night, he entered the pot where cleaned rice was kept, and curled himself up inside.

The next day at dawn the washerwoman said to herself, "Although my daughters are grown up and my work should be less, yet owing to one and another holding off, nothing is done, and we shall be long in getting our food. So I will go and cook it myself." Accordingly she took the said measure and went to get some rice from the pot; but when she thrust her arm in, the hamadryad enfolded it several times with his tail. At first the washerwoman, not knowing what snake it was that had caught her, called out lustily, but the hamadryad did not for that loosen his grip. Afterwards she recovered her senses, and on consideration it struck her that this must be the big hamadryad to whom she had promised Dwé Pyū: so she said, "If his Highness the Snake Prince desires Dwé Pyū I will give her. Won't you unloosen a fold or two?" The hamadryad thereupon did as she asked, so she knew certainly who it was, and said, "I will give you Dwé Pyū; please let go." Thereupon he released her altogether. The washerwoman then said pitifully to her daughter Dwé Pyū, "Please live with this big snake. If you do not, he will bite and kill the whole household. It is frightful!" Dwé Pyū wept and refused repeatedly, saying, "I don't want to live with a brute beast;" but her mother,
who was in fear of her life, coaxed her over, so that at length, unable to resist her mother's command, she had to live with the hamadryad.

It happened one night that King Sakrā, having need of the fairies in council, desired the presence of Sakkaru. The latter could not resist, and, leaving behind his snake's skin went off secretly to the fairies' council in Tawatinsa. When it dawned he could not return, as the council was not ended. At that time Mi Dwé Pyû, who was ignorant of his absence, as she did not as usual hear any sound from him, looked at his sleeping place and perceived him to be seemingly motionless. On handling him she perceived that there was no flesh but only the skin left, and she called out in tears to her mother and sister, "Come, come, my husband is dead." Her mother, however, said, "Don't cry, if people hear it will be a pretty disgrace, keep quiet;" whilst her sister added that there were plenty of hamadryads like this one in the forest, and that she would go and get one. Dwé Pyû replied, "He was my husband, and I am greatly grieved;" but her mother talked her over saying that if there was a regular funeral and guests received with betel-nut and tea, so that everybody knew, there would be a scandal, and that it would be better to perform the funeral quietly by burning. Dwé Pyû agreed, and accordingly they burnt the skin, so that it was completely consumed. Thereupon the Snake Prince Sakkaru, being heated more than he could bear, appeared in person by the fire-place. Miss Dwé Pyû did not know him, and asked who he was. He repeated to them how he had suffered intense heat, whereupon Dwé Pyû and her parents knew who he was, and rejoiced greatly. But Shwé Kyên became jealous and said, "I have not got him because of Dwé Pyû. If it were not for her I should get him."

When it became dark they all went to bed. At midnight the fairy Samā-dēva, who had been sent by King Sakrā, came and said to Sakkaru:—"Here is a magic wand which our royal grandfather, King Sakrā, has granted to you, and the virtue of it is that if you strike with it and wish for anything your desire will be accomplished. Your title also is to be Sakkaru-Kumma. From the time your child is born let not a drop of snake's blood touch you; if it does you will become a snake as before. If you avoid this danger you will become in time a mighty king. However, on receiving this wand you can only come back here after wandering in other countries." After speaking these words Samā-dēva vanished. At dawn, when Dwé Pyû awoke, Sakkaru repeated to her what the latter had said. Although she repeatedly tried to restrain him, he said, "It is King Sakrā's order. I cannot disobey," and going down to the sea he struck it with the magic wand. Thereupon a ship, fully rigged and manned, rose into sight, and he went on board and left Dwé Pyû, who remained behind with child.

After his departure Shwé Kyên said to herself, "If Dwé Pyû dies, I will get her husband; so she coaxed Dwé Pyû, who could not withstand her, down to the river bank. There Shwé Kyên said, "When you die, I will get your husband, so I am going to push you into the river." Dwé Pyû cried and besought her, saying, "There are two lives in me. Do not kill me. When my husband returns do you live with him. I will have you married all right. But Shwe Kyên replied, "As long as you are alive I shall never get your husband, but only on your death," and throwing her into the river, she returned home.

As Dwé Pyû floated down the river a big eagle, taking her for a fish, swooped down on her and carried her off to his nest in a silk-cotton tree. There he discovered her to be a woman, and when Dwé Pyû had told him all about herself, he kept her in his nest, where she was delivered of a son.

When the child cried she soothed it by repeating Sakkaru's name, but as the eagle became angry and talked of pecking it to death in consequence, she soothed it by talking of "Papa Eagle." The latter then said, "Ha, you are laughing at me." This squabbling was overheard by the Snake Prince, who was just returning in the ship, and who remarked that one voice was like Dwé Pyû's. The sailors replied, "How could Dwé Pyû get to such an extraordinary place? It cannot be her." On coming near to the silk-cotton tree, the Prince asked, "Is that Dwé
Pyù?" and, as she answered, "Yes," he caused the ship to come to land, and climbed up the tree. When he spoke of taking Dwé Pyù away, she said, "You should be grateful to the eagle. After making some return for his services, ask permission from him and take me away." The prince said, "The eagle and I are brothers. As I am very grateful to my elder brother, let him give me my wife and child, whom he has rescued. I will pile up for him a heap of fish, reaching from the roots of this tree to its highest branch." The eagle replied, "Very well, if the Prince can make a heap of fish, as he has said, he may take away his wife and child." The latter accordingly went to the sea, and striking it with his magic wand, said, "Let there be a heap of fish from the roots of the silk-cotton tree to its branches," and at once fish came and heaped themselves up as directed.

Then the Prince, with the permission of the eagle, having taken his wife and child and put them on board the ship, suggested that the fish which the eagle could not eat should be let back into the sea. The eagle agreed to this, so the Prince wished and struck again with his magic wand, and the fish went back into the sea.

After letting go the fishes the Prince and Dwé Pyù sailed to their own country, and on the way Dwé Pyù related all that Shwé Kyën had done. On coming near the landing place the Prince said, "I will put her to shame. Do you and the child get into this box,"—to which Dwé Pyù agreed.

On hearing that the ship had arrived Shwé Kyën adorned herself and came up with the intention of saying that she was Dwé Pyù, and so living with the Prince. The latter on seeing her said, "You are not like the Dwé Pyù of yore. You have indeed become thin." Shwé Kyën replied, "I have yearned after you till I became so ill that there was a miscarriage." The Prince said, "Very well, take this box which contains rich and rare clothing, and we will go home together." Accordingly Shwé Kyën, who was pretending to be Dwé Pyù, took up the box and followed him to the house, where he gave her the key and told her to open the box in order to get out and wear the clothing. Shwé Kyën opened the box, but on seeing Dwé Pyù and her child she became terribly ashamed and ran away to the back of the house, whence she dared not show her face, nor would she ever come when called. The Prince and Dwé Pyù, however, entered their room and lived there happily.

Afterwards Shwé Kyën, prompted by the fact of her sister Dwé Pyù having lived happily with a snake, and being withal much ashamed, went to her father and said to him, "Father dear, Dwé Pyù has lived happily with a snake. Please catch one also to become my husband."

The washerman replied, "My daughter, the snake with which Dwé Pyù lived was a human snake, being the embryo of a man. Now if I catch a snake, it will be a wild one which will bite and kill you. Don't ask me to catch one." However Shwé Kyën became very troublesome, and kept on saying repeatedly, "You must catch one for me!" So her father remarked, "Be it as you will. We shall have peace when you are dead," and he went off into the jungle, where he caught a very long boa-constrictor, two spans in circumference. He brought this to Shwé Kyën, who took it to bed and slept along with it. Before daylight in the morning the snake considered to itself that formerly when in the jungle it sought its food and ate till satisfied, but that now having been caught, it had had nothing to eat for a day and night, and was very hungry in consequence; moreover it could not go elsewhere to seek its food. Accordingly it resolved to make a meal off the person near it, by swallowing her up, beginning at her feet and ending with her head, and proceeded to make a commencement by swallowing her feet. Shwé Kyën cried out, "Help, he has, apparently in sport, swallowed me up to my knees." Her father only said, "She wanted that snake so much. We shall have peace when she dies," whilst her mother remarked, "My son-in-law is having a game." Shwé Kyën cried out very loudly however, so Dwé Pyù said to her husband the Snake Prince, "It is not right that my sister should die—go and help her." But her husband replied, "If only one drop of snake's blood touches me I shall become a snake again. Your father can settle such an affair as this. Are you tired of my companionship, that you ask me to do this thing?" His wife Dwé
Pyú rejoined, "King Sakra's order was from the time that the child was born. That is now long past, and you cannot again become a snake. If your flesh and blood were indeed such as you formerly possessed, you could not remain so long a man; you can avoid also being touched by or smeared with a drop of snake's blood." She became much troubled, so not wishing to hurt her feelings, and thinking also that it is wicked not to rescue the life of a human being, the Snake Prince took up his double-edged sword, and smote the boa-constrictor, so that it was divided in two and died. On cutting it, however, a drop of the boa-constrictor's blood touched the Prince, and he became a snake as before. A snake's mind also came into him, so that he no longer wished to stop in the house, but went off into the forest.

Dwé Pyú carrying their little son, followed him slowly weeping and saying, "Come back home, I will get you food," but it was in vain. Sometimes he would regain his intellect and speak to his wife and child, and again a snake's mind would come to him and he would try to bite them. After doing thus he said to his wife Dwé Pyú, "I will have to live in the forest away from human beings. If I live near them I shall bite and kill them when I have the snake mind in me."

Dwé Pyú, however, left her child with her parents and followed the hamadryad into the forest, but there again he struck at her unsuccessfully. Again recovering consciousness, he said to her, "I am not as before, when there is a snake's mind in me I do not recognise anybody, but only strike at them. You should, therefore, return home, as the child must be wanting its milk. Suckle it and take care of it, and live happily with it. I cannot remain with you,—I must go into the darkest forests." Dwé Pyú replied, "Only come back home. I will get your food and take care of you. I cannot remain separated from you." She followed him again, and when they came near the ant-hill a snake's mind came into the Prince, and he was about to bite Dwé Pyú, but restrained himself in time. He decided in consequence that he would have to enter the top of the ant-hill, as if he remained outside he would certainly bite her; so he went inside the ant-hill. But Dwé Pyú remained outside weeping and calling sadly to her husband.

(To be continued.)

PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPITAL SONGS.

BY PUTILBAI D. H. WADIA.

(Continued from Vol. XXI. page 116).

PART III.

TRANSLATION.

No. 8.

Song sung when the Bridegroom leaves his house to go to the Bride's, where the Wedding ceremony takes place.

Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sórábji, to mount your horse.¹

Your mother holds you by the hem of your garment.²

Let go, mother, let go your hold,

And I shall give you your due.

5 How can I forget the claims of her,

Who reared me, and loved me as her own life?

I have got a beautiful sádi woven for my mother,

And a bodice of cloth of gold.

Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sórábji, to mount your horse.

10 Your aunt holds you by the hem of your garment.

Let go aunt, let go your hold:

Your claims shall have due recognition.

How can I forget what is due to her,

Who sang the lullaby at my cradle?

15 I have ordered a gold-embroidered sádi for my aunt,

And a bodice of green silk.

¹ See note 17, Part I.
² By way of asserting her claims.
Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sôrabjî, and mount your horse.
Your aunt (father’s sister) holds you by the hem of your garment.
Let go, aunt, let go your hold.
20 And I shall give you your due.
How can I forget the claims of her who took me in her lap,
When my name was given me?3
Let us send a kundî (on some firm) in Gujarât, and get a good patôrî (for
my aunt).
The bridegroom looks as bright as the Sun,
25 And as pure as the Moon.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway)
smelling the flowers,
And looks as beautiful as the flowers themselves.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway)
chewing pân,
And looks as delicate as a pás-leaf.

Song sung at the close of the Wedding Ceremony.

All hail this (blessed) day!
(On such a day) I would get my (other) sons married, if I had the means.
I would not make a moment’s delay.
All hail this (blessed) day!

5 The Sun has risen auspiciously over my Mêhêrwanjî’s head.
We have celebrated the marriage of our Sôrabjî.
All hail this (blessed) day!
Brothers, have your little sons married,
(As) I have married my Sôrabjî and brought (the couple) home.

10 All hail this (blessed) day!
My Mêhêrwanjî dotes on his son and daughter-in-law,
My Ratanbâl’s daughter and son-in-law are her petted children.
All hail this (blessed) day!
We hail with delight the rising of the Sun and the Moon.

15 We rejoice that my Sôrabjî’s mother gave birth to a son like him.
All hail this (blessed) day!
It gave thee an order, goldsmith:
I told thee to make an armlet for my Sôrabjî’s arm,
And a nine-stringed necklace for mySirinbâl.

20 I gave thee an order, mercer:
I told thee to bring a plaid for my Sôrabjî,
And a pair of patôrîs for my Sirinbâl,
I gave thee an order, jeweller:
I told thee to bring rings for my Sôrabjî,

25 And a pair of bracelets for my Sirinbâl.
Father-in-law, make your court-yard (gates) a little higher (?),
That my Sôrabjî may enter on horse-back.
All hail this (blessed) day!
My procession of wedding guests is too large to be accommodated (in your yard).

30 All hail this (blessed) day!
My Sôrabjî has won his bride in person.
And he has brought the Râji Laksmaji for a wife.
All hail this (blessed) day!

It is the privilege of the father’s sister to hold the baby in her arms, while the astrologer finds out a name for it.
See note 14, Part 1. * The bridegroom’s mother is supposed to repeat these lines. * An allegory.
No. 10.

Song sung when the Bride is being sent to the house of her Parents-in-law after the Wedding.

The pipes (that are being played) are made of green bamboo.
Sisters, our Sirñbál is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sirñbál, the fortunate grand-child of her (maternal) grand-father, is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.

How they will rejoice to see our Sirñbál!
Sisters, our Sirñbál is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Her father has performed the meritorious act of giving his daughter in marriage.
And has acquired the blessings of Heaven.
It was fortunate that her father thought of this matter,

And gave Sirñbál to good parents-in-law.
Her father has given her a chest full of treasure,
With which Sirñbál sits in her room.
Her father has given Sirñbál a milch cow,
So that she may have plenty of milk and curds (to eat).

Mother-in-law, (pray) do not use the cane on Sirñbál,
Or she will smart under it and will weep,
And long for her paternal abode.
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sirñbál with kindness,
And serve her with enough of food at her meals.

Sirñbál is the (pet) daughter of her father.
Sirñbál is the eldest daughter-in-law in the family of her parents-in-law.
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sirñbál with magnanimity,
And refrain from giving her stale food.

Mother-in-law, you must not think that our Sirñbál is as advanced in years as she appears:

(It is only because) she has been brought up on curds and milk:
(It is only because) we have brought her up on lumps of butter.
Sirñbál, why have you forgotten to take with you your marriage portion?
Fifteen strings of pearls comprise her marriage portion,
With which my Sirñbál will adorn herself.

Fifteen strings of diamonds comprise her marriage portion,
Which have been purchased for her by her good brother.

Thy husband is come, Sirñbál the Thakráñi.

The husband has been attracted by the graceful carriage of Sirñbál.
Her father has presented her with a valuable tēkh,
(Dressed) in which she goes to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sirñbál, the beloved daughter of her father.
Is married and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.

Sirñbál, you wear a necklace round your neck,
And the hearts of your father-in-law and your husband will rejoice.

---

7 The names of many other relatives besides the maternal grandfather are used in succession.
8 It may be assumed that the bride is a child.
9 This throws a sidelight on the treatment young wives generally receive at the hands of their mothers-in-law.
10 Ā is the word used in the text which means money settled upon a daughter by her father, or upon his wife by her husband, on the occasion of the marriage.
11 The father or brother may give any presents or settle any amount of money on the bride, but he is by no means bound to do so. It is the duty of the bride's parents, however, to give presents of wearing apparel to the bridegroom's relatives and rings and some other presents to the bridegroom, as tokens of their regard, whereas it is the duty of the bridegroom's father to settle a certain amount, generally in the shape of ornaments, on the bride, and give her many suits of clothing besides, to which she has an exclusive right.
No. 11.

Song sung when the Bridgroom brings home his Bride.

Father, O father (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought (with me) a wife worth a lakh and a quarter.\textsuperscript{12}
Brother, O brother (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a daughter from a magnificent house.

5 Kākā,\textsuperscript{13} O Kākā (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a wife from a noble family.
Māmā, O Māmā\textsuperscript{14} (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought the daughter of a good father.
Masā, O Masā\textsuperscript{15} (mine), I have come home married,

10 And have brought the sister of a powerful brother.
Phūvā, O Phūvā\textsuperscript{16} (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought home a wife of noble birth.
Brother gate-keeper, open (wide) your gate;
For (Śrābnd) is waiting at the gate with his bride.

15 Sister Mēhērbāl, decorate your house,
Because your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Śūnābāl, sprinkle the doorway with milk;\textsuperscript{17}
Your brother has come home with his bride.

Sister Mēhērbāl, decorate the threshold with figures in pearls;\textsuperscript{18}

20 Your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Śūnābāl, fill your lamps with ghi;\textsuperscript{19}
Your brother has come home with his bride.
It is Mēhērbāl's son who is married.
He is come home with a bride worth lakh (of rupees).

\[\text{गीत ५.}
\text{बर्णीनी बेवाश गावानां गीत}
\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{पार्वते} & \text{ पण हि चंडी साराबाजी भाई} \\
& \text{माई ले पाण्डव साही राह्या} \\
& \text{मेरे मेरो के माई पाण्डव अत्यार यार आपूर्ति} \\
5 & \text{जन्म जीव वर्षार चाही वेग़ी} \\
& \text{तेना ले हक केवल वायू} \\
& \text{मारी मारने सीम्बत सारी वठायी} \\
& \text{कलंबी आलंकारी कांची} \\
& \text{पार्वते} \text{ पण हि चंडी साराबाजी भाई} \\
10 & \text{माती के पाण्डव साही राह्या} \\
& \text{मेरे मेरो के माती पाण्डव अत्यार राहा} \\
& \text{गुप्त तरार गरणु} \\
& \text{जन्म पार्वती हालरां गाय} \\
& \text{तेना ले हक केवल वायू} \\
15 & \text{मारी मारने कलंबी सारी मंगायी}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{लिखा} \text{ पार्वती कांची} \\
\text{पार्वते} \text{ पण हि चंडी साराबाजी भाई} \\
\text{कुदु के पाण्डव साही राह्या} \\
\text{मेरो मेरो के पूर्व पाण्डव अत्यार} \\
20 & \text{जर तरार आपूर्ति} \\
& \text{जन्म पार्वती हालरां गाय} \\
& \text{तेना ले हक केवल वायू} \\
& \text{अर्जराम हरा कुलमा} \\
& \text{मेरी पार्वती मंगायी} \\
& \text{सुरुज सारीया तेना वर्ता} \\
25 & \text{चेंद्रा सारीया नीरितला} \\
& \text{तीरा वन वर पूर्व खंडे} \\
& \text{कुल सारीया मुट्टा} \\
& \text{तीरा वन वर पान चाबे} \\
& \text{पान सारीया पतला.}
\]

\textsuperscript{12} A figurative expression of the bride's value.
\textsuperscript{13} The father's brother.
\textsuperscript{14} The mother's brother.
\textsuperscript{15} The husband of the mother's sister.
\textsuperscript{16} The husband of the father's sister.
\textsuperscript{17} An allegory.
\textsuperscript{18} As a mark of rejoicing.
\textsuperscript{19} Also as a mark of rejoicing. It is the custom however, to light at least one lamp fed by ghi in the daytime.
\textsuperscript{20} When the bride is being dressed in the suits of clothing, jewellery, etc., sent her by her parents-in-law on the occasion of the betrothal, and on all subsequent occasions when presents are given to her.
\textsuperscript{21} This is somewhat unintelligible.

Properly this should be "सौरण हैँ उमा."
गीत ९।
वहूँकीरानें परणामीं घेर तड़ीं जतीं बेंझा
गावानुं गीतः

धने धने रखाड़ी आजमो!
कन्ये हंगे ने परणाम छाला बिसर्का।
मने घरींभोगी लगे नहीं भयों ॥ ॥
धने धने घराडे आजमो!
5 मारी मेहरावानी पर सवरा घुरा उगाका।
मारी साराबाजीं परणामीं पर नायका रे,
धने धने साहेजी आजमो।
रोिरनाभीं ॥ ॥ परणामों मारा नाई रे,
मारी साराबाजीं परणामीं पर नायका बाजीः।
10 धने धने पहाड़ी रे आजमो!
मारी मेहरावानी मांं वहापे लाईके।
मारी रतनबाजारे धीमा लाईके।
धने धने पहाड़ी रे आजमो।
रोिरी जांटे ने सुराग बने उगमः।
15 मारी साराबाजीं मारा मने बाजाये रे।
धने धने पहाड़ी आजमो!
कहरू में तुईं बाहीं रे सोनीरा।

गीत १०।
कन्यानं सारे भटावती बेंझा गावानुं गीतः

नारा ते गांवानी बसानी
लालीं रे सीरीबाई सारे जाए रे।
मारावाली मारावाली सीरीबाईं रे,
लालीं रे परणामीं सारे जाए रे।
5 सीरीबाईं जो पायी जाइं तेहूं हरखाये रे,
तालां रे सीरीबाईं परणामीं सारे जाए रे।
बाबाजीं कन्यावान सौंपो रे।
सीरीबाईंं न परणामे पुन सौंपो रे,
बाबाजी से ए जाने नहीं बहाये रे।
10 सीरीबाईंं ने सारे सारे बड़ी रे,
बाबाजी आपर धनानी पेंडी रे,
सीरीबाईंं लैदिं बाबीं रे।
सीरीबाईंं आपर हुआ गरा रे।
सीरीबाईंं बेंझा बेंझा हुआ स्नाय रे।
15 साराजी बेंझा ना बहें रे,
बड़ी बम्बाईंं ने रोंड रे।
सीरीबाईंं सीरीबाईंं बेंझा बेंझा रे।
साराजी बेंझा करीं भींडों रे।
मारी सीरीबाईंं ना पीरसं भींडों रे।
20 साराजी बेंझा करीं भींडों रे,
मारी सीरीबाईंं ना पीरसं बाजारे रे।

॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

22 वर्तकृत का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
23 सोिंसीं को मोहरा।
26 छुटेंगी का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
28 घाटी का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
29 पुष्पों का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
31 A corruption of भींडी, a room.
32 घाटी का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
33 धीमे का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
34 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
35 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
36 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
37 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
38 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
39 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
40 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
41 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
42 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
43 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
44 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
45 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
46 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
47 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
48 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
49 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
50 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
51 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
52 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
53 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
54 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
55 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
56 बहुत समीक्षेत्र का ईतिहासिक नाम नहीं।
MISCELLANEOUS DATES FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND MSS.

1. — Ante, Vol. XIX. p. 6, I have attempted to prove that the Lakshmaṇasena era commenced in A.D. 1119, that the years of the era were Karttikeya years, and that, accordingly, to convert a Lakshmaṇasena year into the corresponding year of the Saka era, we must add 1041, when the date falls in one of the months from Karttikeya to Phalguna, and 1042, when the date falls in one of the months from Chaitra to Ashvin. To the six dates of the era which were then known to me I have added another date, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 60; and I would now draw attention to one more Lakshmaṇasena date, which also works out correctly with my epoch.

According to the late Pandit Bhagyavānilāndra Jyotirācharyā, the Buddhā-Gūḍa inscription of Basakavalla, published by him in the Journal Bo. As. Soc., Vol. XVI. p. 338, is dated in line 11:—

Brimal-Lakshmaṇasena-saṅkhyā-rājya samāna 51 Bhadrā di 8 rā 29.

Judging from the editor’s own translation—Samvat 51 of the reign of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasena having elapsed, the 8th day of the dark half of Bhadrāpada, the 29th solar day—it may be suspected that the original inscription has Bhadrā-vadi instead of the Bhadrā di of the printed text. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the inscription is dated the 8th of either of the lunar halves (probably, of the dark half) of the month Bhadrāpada, being the 29th day of the solar month, of the Lakshmaṇasena year 51.

The date falling in the month Bhadrāpada, the year of the date, supposing it to be the expired year 51, should correspond to Saka (51 + 1042 = 1093) expired; and the details of the date prove that such is actually the case. For in Saka 1093 expired the 8th tikhi of the dark half of the amuta Bhadrāpada ended about 19 h. after mean sunrise of the 25th August, A.D. 1171, causing that day to be Bhadrā-vadi 8; and the same 25th August also was the 29th day of the solar month Bhadrāpada, the Sāṅkha-saṃkrānti having taken place, by the Sūrya-sādhaṃvara, 10 h. 4 m., or, by the Ārya-sādhaṃvara, 8 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th July.

The fact that the above date, in addition to the lunar day, also gives us the day of the solar month, induces me to mention here that, similarly to what I have shown to be a common practice in Bengali MSS., inscriptions also from Eastern India are sometimes dated according to the solar calendar. A clear and instructive example of this is furnished by the Tipura copper-plate, published by Colebrooke in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX. p. 403. That inscription is dated in Saka 1141 expired, according to Colebrooke sūrya-gṛ̍ do navādīna 26, in reality sūrya-gṛ̍ do Phalguna-dīna 26. The 26th day of the solar month Phalguna of Saka 1141 expired corresponds to the 19th February, A.D. 1230, the Kumbha-saṃkrānti having taken place 13 h. 3 m. after

mencement of the) reign, (now) passed, of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasena.'

21 Poetical for वेषलृ.

The real meaning is—'the year 51 since the (comm.
mean sunrise of the 21st January. Now on the 19th February, A. D. 1220, the day of the date, the full-moon tithi commenced about one hour after mean sunrise, and there can hardly be a doubt that the donation recorded in the copper-plate was made on account of the full-moon. But although thus there was apparently every reason to follow the lunar calendar, the writer of the date evidently was induced by the practice of every-day life to give the date in the way in which he himself did it.

And this date again leads me to draw attention to the date of the Áṃgāchhī copper-plate of Vīgrahapalāśāya III., of which I have given an account, ante, Vol. XXI. pp. 97-101. The grant recorded in that inscription was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, i.e., on the full-moon tithi; and the inscription is dated in the 12th or 13th year of Vīgrahapalāśāya's reign, Chaitra-dīni 9. We know that the inscription is later than A. D. 1063; and, taking the expression Chaitra-dīni 9 to refer to solar time, and comparing the date of the Tipura grant, I would suggest Monday, the 2nd March, A. D. 1086, as an equivalent of the date which, perhaps might be considered to satisfy the requirements of the case. Monday, the 2nd March A. D. 1086, was the 9th day of the solar Chaitra; on that day the full-moon tithi commenced about 5 h. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse on that particular full-moon. The eclipse was not visible in India; but we now have several other dates that record invisible eclipses. Should this suggestion be approved of, Vīgrahapalāśāya III. must be taken to have begun to reign about A. D. 1074. Similar to the date of the Áṃgāchhī plate is the date of the Balasore copper-plate grant of Purushottamādeva, the king of Orissa, published ante, Vol. I. p. 355. According to Mr. Beames, Purushottamādeva ascended the throne in A. D. 1475, and his grant is dated in the fifth year of his reign, on Monday, the 10th day of the month of Mēsha, i.e. Vaiśākha, at the time of an eclipse. If the year of the accession of the king is correctly given, the date of the grant can only be Monday, the 7th April A. D. 1488, when there was an invisible eclipse of the sun; but by my calculations that was the 11th (not the 10th) day of the solar Vaiśākha, the Mēsha-saṃkrānti having taken place 17 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th March, A. D. 1488."

2.—Ante, Vol. XVIII. pp. 251-252, I have treated of four dates of the Āśādhādī Vikrama years 1534, 1555, (1583, and 1699; and Vol. XXI. p. 51, I have given two more such dates of the years 1574 and 1581. I can now draw attention to another date, of the Āśādhādī year 1713, which is particularly interesting, because it quotes, what we should expect to be the first day of the year, the first day of the bright half of the month Āśādhā. According to the late Dr. Rājendrāla Mitra’s Notices, Vol. V. p. 236, a MS. of the Garga-paddhati is dated:

Saṃvat Āśādhādī 1713 Āśādhā-passē sukē pakāsē pratipāch-Chhukravāsārē.

This date works out properly only for the Chaitrādī Vikrama year 1713 expired, for which the equivalent of the date is Friday, the 13th June A. D. 1656; and it thus proves distinctly that the Āśādhādī year really commences with the first day of the bright half of Āśādhā, and not (as has been suggested) with a later day of the same month. For, did the Āśādhādī year commence after the first of the bright half of Āśādhā, the year 1713 of the date (for purposes of calculation) would have been the Kārttikādī Vikrama year 1713, and the date would have fallen in A. D. 1657.

3.—I know only three dates which are expressly referred to the Sinha era, and have given them already in my list of Vikrama dates (ante, Vol. XIX. pp. 24, 175, and 189; Nos. 9, 108, and 129), because they are all referred to the Vikrama era as well. About the European equivalents of two of these dates there is no doubt whatever; it is mainly in order to determine the proper equivalent of the third date, that I here put the three dates together.

(1). A copper-plate inscription of the Chau-lukya Bhimādeva II. is dated—
śrī-Vikrama-saṃvat 1266 varṣē śrī-Simha-saṃvat 96 varṣē . . . Mārgga-śūndi 14 Gurā—
and the equivalent of this date, for Vikrama 1266 expired, is Thursday, the 12th November A. D. 1209. The difference between the Sinha year and the Christian year is here 1113; between the Sinha year and the expired (Chaitrādī, or Āśādhādī, or Kārttikādī) Vikrama year, 1170.

(2). A Verāval stone inscription of the reign of the Vīghēla Arjunādeva is dated—
śrī-nripa-Vikrama-saṃ 1320 . . . .

the solar Vaiśākha, and on that day there was a solar eclipse.
and the equivalent of this date—for the expired Kārättikādi Vikrama year 1320, is Sunday, the 25th May A. D. 1264. Here the difference between the Sinha year and the Christian year is again 1113. The difference between the Sinha year and the Vikrama year put down in the date is only 1169; but as the Vikrama year of the date is the expired Kārättikādi year 1220, which for the month of Ashādha is equivalent to the Chaitrādi or Ashadhādi year 1231, we may say that here too, the difference between the Sinha year and the expired Chaitrādi or Ashadhādi Vikrama year is 1170. Compared with the first date, the date apparently proves that the Sinha year was not a Kārättikādi year, but began either with Chaitrā or with Ashādha.

(3). A stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāthiāvār, of the reign of the Chālukya Kumaraṇāla, is dated—

śrīmad-Vikrama-saṅvat 1202 tathā śrī-
Sinha-saṅvat 32 Āśvina-vadi 13 Sömē.

Here the difference between the Sinha year and the Vikrama year put down in the date is again 1170, and, judging from the preceding dates, the Vikrama year 1202 should be the expired Chaitrādi or Ashadhādi Vikrama year 1202. The preceding dates show besides that the corresponding European date should fall in A. D. (32 + 1113 =) 1145. When treating of this date before, I indicated that, taking the date purely as a Vikrama date, the choice, as regards its European equivalent, would lie between Monday, the 28th August A. D. 1144, when the 13th tīthi of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and Monday, the 15th October A. D. 1145, when the same tīthi commenced 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. Irrespective of any considerations connected with the Sinha era, the first of these two possible equivalents seemed objectionable because it would necessitate the assumption that the Vikrama year of the date had been quoted as a current year. Now a comparison of the two other Sinha dates will show that we must definitely decide in favour of Monday, the 15th October A. D. 1145, as the proper equivalent of this date, notwithstanding the fact that the tīthi of the date did not end, but commenced on that day.

The three dates show that the Sinha year was not a Kārättikādi year, but they leave it uncertain whether it began with Chaitrā or Ashādha. The question would have to be decided in favour of the Ashadhādi year, if the following date could be referred with confidence to the Sinha era.

According to the List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres. p. 312 (and Archæol. Survey of West India, No. 2, p. 39), a short inscription at Gīrṇā is dated—

Saṅ 53 varṣa Chaitra-vadi 2 Sömē.

Excepting, of course, dates of the Saptarshī era, I have not hitherto met with a single date from which the figures for the centuries of the year of the date have been purposely omitted; and therefore it does not seem to me at all improbable that the year 58 of this date may have to be referred to the Sinha era. Now, assuming the date to be a Sinha date, the only possible equivalent of it would be Monday, the 14th March A. D. 1173, which was almost completely filled by the second tīthi of the dark half of the chaṭṭha Chaitra. Monday, the 14th March A. D. 1172, however, belongs to the month of Chaitrā or Ashadhādi, but not the Chaitrādi Vikrama year (58 + 1170 =) 1228 expired; and, since we already have seen that the Sinha year was not a Kārättikādi year, it would, with necessity, follow from this date that the Sinha year commenced with the month Ashadhā, (and was perhaps the original Ashadhādi year).

4.—Of the Chālukya Vikrama Varsha or era of the Western Chālukya king, Vikramaditya VI., Dr. Fleet has treated ante, Vol. VIII. pp. 187-193. My examination of a large number of dates of this era has yielded the results that, whatever may have been the day of the coronation of Vikramaditya VI., the years of the dates and the Jovian years quoted with them coincide with the lunar Saka years, beginning with Chaitra-sūdi 1 and ending with Phālguna-vadi 18; and that a Chālukya Vikrama year may be converted into the corresponding expired Saka year by the simple addition of 997. This may be seen from the following regular dates:

(1). The Yāvar tablet (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 20) is dated; ... Chālukya-Vikrama-varsha[da]nayya Piṅgala-saṅvatsaraśa Kṛṣṇa-puṣṭa-raśa Aṇḍita-saṅgāraṇā-mahāparvavimittaditi. The corresponding date, for Saka (9 + 997 =) 999 expired, which by the southern lunisolar system was the year Piṅgala, is Sunday, the 6th August A. D. 1077, when there was a lunar eclipse 21 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

(2). A stone tablet at Kurkotā (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 9) is dated; ... Cha.-Vī. varsha[da*]nayya Dvīdbhā-saṅvatsaraśa Pūshya-sūdh-jātide Aṇḍita-varam-uttarāraśa-saṅkṛānti-vaśāhā. The corresponding date, for Saka (7 + 997 =) 1004 expired, the year Dvīdbhā, the 3rd tīthi of the bright half of Paścim ended
4h 24m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1082, and the Uttarāyana-
samkrānti took place on the preceding day, 13h 43m. after mean sunrise.

(3). According to Dr. Fleet (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 22) a stone-tablet at Alur records grants made 'at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north, on Thursday, the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Prajāpati samvatsara, which was the sixteenth of the years of the glorious Chālukya king Vikrama.' In Saka (16+997) 1013 expired, the year Prajāpati, the 12th titih of the bright half of Pausha ended 19h 24m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th December A.D. 1091, and the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place on the preceding day, 21h 36m. after mean sunrise.

(4). A stone-tablet at Kuruvatti (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 191, No. 20) is dated: Chā.-Vī.-varshadha 24nēyā Praṃdhā-samvatsarasa Jyēṣṭha-sūdhā paurnna(rum)masi Āditya-vārṣaṇamagrapuṇṇad-aṇṇu. The corresponding date, for Saka (24+997=) 1021 expired, the year Pratihāra, is Sunday, the 5th June A.D. 1099, when there was a lunar eclipse 16h 55m. after mean sunrise.

(5). A stone-tablet at Kargudali (ante, Vol. X. p. 232) is dated: Chā.-Vī.-varshadha 23nēyā Sarvadāhā-samvatsarasa Jyēṣṭha-sūdhā punnami Somavṛtta-aṇṇu. The corresponding date, for Saka (33+997=) 1030 expired, the year Sarvadbhūra, is Monday, the 21st September A.D. 1108, when the full-moon titih ended 21h 36m. after mean sunrise.

The two following dates, taken together, prove that the Jovian years quoted in them commenced on the first day of the bright half of the lunar Chaitra, not at the time of the Mēsha-samkrānti, nor on the 5th day of the bright half of Phalguna, the anniversary of the accession of the founder of the era.

(6). An inscription at Kaṭṭagēri (ante, Vol. VI. p. 138) is dated: Chā.-Vī.-varshadha 21nēyā Dhiṭu-samvatsarasa Chaitra su śuddha 5 Ādityavṛtta-aṇṇu. The corresponding date, for Saka (21+997=) 1018 expired, is Sunday, the 2nd March A.D. 1096, when the 5th titih of the bright half ended 1h 12m. after mean sunrise. As the Mēsha-samkrānti did not take place till the 23rd March, A.D. 1096, the date shows that the Jovian year Dhiṭurī to which the date belonged commenced before the beginning of the solar Saka year 1018 expired, and did not coincide with the solar year.

(7). A stone-tablet of Balagalev (ante, Vol. V. p. 344) is dated 'on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the day of the new-moon of (the month) Phalguna of the Śrīmukha samvatsara which was the 18th of the years of the glorious Chālukya king Vikrama.' The corresponding date, for the amānta Phalguna of Śaka (18+997=) 1015 expired, is Sunday, the 19th March A.D. 1094, when there was a solar eclipse, which was visible in India, at 5h 8m. after mean sunrise. The fact that this day belonged to the Jovian year Śrīmukha shows that that year did not commence (or end) on the 5th of the bright half of Phalguna; for, had such been the case, the year Śrīmukha would have ended already on the 22nd February A.D. 1094, and the Jovian year of the date would have been Bhāva.

The following are some of the dates which do not work out satisfactorily:—

(8). An inscribed pillar at Araiśwar (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 4) is dated: Chā.-Vī.-kālada Inaya Nāla-samvatsarasa Chaitrabhula-paṇchamī Maṅgalavāra-Mēshasam-
krānti-yaṭanīpaṭaad-aṇṇu. The year of the date should be Śaka (1+997=) 998 expired, but the date does not work out properly either for that year or for the immediately preceding and following years. The 5th titih of the dark half of the amānta Chaitra of Śaka 998 expired ended on Monday, the 23rd March A.D. 1076, and the nearest Mēsha-samkrānti took place on Wednesday, the 23rd March A.D. 1076. For Śaka 997 expired the corresponding dates are Wednesday, the 8th April, and Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 1075; and for Śaka 999 expired, Friday, the 17th March, and Thursday, the 23rd March, A.D. 1077.

(9). A stone-tablet at Wadageri (ib. No. 5) is dated (on the anniversary of Vikramaditiya's coronation): Chā.-Vī.-varṣha-pratama-Nāla-
samvatsarasa Phālguṇa-sūdhā-paṇchamī-Bri-
(bri)haspatwṛtad-aṇṇu. The year of the date should again be Śaka (1+997=) 998 expired: but the equivalents of the date both for that year and for the immediately preceding and following years are Tuesday, the 31st January A.D. 1077; Friday, the 12th February A.D. 1076; and Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1078.

(10). The Tilgundī copper-plate grant of Vikramaditīya VI. (ante, Vol. I. p. 81) is dated: Śvīr-Vikramakaṇa-samvatsarasah asatam adhitēvasa apātēvēm Dūndhuhi-samvatsara pravartamānē tasya Kārttikeya-su śuddha-pratipad-Ādityā. Here the year of the date should be Śaka (7+997=) 1004 expired, as in the date No. 2, above; but the equivalents of the date both for that year and for the immediately preceding and following years are Tuesday, the 25th October A.D. 1082.
Wednesday, the 6th October A.D. 1081; and
Saturday, the 14th October A.D. 1083.

(11). A stone-tablet at Saundatti (Jour. Bo.
At. Soc., Vol. X. p. 292,) is dated in the 21st year,
the Dātu sanvitśara, on Sunday, the 13th of
the dark half of Pushya, and the moment when
the sun was commencing his progress to the
north. Here the year of the date should be Śaka
(91+997=) 1013 expired, as in the date No. 6,
above; but in Śaka 1013 expired the 13th tithi of
the dark half of the amanta Pusha ended on
Wednesday, the 14th January A.D. 1097, and
the Uttarāyaṇa-sankrānti took place on Wednes-
day, the 24th December A.D. 1096.

The Chānlīkya Vikrama era offers a comparatively
far greater number of irregular dates than any
other Hindu era. Here I will give only one
more date which is of special interest on account
of the doubtful meaning of the word employed
to denote the week-day.

(12). According to Dr. Fleet (Jour. Bo. At.
Soc., Vol. X. p. 297) a stone-tablet at Koudr is
dated 'in the 12th year of the era of the pros-
perous Chānlīkya Vikrama, being the Prabhava
svamitśara, at the moment of the sun's com-
 mencement of his progress to the north, on
Vādjavāra the fourteenth day of the dark
fortnight of Pusha.' The year of this date is Śaka
(12+997=) 1009 expired, which was the year Prab-
haba; and in that year the 14th tithi of the dark
half of the amanta Pusha commenced 5 h. 6 m.
before and ended 18 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise
of Sunday, the 26th December A.D. 1087, and
the Uttarāyaṇa-sankrānti took place 1 h. 47 m.
before mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th De-
ceber A.D. 1087. Now, that this is the Uttarā-
yaṇa-sankrānti spoken of in the date, there can
be no doubt; but according to ordinary rules the
tithi that should have joined with the Sankrānti
is the 13th, during which the Sankrānti itself
took place and which occupied about nine-
teen hours of Saturday, the 25th December, not
the 14th which is actually put down in the date.
There is therefore difficulty that we do not know
what day of the week is meant by the word
Vādjavāra of the date. Judging from the
remarks of Mr. L. Rice on the word vādja, ante,
Vol. VIII. p. 90, one would feel inclined to regard
that word as a synonym of śukya or dāti, and
to take Vādjavāra as a name of Sunday. And in
favour of this it might be urged, not only, that in
the date under discussion the 14th tithi put down
in the date did end on a Sunday, but also, that
the date of the Anamkōj inscription of Rudra-
deva (ante, Vol. XI. p. 12)—Śaka-varaṇamala
1084 vunneti Chitrabhaṇā-svamitśara Māgha śu
śa 13 Vādjavāramunāmdu—undoubtedly corre-
sponds to Sunday, the 20th January, A.D. 1163.
On the other hand, it might very properly be
suggested that in the date under discussion the 14th tithi had been wrongly quoted instead of the 15th,—a suggestion which would render it
necessary to assign to Vādjavāra the meaning of
Saturday; and in support of this interpretation,
again, one might adduce the date of the Toragal
inscription, published ante, Vol. XII. p. 97,—Sa-
(ś)ka-varaṇamala 1110neya Plavanga-svamitśarasra
Paśuṇa(ś)ya bahuṇa 10 Vādjavāra-uttarāyaṇa-
sankrānta-vayatiṇādalu,—the proper equi-
valent of which without any doubt is Saturday,
the 26th December, A.D. 1187. That Vādjavāra
must be either Saturday or Sunday (not, as was
suggested by the late Dr. Bhān Dājī, Wednesday
or Thursday) is certain, and in my opinion the
chances are in favour of Sunday; but the dates
known to me are not sufficient to settle the ques-
tion definitely. 

5.—Ante, Vol. XIX. p. 24, I have shown that
the word saka is occasionally employed in dates
of the Vikrama era in the general sense of 'year.'
A clear instance of this usage occurs in the fol-
lowing verse which is found in a MS. of Gaṅ-
ghāra Sarasvati's Śāntīyaśasiddhānta:-
Vasv-abdhī-āvani-āśā-akā Vri-
shākhyā-
varaha ye Maṅgha-sīta-Vaṃpati-yukt-
shāntiṇī

Gaṅghāra-yañā Sīvayā padabjā
bhakti-4[ṛ]pitā sukṛitīṣṭu saṅkal
śivāya II

The year of this date is the Vikrama year (not,
as has been assumed, the śaka year) 1743 expired,
of Maṅgha.' Here the corresponding dates would be,
for 9. 1066 current = Rudhirōdgīrī, Friday, the 4th
February, A.D. 1144; and for 9. 1066 expired, Tuesday,
the 23rd January, A.D. 1145.
No. 225, of the time of the Yādava Rāmacandra.—
The twelfth year of his reign, the Śravabhū-kṣaṁ-
śthāna (Śaka 1205); "Vādjavāra," the fifth day of the
bright fortnight of Phāḻgupa.' Here the corresponding
date, for 9. 1205 expired = Śravasena, would be Wednesday
the 23rd February, A.D. 1284; but for 9. 1206 expire
=Tāraṇa, Sunday, the 11th February, A.D. 1285.
and the corresponding date is Thursday, the 14th January, A.D. 1692. The Jovian year Vṛsha which is quoted in the date ended, by the Sōrya-
siddhānta rule without bija, on the 24th January, A.D. 1692.

F. KIELHORN.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

It may be assumed that most writers on Oriental subjects know that the termination mus in the word Musalmán has no connection with the English termination man in such words as “Englishman,” “Frenchman,” etc. Indeed, no English writer would make such a mistake, in even purely English words, as to conceive Gerwoman and Germen, or Barwoman and Barman, out of German and Barman. But a writer has at last been found, who can, in a publication professedly intended for Oriental readers, perpetrate, by what the late Sir Henry Yule has styled “the process of Hobson-Jobson,” the astounding error of Musselwoman. Here is the passage. The Overland Mail of Feb. 10, 1893, p. 47: “It is now reported that the lady has resolved to be ‘converted’ and become a Musselwoman and dame of the harem, which will secure the presumptive heiros to the throne for her son.” This passage occurs in the course of an ill-natured bit of gossip about the “Khedive” Abbâs Pâshâ.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

The Dr. Weber’s preface gives an account of its growth, and renders due acknowledgment to the Government of Bombay, for allowing Dr. Bühl to send to Berlin at intervals a nearly complete series of the texts of Śvetāmbara Siddhatā, together with many other important Jain works. It was this collection which formed the basis of the author’s essays on the sacred literature of that community, a translation of which has been lately appearing in this Journal. The Library is also indebted to Prof. Garbe, who during his brief stay in India of a year and a half, sent home nearly three hundred MSS. on various subjects.

The work is printed with the care and accuracy, which has distinguished the preceding sections of this volume, and Dr. Weber warmly acknowledges the assistance rendered to him by Drs. Leumann and Klatt in reading the proofs. This accuracy has not been attained without cost, and all scholars will sincerely regret that, as the author remarks, a good portion of his eyesight lies buried in the pages before us.

The preface contains an interesting note on the peculiarities of Jain MSS., too long to quote here, but which is well worth the perusal of any person commencing the study of this class of work. They are specially distinguished by the neatness and accuracy with which they are written, equalled only, in Brahmatical works, by MSS. of Vedic literature. The collection, as the professor points out, is rich in narrative-literature, affording a plenteous and almost unexplored mine of Indian folklore, and containing not infrequent references to things which connect India with the western world.

Again congratulating Dr. Weber on the completion of this striking monument of erudition combined with patient labour, I bring this note to a close.

G. A. G.

1 For a notice of the first section, see ante, Vol. XVI. page 316, and of the second section, ante, Vol. XVIII. page 86.
HIUEN TSIANG'S CAPITAL OF MAHARASHTRA

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., PH.D., C.I.E.

In his account of the country of Maharashtra, as the kingdom of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśa II., Huen Tsiang tells us, according to Mr. Beal's translation of the Si-yu-ki (Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 255, 257), that "the capital "borders on the west on a great river ......... Within and without the capital are five "stūpas to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by "Asōkarāja. There are, besides these, other stūpas made of brick or stone, so many that it "would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is a saṅghārāma in "which is a stone image of Kwan-ts' ts'ai Bōdhissatva."

The name of this capital is not mentioned. And, though two indications, which ought to locate it and determine its name, are given,— viz., that it was situated about 1,000 li or 167 miles to the east of Broach, and between 2,400 and 2,500 li or roughly about 410 miles to the north-west of the capital of a country which is called in Chinese Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, and is supposed to be in Sanskrit Koṅkāṇapura,— they have failed to do so; partly because the capital of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo has never yet been satisfactorily determined; and partly because there is no place due east of Broach or nearly so, at or anywhere near the required distance, which answers to the description that is given. The result has been a variety of surmises as to the name of this capital. And the question has never yet been disposed of.

Now, the real capital of the Western Chalukya dynasty was Bādāmi, the chief town of the tālukā of the same name in the Bijāpur District. But its surroundings do not answer to the description given by Huen Tsiang. There is, it is true, a river, within four miles of the town,— the Mahārābha; but it is only a tributary of the Kṛishra, and it cannot be called one of the great rivers of India. And about three miles to the south by east of the town, there is a temple of Banaśaṅkara,— with a variety of shrines, a large enclosure, and a tank that has a cloister round three sides of it,— which presents the appearance of a certain amount of antiquity; but there are no indications of Buddhism about it, and nothing to justify the supposition that it is a Brahmāṇical adaptation of an ancient Buddhist saṅghārāma. Further, the cave-temples at Bādāmi are Jain and Brahmāṇical,— not Buddhist. Again, neither in the town, nor in its neighbourhood, can any traces be found of any stūpas. And, finally, though the direction of Bādāmi from Broach, south-south-east, may be taken as answering to the statement that Broach was to the west or north-west of the capital of Maharashtra, still its distance, 435 miles, is altogether incommensurate with the given distance, and is quite sufficient, in itself, to exclude the possibility of such an identification. Bādāmi, therefore, is undoubtedly inadmissible for the town referred to by Huen Tsiang.

Mr. Beal has stated, in a footnote, the other suggestions that have been made, and some of the objections to them. Thus, M. V. de St. Martin proposed Daulatābād in the Nizām's Dominions. But, though the distance and direction from Broach,— 188 miles to the south-east,— are admissible, there is no river here; nor are there any Buddhist remains. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham has been in favour of Kālyāṇī, in the Nizām's Dominions, which has on the west a large stream named Kālīṣā. But here, again, there is nothing that can be called "a great river;" there are no Buddhist remains; the distance from Broach, about 372 miles towards the south-east, is far too much; and there is absolutely nothing to justify the supposition that Kālyāṇī was a place of any importance at all, until it became the Western Chālukya capital, after the restoration of the dynasty by Taila II. in A. D. 973. And Mr. Fergusson named "Toka, Phulthaṁba, or Pāitan." But, as regards these, though Paithan, on the Gōḍāvāri, in the Nizām's Dominions, is well admissible on account of its ancient importance, and might be fairly so because it is only about 220 miles to the south-east from

1 On the question of the real bearings, however, see further on.
2 See page 116 below, note 7.
Broach, no Buddhist remains have ever been discovered there. Tōka or Tōkēh, on the Gōdāvāri, in the Newasa Talukā of the Ahmednagar District, about 195 miles to the south-east of Broach, is nothing but an ordinary village, of not the slightest importance, except that it has a post-office and a few purely modern temples which are supposed to be invested with sanctity, — for which reasons alone it is mentioned in Gazetteers. And Phulthamba, properly Puṇṭāmbō, on the same river, and in the Kōpargaon Talukā of the same district, about 28 miles towards the north-west of Tōka, is nothing but a market-village with a railway station, and, in the same way, with a few entirely modern temples, and is mentioned in Gazetteers simply because it is such. Mr. Beal himself, locating the capital of Kong-khia-nu-pu-lo near Golkonda in the Nizām's Dominions, arrived at the conclusion that Huien Tsang's capital of Mahārāṣṭra must be found near the Taptī river, or perhaps near the Gīrṇā, which flows through Nāsīk and Khāndēsh and joins the Taptī about fifteen miles to the north of Eranjōl. But he did not suggest any particular town. And, as I have already intimated, there is no place on either river, at or near the required distance from Broach, answering to the description given by Huien Tsang.

My own attention was attracted specially to the point quite recently, in consequence of a visit to the cave-temples at Ajañtā (properly Ajuñṭāhā). They are described by Huien Tsang, in his account of Mahārāṣṭra, and are located by him in a great mountain on the eastern frontier of the country. And they are, in fact, in the Čhāndōr or Sāṃtālā range,—just about the point where the range, which finally merges itself in the highlands that form the southern frontier of Berār, turns towards the south. To the west of Ajañtā, the range runs through Nānda-goan and Čhāndōr (properly Čhāndwad), and merges in the Sahyādrī chain in the north-west part of the Nāsīk District. And what first forcibly struck my attention, when, after crossing the range from the direction of Ellōrā, or rather after descending from the plateau which there runs along the southern crest of it, I was travelling along the north of it, is the conspicuous "wall-like boundary" which it makes, from near Nānda-goan to at least as far as Ajañtā, between Khāndēsh and the country to the south. In the neighbourhood of Nānda-goan and Manmād, where the range is much broken and the level of the country itself rises a good deal, this peculiar feature is not so well marked. But it develops itself again to the west of Manmād. And, taking the range as a whole, there can be no doubt that, in direct continuation of the eastern frontier, on which Huien Tsang placed the Ajañtā caves, it formed the natural northern frontier of the country which he was describing.

Now, the distance from Broach as given by the Chinese pilgrim, viz. 167 miles, must be accepted more or less closely. But, as regards the bearings, while the text of the Si-yu-ki says that Broach was to the west of the unnamed capital of Mahārāṣṭra (loc. cit. p. 259), still, however freely we may interpret the narrative, any easterly direction from Broach, even with a southerly bearing not sufficiently marked to require it to be called plainly south-easterly, carries us decidedly to the north of the Sāṃtālā range, and so keeps us outside the northern frontier of the country. On the other hand, however, Hwui-li, who wrote the Life of Huien Tsang, says (Beal's Life of Huien Tsang, p. 147) that the direction of Broach from the unnamed capital was north-west; and any approximately south-east bearing from Broach takes us, at the distance of 110 to 167 miles, well to the south of the Sāṃtālā. And I think, therefore, that the bearings given by Hwui-li must of necessity be more correct than those in the narrative from which extracts have been given above.

And there is still one other point to be mentioned. Mr. Beal's expression "the capital borders on the west on a great river" is,—possibly owing to want of punctuation,—not very explicit, to say the least. And I think that we must prefer the far plainer words made use of by M. Stanislas Julien (Vie de Huien-Thsang, p. 415),—"du côté de l'ouest, la capitale

* See the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XII., Khāndēsh, p. 5; also see Vol. XVI., Nāsīk, p. 5.
est voisine d’un grand pluie,” which apparently mean that the capital lay towards the west of the kingdom and was on or near a great river. And I thus take it that we must locate the required place as far to the west as possible, consistently with maintaining, approximately, the given distance and direction from Broach.

Since, then, the given distance from Broach keeps us far away to the north of the real capital, Bādami, we have to look for some subordinate but important town, somewhere along or near the northern frontier and towards the western end of it, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Huien Tsiang,—most probably because it was the basis of the military operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, which also are alluded to in his account, and because, in connection with those operations, Pulikēśin II. happened to be there at the time. And I feel no hesitation in deciding that the place, which must of necessity lie somewhere towards the west or north-west of the Nāśik District, is Nāśik itself. This town is about 126 miles to the south-south-east of Broach: the distance corresponds sufficiently well: and, accepting the statement of Hwai-li, so does the bearing; for Broach, lying actually to the north-north-west of Nāśik, may very fairly, in the rough manner followed by the Chinese pilgrims, be described as lying towards the north-west. And the surroundings of the town, which has been a place of importance from considerable antiquity, answer in detail to the description given by Huien Tsiang. It is on the Gōdāvari, which, anywhere along its course, is always counted as one of the great rivers of India. Within a distance of six miles on the south-west, there is the Pāṇḍu-liṅga group of Buddhist caves, in which we may locate the saṅghārāma mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. And finally, as regards the stūpas spoken of by him, one, at any rate, still exists,—near a small water-fall on the Gōdāvari, about six miles west of the town.

In conclusion, I would remark that, in my opinion, the country which Huien Tsiang has described might have been called more properly Kuntala (in Mahārāṣṭra),—rather than Mahārāṣṭra itself. To allow for the number of ninety-nine thousand villages, whether actual or traditional, which the Aihole inscription allots to the three divisions of it, each called Mahārāṣṭra, the Mahārāṣṭra country proper must, I think, have extended on the north up to the Narmadā, and on the east and north-east far beyond Ajanta. What Huien Tsiang was describing is really the kingdom of Pulikēśin II., or part of it. Now, the later Western Chalukyas of Kalyani were specially known as “the lords of Kuntala.” The dominions of their predecessors of Bādami appear to have coincided very much with their own dominions. And the existence of the Kuntala country may certainly be taken back to at least the time of Huien Tsiang; for it is mentioned, as a well-established and principal territorial division, in an inscription at Ajanta, 6 which, though possibly not quite so early as the period of Huien Tsiang, is at any rate not very much later in date. It is, moreover, mentioned there under circumstances which suggest the inference that the Ajanta caves were themselves in Kuntala.

It may be added that the given distance of about 410 miles to the south-east from Nāśik takes us to a very likely place indeed, Karṇāl, as the capital of the country of Kong-kine-pu-lo. The actual distance here is, as near as possible, 413 miles, to the south-east. And, on the assumption, which appears to be correct, that the distances given by Huien Tsiang are always from capital to capital, the distance and direction to Karṇāl from

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4 The same meaning may, I think, be given to Mr. Bell’s translation, by inserting a comma after “west.” And very possibly he intended such a comma to be understood. But, as it stands, his sentence is decidedly enigmatical.

6 Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVI., Nāśik, p. 530. It is there called a “burial mound;” but the details of the description show it to be an undeniable stūpa. To obviate unnecessary questioning, it may be stated that, in spite of its being a Buddhist site, and one, too, on the line of his route, Nāśik is nowhere mentioned by name by Huien Ta-sse. So there is no objection of that kind,—viz. that he refers to it in any other connection,—against the identification of which I decide. The matter seems to me so obvious, that it appears curious that no one has already hit on the true solution. But it probably required what I have been able to give it,—personal consideration on the spot.

8 Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV., pp. 135, 157. In an earlier time still, the name of Kuntala occurs in Vardhamihira’s Brāhat-Samhita, xvi. 11.
Conjeveram, viz. about 232 miles to the north-west-by-north, seem to answer sufficiently well to the statement made by the Chinese writers, that the capital of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo was about 2,000 li, or approximately 333 miles, to the north-west from Kūchi, i.e. Conjeveram.  

DNZISHNI COINS FROM TRANQUEBAR.

By E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Bangalore.

The seaport of Tranquebar is situated in the Māyavaram talukā of the Tanjore district, 18 miles north of Negapatam. The only ancient Hindu building in it is a Saiva temple, which is partially washed away by the sea. This temple contains three Tamil inscriptions:—

No. I.—An inscription which is dated in the 37th year of the reign of the Pandya king Kō-Maṟavaṉarman (alias) Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasekhara-deva.

No. II.—An inscription which is dated on the 20th day of the month of Kuṟṟiṟṟi of the cyclic year Prabhava, and which records a gift by a certain Irāmāyir Ayyan, who was the agent of “the glorious Achehuttappā-Nāṭakkar Aṟṟyana.” According to the Tanjore Manual, pp. 750 ff., Achehuttappā was the name of the second of the four Nāṭakka rulers of Taṉjavūr. If he is meant, the date of the inscription would correspond to A. D. 1627.

No. III.—An inscription which is dated[2] in A. D. 1733, and which records that a certain Āpāddhāraṇa-Ṣetti, the son of Subrahmany-Ṣetti, erected a flagstaff (dhaujastambha) and laid the pavement (ṭa[navai]) of the temple.

The two last inscriptions call the temple Māsilamani-Iśvara, while in the first, it is called Manivannarvar, and Tranquebar itself “Saṅgavanpādi, alias Kulasegaranṭhiṇam (i.e. the city of Kulasekhara).” The modern Tamil designation of Tranquebar, Tarangapādi (i.e. “the village of the waves”), is evidently a corruption, produced through a popular etymology, of the form which occurs in Kulasekhara’s inscription, Saṅgavanpādi. The intermediate form Taṅgavanpādi appears to be scribbled between lines 4 and 5 of the inscription No. II.

A large number of deserted buildings in the European style, the fort of “Dansborg,” and the tombs with Danish epitaphs in the cemetery remind the visitor of this Indian Pompeii that it used to be the seat of the Government of a Danish colony. The Danes established an East India Company during the reign of Christian IV. in A. D. 1616. Their first ship, the “Oeresund,” which left Denmark in August 1618, in charge of Roelant Craspe, a Dutchman.

1 Real, loc. cit. p. 353 and note 38. The Si-yu-ki says “north-wards”; and Huw-i-li, “north-west.” Someone or other has, doubtless, already commented on the curious appearance which the word Koṅgaṇḍurpa presents, as the name of a country. The Chinese transliteration koṅ-ki is not only to represent the Sanskrit kśīśu, “a bracelet,” or the Kanarese kāgumā, “red eyes,” which occurs in kēvuyanuṇaśi, “the black Indian cock, having red eyes.” But the country lies so much in the direction of the province which in later records is called, with reference to the actual or traditional number of its villages, the Gaṅgavālī Ninety-six thousand, and which may very well have included Karṇā, that I cannot help thinking that, in the Chinese Koṅ-gi-na-pu-lo, we may find the word Gaṅga or Koṅgapi. With Gaṅga for koṅ-ki, it is not easy to say what na-pu-lo can represent; unless it may be the Sanskrit nāpya, “a foot,” or naṅtha (also written naṅḍaḥ), “abounding with reeds, a reed-bed.” With Koṅgapi for koṅ-ki-na, we might, if Koṅgapi can be shown to be the ancient name of any river, take the whole word to be either Koṅgapiṇḍa, “(the country of) the floods of the Koṅgapi,” or Koṅgapiṇḍa, “(the country of) the Koṅgapi,”—there was also a country named Koṅga, which is suggested to be the modern Koṅga or Coorg (Myore Inscriptions, p. xii.). And this name, too, might be found in the Chinese word. But, if Koṅgapi is Coorg, it seems too far to the west for the country traversed by Hinnas Taṅg. Again, a Harlur inscription mentions a country named Koṅga (id. p. 70); it is distinct from the Koṅkana, which is mentioned in the same passage.

2 The complete date of the inscription is:—On the auspicious day, on which the Utthirāṭṭhīnsakhatra fell on Friday, the 30th day of the month of Āśvin of the Sāvishāvat year, which was current after the Sālavāhā-Sāka year 1775 (year 1705) and the Kali-yuga year 4684.”

3 Saṅgavan appears to be used in the sense of saha-aṅga-viḍ, “one who knows the six Aṅgas (of the Veda),” With Saṅgavanpādi compare the term chaṭṭarati-dī-maṅgalam, which is frequently employed in Tamil inscriptions as the designation of an aṟṟhāra.

by birth, was attacked by the Portuguese off the Coromandel coast and lost. The commander escaped with thirteen men to the court of Tanjore. Five other ships had left home in November 1618, in command of Ove Godde, a Danish nobleman. Through the united efforts of Crape and Gedde, a treaty between Denmark and Achyutappa, the Nāyaka of Tānjāvūr, was concluded in November 1620. By this treaty, the Nāyaka ceded Tranquebar with fifteen neighbouring villages,—a strip of land of 1½ hours breadth and 2 hours length,—against an annual tribute of about Rs. 4,003. Having laid the foundation of the fort of Dansborg, Gedde returned to Denmark, while Crape remained in charge of the new settlement. With one interruption (A. D. 1808 to 1814) the Danes continued to hold Tranquebar for more than two centuries until 1845, when it was purchased by the British. Since then, Tranquebar has lost its commercial importance to Negapatam, a former Dutch port, which enjoys the advantage of being connected with the main-line of the South Indian Railway by a branch from Tanjore.

As appears from Mr. Neumann's great work on Copper Coins and Mr. Weyl's Catalogue of the Fournier Collection, the Danes issued a large number of types of colonial coins, most of which, however, are now rare or not procurable at all. A few years ago, Messrs. T. M. Ranga Charī and T. Desika Charī published the contents of their collection. Through the kind offices of the Rev. T. Kreussler, who continued for some time to purchase on my account all coins which could be obtained at, and near Tranquebar, I have since acquired a fairly representative collection, which is the subject of this paper. The abbreviations N, W, and B refer to the above-mentioned treaties of Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weyl, and Messrs. Ranga Charī and Desika Charī, respectively. For the preparation of the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plate was copied, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

I.—CHRISTIAN THE FOURTH.

(A. D. 1588 to 1648.)

No. 1. Lead. Weight, 64½ grains.

(N. 20646; W. 2802.)

Obv. C with 4 enclosed (the monogram of the king), surmounted by a crown.

Rev. \{ [I. B.]

CAS

1645

This specimen is valuable on account of its complete date; on the copy noticed by Neumann, the last figure is missing, and the reverse of Weyl's copy is illegible. The letters I. B. on the reverse are supposed to stand for T. B., an abbreviation of the mint-town, Tranquebar; see Neumann's remark on his No. 20672. Cas, and Kas on later Danish coins, represents,—like the Anglo-Indian "cash,"—the Tamil word kōṉ, 'a coin.'

II.—FREDERICK THE THIRD.

(A. D. 1648 to 1670.)

No. 2. Copper. Average weight, 12½ grains.

(N. 20648; R. 1.)

Obv. F 3, crowned.

Rev. The Norwegian lion.

Neumann refers to a similar coin (N. 20647) with the date ANNO 1667 on the obverse.

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8 See Dr. Germann's Johann Philipp Fabricius, Erlangen 1865, p. 87.
9 On the Dutch copper coins of Negapatam (Nāgapatam) and Pulicat (Pulāvēkkōṭtu) see Mr. Neumann's Copper Coins, Vol. III. p. 60 f. and Plate xlvi.
10 Beschreibung der bekannten Kupfermünzen, Vol. III. Prag 1863, pp. 73 ff.
12 Indo-Danish Coins; Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session 1888-89.
III.—CHRISTIAN THE FIFTH.

(A. D. 1670 to 1699.)

No. 3. Lead. Weight, 35 1/4, 36 1/2, 76 1/2 grains.
(N. 20668; W. 2803-4.)

Obv. C 5, linked and crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

The letters D O C are the initials of "Dansk Ostindisk Compagni" (Danish East-Indian Company). According to Neumann, a lead coin of different type (N. 20661) bears the date 1687 on the obverse.

No. 4. Copper. Weight, 11 1/2 grains.
(N. 20665; R. 4.)

Obv. Same as No. 3.
Rev. Blank.

No. 5. Copper. Average weight, 13 1/2 grains.
(N. 20662-3; R. 2.)

Obv. Double C 5, linked and crowned; 8 on the left, and 9 on the right. Other specimens have 9 on the left, and 0 or 1 on the right.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned; W on the left, H on the right, and VK below.

The figures 89, 90 and 91 on the obverse are abbreviations of the dates 1689, 1690 and 1691.
According to Neumann, the letters W. H. V. K. on the reverse are the initials of the Danish officer who issued the coin.

No. 6. Copper. Average weight, 12 1/2 grains.
(N. 20664-7; W. 2809-10; R. 3.)

Obv. Double C 5, linked and crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned; 1 on the left, 6 on the right, and 94 below. Other specimens have 92 or 97 below.

The figures on the reverse represent the dates 1692, 1694 and 1697. Neumann and Weyl also note the date 1693, R. the date 1699.

IV.—FREDERICK THE FOURTH.

(A. D. 1699 to 1730.)

No. 7. Copper; one cash. Weight, 13, 17 1/2 grains.

Obv. Double F 4, linked and crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

No. 8. Copper; two cash. Weight, 28 grains.
(N. 20671.)

Obv. Same as No. 7.
Rev. D O C, linked; 2 Kas below.

Neumann describes a four-cash piece, and both Neumann and Weyl a ten-cash piece of similar type.

No. 9. Copper. Average weight, 12 1/2 grains.
(W. 2815; R. 5.)

Obv. A monogram, consisting of F and 4, crowned.
Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

No. 10. Copper. Average weight, 13 1/2 grains.
(N. 20673-4; R. 6.)

Obv. F 4, linked and crowned.
Rev. Same as No. 9.
DANISH COINS FROM TRANQUEBAR.

FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.
V.—CHRISTIAN THE SIXTH.
(A.D. 1730 to 1746.)

No. 11. Copper. Weight, 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(N. 20678; W. 2821.)
Obv. C with 6 enclosed, crowned; 17 on the left, worn on the right.
Rev. The Norwegian lion.

The figure 17 on the obverse is the first half of the date. Neumann notes the date 1730, and Weyl the date 1732.

No. 12. Copper; one cash. Average weight, 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(N. 20679; W. 2817.)
Obv. C with 6 enclosed, crowned.
Rev. D A C, linked and crowned.

The letters D A C, which from the time of Christian VI. take the place of D O C, are the initials of "Dansk Asiatiske Compagni" (Danish Asiatic Company).

No. 13. Copper; one cash. Weight, 10, 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(N. 20680.)
Obv. Same as No. 12, but not crowned.
Rev. Same as No. 12, but not crowned.

No. 14. Copper; two cash. Weight, 23\(\frac{1}{2}, 30\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(N. 20677.)
Obv. Same as No. 12.
Rev. Same as No. 12, with the addition of the figure '2' below.

No. 15. Copper; four cash. Average weight, 40\(\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(N. 20675-6; W. 2816; R. 8.)
Obv. Same as No. 12.
Rev. Same as No. 12, but '4' below.

No. 16. Copper; four cash. Weight, 34 grains.
Same type as No. 15; but the letters C 6 on the obverse are reversed through a mistake of the engraver of the die.

VI.—FREDERICK THE FIFTH.
(A.D. 1746 to 1766.)

No. 17. Copper; four cash. Average weight, 36\(\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(N. 20683; W. 2834; R. 9.)
Obv. F 5, linked and crowned.
Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; 17 on the left, 63 on the right, 4 below.

Neumann's No. 20682 and Weyl's No. 2832 have the different date 1761.

VII.—CHRISTIAN THE SEVENTH.
(A.D. 1766 to 1808.)

No. 18. Silver; one royalin. Weight, 20, 20\(\frac{1}{2}\) grains.
(W. 2842 ff.; R. 16.)
Obv. C with 7 enclosed, crowned.
Rev. The Danish coat-of-arms; 17 on the left, 73 on the right, I ROYALIN above.

According to Weyl, the latest date is 1792.
No. 19. Silver; two royalins. Weight, 40 grains.

(W. 2839 ff.; R. 15.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. The Danish coat-of-arms; [17] on the left, 74 on the right, :: 2 :: ROYALINER above.

According to Weyl, the earliest date is 1768, and the latest 1807.

No. 20. Copper; one cash. Weight, 9 grains.

(N. 20707-8.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; [17] on the left, 6 * on the right, I (i.e. I Kas) below.

The fourth figure of the date is lost. Neumann notes the later dates 1777 and 1780.

No. 21. Copper; two cash. Weight, 17 1/2 grains.

(N. 20706; W. 2851.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; [17] on the left, 67 on the right, 2 below.

Neumann notes the later dates 1770 and 1780.

No. 22. Copper; four cash, earlier type. Average weight, 36 1/2 grains.

(N. 20693-7; W. 2839a ff.; R. 12.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; 17 on the left, 77 on the right, 4 below. Other specimens have 67, 68 and 70 on the right.

No. 23. Copper; ten cash, earlier type. Weight, 89 1/2, 98 1/2 grains.

(N. 20825-8; W. 2840; R. 11.)

Obv. Double C 7, linked and crowned.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; below it, X. KAS (for KAS) [Ao] (i.e. Anno) 1777. Another specimen has the date 1768. Neumann notes the intermediate dates 1770 and 1772.

No. 24. Copper; four cash, later type. Average weight, 36 1/2 grains.

(N. 20698-705; W. 2859 ff.; R. 14.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. IV.

KAS

1788

On this and other dies, the A of KAS looks like a V upside down. The earliest date is 1782, the latest 1807.

No. 25. Copper; four cash. Weight, 32 grains.

(N. 20701.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

[IV]

KAS

1786

R

The letter R is perhaps the initial of the Danish officer who issued the coin; compare No. 5.
   (W. 2855.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.
Rev. Same as No. 24, but VI instead of IV through a mistake of the engraver of the die. On the three specimens which have passed through my hands, the date is cut away; Weyl's specimen has [17]82.

No. 27. Copper; ten cash, later type. Weight, 98½ grains.
   (N. 20689-92; W. 2854 and 57; R. 13.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rev.} & \{ \text{KAS} \\
& 1782
\end{align*}
\]

The latest date is 1790.

VIII.—FREDERICK THE SIXTH.
(A. D. 1808 to 1839.)

No. 28. Copper; one cash. Weight, 9½ grains.
   (N. 20730.)

Obv. F R (i.e. Fredericus Rex), linked and crowned; VI below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rev.} & \{ \text{KAS} \\
& 18[9]
\end{align*}
\]

No. 29. Copper; four cash. Average weight, 33 grains.
   (N. 20714-29; W. 2871 ff.; R. 18.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rev.} & \{ \text{KAS} \\
& 1815
\end{align*}
\]

On some of the coins of the year 1817, the S of KAS is reversed through a mistake of the engraver of the die. The latest date is 1839. As remarked by Messrs. Ranga Chari and Desika Chari, p. 9, Frederick VI. did not strike any coins at Tranquebar during the earlier portion of his reign between the years 1808 and 1814, as the Indian colonies of Denmark were then in the temporary possession of the English.

No. 30. Copper; ten cash. Average weight, 94½ grains.
   (N. 20709-13; W. 2868 and 82; R. 17.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rev.} & \{ \text{KAS} \\
& 1816
\end{align*}
\]

The latest date is 1839.

IX.—CHRISTIAN THE EIGHTH.
(A. D. 1839 to 1848.)

No. 31. Copper; four cash. Average weight, 39½ grains.
   (N. 20732-37; W. 2884-89; R. 20.)

Obv. C R (i.e. Christianus Rex), linked and crowned; VIII below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rev.} & \{ \text{KAS} \\
& 184[1]
\end{align*}
\]
The earliest date is 1840, and the latest 1845. Neumann (20731) and R. (19) note a ten-cash piece of 1842.

Postscript.

After I had passed the accompanying Plate for printing, I received from Mr. T. M. Ranga Chari, District Munsif of Trichinopoly, a specimen of the following coin of Christian VI.:—

No. 32. Copper. Weight, 17 grains.
(N. 20681; W. 2818.)
Obrv. Same as No. 13.
Rev. A monogram consisting of [T] and B.

The letters T B are an abbreviation of "Tranquobar;" see the remarks on No. 1. The monogram on the obverse of Neumann's and Weyl's specimens is surmounted by a crown, as on the obverse of No. 12.

NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIEVEON, C. I. S.

(Continued from p. 98).

On the writings of Tul'si Dās.

In my Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān, I have given the following list of the poet's works which I had seen or heard of:—

1. Rām-charit-māna (the well-known Rāmdān).
2. Gītābālī.
3. Kābittābālī, or Kābītā Rāmdān.
4. Dōhābālī.
5. Ohappai Rāmāyan.
6. Rām Sāt'ētā.
8. Pārbātī Mangal.
12. Rāmāṅgu (Rāmāṅgū) or Rām Sāgundbālī.
15. Hanumān Bāhuk.

Some of the above are certainly apocryphal, and the following information since acquired may be useful.

Bandan Pāthāk, in the commencement of his commentary on Rām Lalād Nahachhā, says,—

Acura bārē khata grantha kē
Tukā rachē sujāna !
Alpa grantha khata alpa-nati
Birachāita Bandana-gyāna II
'Other learned men composed commentaries on the six other greater works, and now Bandan, small-minded one that he is, composes, according to his knowledge, commentaries on the six smaller ones.'

Mahâdev Prasad has written a gloss on this commentary, and he illustrates Bandan Pañhat's statement by remarks, of which the following is an abstract.

'That is to say, Tuisha Dâs wrote twelve works, six greater and six lesser, as is proved by the verse of the well-known Pañhit Ram Gulâm Drivedi.

'The voice of the Holy Master Tuisha, blissful to the pious, acceptable to the Almighty, delightful to the universe, composed the Râm Lâl Nâhachal (1), Birāgasaundipini (2) and Bar'âb (3) pleasing the heart of the Lord. It sang the sweet mangalas of Pârvatî (4) and Jânakî (5), and composed the Râmâyana (6) charming like the Cow of Plenty. After enquiring Dôhâ (dôhâ-banaâl) (7), Kabittâs (8) and Gilâs (9), it told the tale of Krishnâ (10), and fixed all subjects, i.e., omam seâhî in the Râmâyana (11) and the Bînay (12).'

'Bandan Pañhat, in his Mánas Sandihâl, says that he was a pupil of Chôp or Chôpal Dâs, who was a pupil of Râm Gulâm, and, in another Kabbita, he says that Tuisha Dâs taught the Mánas Râmâyana (i.e., Râm-charit-mânas) to Râm Dâs, who taught it to Râm Din Jyotishâ, who taught it to Duânî Râm, who taught it to Mân Dâs, who taught it to Râm Gulâm. Râm Gulâm's authority is therefore of considerable weight.'

'On the other hand, Pañhit Sêsh Datt Sarmâ (alias Phânès Datt), who (according to the Mánas Kâmûkha was also a pupil-descendant of Tuisha Dâs, and whose authority is of unequal weight), not only recognizes the work called the Sâsâsi, which is not mentioned in Râm Gulâm's list, as authentic, but has also written a commentary on it.'

There are, in my opinion, only two arguments in favour of the authenticity of the Sâsâsi. The first is that mentioned above, that it was commented upon by Sêsh Datt. The second is that it is possible, though improbable, that by 'Dôhâ-banaâl,' Râm Gulâm Drivedi meant the Sâsâsi, which is written throughout in the Dôhâ metre, and not the Dôhâbâlî. There can be no doubt that the collection of verses commonly known as the Dôhâbâlî is not a poem consisting of one connected whole. It is a patchwork largely composed of dôhâs extracted from other works of the poet. To show this, I have drawn up the following table, showing where each verse in the Dôhâbâlî, so far as identified, originally came from. It has been done with the help of native friends, especially Babu Râm Dâs Singh already mentioned. It is as complete as we could make it in default of full indexes of all the works of the poet.

1 Bandan Pañhat has great authority. It must, however, be noted that Pañhit Sûdhâkar Drivedi altogether denies this Gurû-succession, and that the second Kabbita referred to above, is by him. He says that Tuisha Dâs had no disciples. If he had, they would have called themselves Tuisha Dâsas, just as we have Kabirpanthis, Dariyâdâs and the like.

Râm Gulâm Drivedi belonged to Mirâpur, and was born of a poor and ignorant family. He took service (phûrideh) under a cotton merchant and used to delight in studying the writings of Tuisha Dâs. At length his ingenious explanations of the Râmâyana so charmed the baniyâs who listened to him, that they subscribed together and appointed a place for him, where he could recite the poem to their heart's content. Finally, by hook or crook, they obtained for him old Mâs. of the poet's works, from which he compiled a very correct text. He was a great Pañhit, and wrote a Kabittâs and other works. His principal pupils were a blind metal worker (kânlâr), who was the Chôpal Dâs above mentioned, and Lâl Chakkan Lîl, whose name is frequently mentioned in this paper. According to other accounts, Chôpal Dâs was a Sâsâsi (Gîri). Râm Gulâm died in Sambat 1888 (1831 A.D.).

2 In connexion with this, the following Kabbita by Kôdô Râm, a pupil of Jânakî Sarmâ, the son of Sêsh Datt, may be noted.

Mánas (1), gîshall (2), kabbittâs (3) bani, krihânâpolihälli (4) pî natastî (5) nirati hî kî; Pârâbâth-mângaî (6) kâhl, mânâpolah kahî Jânakî ki (7), Râmâyân (8), naâhachhâl (9) niraita yuktâ, pî hî kî!

Berson (10), bûdîyânândipant (11) bani, bînas pâtrâk (12) bani, jî mîm pram parâ chhâli hî kî; Nâm-kâhl kâmî-mant Tuisha rîsa tî rîs kî yuâs ater nakt shi kahî kahî kahî kahî hî n!

In this list the Sâsâsi is substituted for the Dôhâbâlî.
### Explanation of Abbreviations

* Ag. = Rāmāgya.
* Bai. = Bairāgya Sandipinī.
* Sat. = Sat-sat.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of verse in Dūḥābali</th>
<th>Where found elsewhere</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Ag. VII., 21* Bai. I.* Sat. I., 2.†</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Sat. I., 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ag. III., 7*.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Sat. I., 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ag. III., 14.</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Rām. Bā. 29(b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ag. II., 33.</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 72(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ag. VII., 28.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sat. I., 30.</td>
<td>116</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rām. Bā. 20.</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>Ag. IV., 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sat. II., 24.</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Ag. IV., 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rām. Bā. 23.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>Ag. IV., 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sat. I., 7.</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Ag. IV., 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sat. I., 11.</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>Ag. IV., 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sat. I., 37.</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Rām. A. 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Rām. Bā. 27.</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 123(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ag. V., 1.</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 104(a).</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sat. II., 37.</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 119(b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Rām. Bā. 22.</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Rām. Ln. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sat. I., 107.</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 90(a).</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sat. I., 62.</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 90(b).</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sat. I., 41.</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 92(b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Sat. I., 45.</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 78(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Sat. II., 4.</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Rām. A. 185.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Sat. I., 3.</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>Sat. II., 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Sat. VII., 124.</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Sat. II., 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Sat. I., 55.</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Rām. Ar. 30. (Kh. B., 64).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Sat. I., 56.</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>Ag. III., 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sat. I., 57.</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>Rām. Ut. 19(c).</td>
</tr>
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<td>Rām. Ln. 2.</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>Rām. Su. 49(b).</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* For convenience, all references are to Chhakkan Lāl's one volume edition of the 12 works. The numbers vary slightly in different editions. When the variation is considerable I give also the numbering of the Khādīyā Bīka Press edition of Rām.; thus, Kh. B., 64.

† The edition of the Satais referred to is that with Baiyānaī's commentary. There are often slight variations in the readings between the Satais and the Dūḥābali.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of verse in Dohâball.</th>
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<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Ag. VI., 34.</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>Râm. Âr. 32(a) (Kh. B., 66(a)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Ag. I., 21.</td>
<td>265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Râm. Ut. 120(a).</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>Râm. Âr. 37 (Kh. B., 71).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Ag. VII., 14.</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>Râm. Âr. 40 (b) (Kh. B., 74(b)).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Râm. Ut. 22.</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>Râm. Ut. 73(a).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Râm. Bâ. 265.</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>Râm. Lm. 77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Sat. I., 43.</td>
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<td>Of. 38, Sat. I., 107, Bâi I., 15.</td>
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<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>Râm. A. 196.</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>Sat. I., 82.</td>
</tr>
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<td>205</td>
<td>Râm. A. 280.</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>Sat. I., 94.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Sat. I., 49.</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>Sat. I., 102.</td>
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<td>305</td>
<td>Sat. I., 96.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>308</td>
<td>Sat. I., 108.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 95.</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>Sat. VII, 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sat. VII, 94.</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>Râm. A. 172.</td>
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<td>378</td>
<td>Sat. V, 32.</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>Sat. VII, 30.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 102.</td>
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<td>Râm. Lm. 16(b).</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 97.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 32.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 106.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 68.</td>
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<td>Sat. III, 91.</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>Râm. A. 179.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 169.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 73.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sat. VII, 119.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 76.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 190.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 79.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sat. VII, 115.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 80.</td>
</tr>
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<td>451</td>
<td>Sat. VII, 39.</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>Râm. Su. 37 (slight variation)</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 85.</td>
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<td>466</td>
<td>Sat. VII, 41.</td>
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<td>Sat. VII, 86.</td>
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<td>475</td>
<td>Sat. VII, 27.</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>Râm. Ar. 5(a) (Kh B, 8(a)).</td>
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</table>
It will thus appear that the Dohāball is in great measure a collection of verses selected from other works of the poet, and that hence it can hardly be an original work by him. It is quite possibly an anthology selected by some later admirer. Its contents, too, justify this theory: for the separate dōhās (there are 572) have little connexion with each other, and the work in no way forms one connected whole.

It must, however, be admitted that there is one very serious difficulty already alluded to, in the way of assuming that the work in dōhā metre referred to by Rām Gūlam Dvivēlī, is the Sat'sāt. That is the date given in I, 21. It is most improbable that Tul'sī Dās should have used as a date the Current Sambat year, a thing which was not the custom in the North-West in his time, and which he does nowhere else, and it is also most improbable that he should have made a mistake in such a matter. This leads to the conclusion that, if the Sat'sāt is genuine, at least that verse is an interpolation by a later writer, whose power of imitating his master's style was greater than his knowledge of astronomy.

Pañhit Sudhākār Dvivēlī points out to me that the style also of the Sat'sāt differs considerably from that of undoubted works of Tul'sī Dās. The dōhās in it which also occur in the Dohāballi (some 127 in number) are in his style, but the rest present many points of difference. The first dōhā, or invocation, is in a form never used by the poet, and words occurring in the poem, such as, khasama, papīharā, khalā, nīrānokha, jagata, agāta (in some copies), pirāta, bātī, yuhumti, apagata khā, gurugama, ahanasa, punah, māmild, kumāna, are never found in these forms in his acknowledged works. So also, the whole of the well-known third sarga with its enigmatical verses is self-condemnatory. Tul'sī Dās, according to tradition, strongly condemned kāta verses like these, and blamed Sūr Dās for writing such. The subject matter is no doubt Tul'sī Dās's. The teaching and philosophy are his, but the whole language betrays the hand of an imitator.

For these reasons, the best Banars pandits of modern times deny the authenticity of the Sat'sāt. As regards Sēsh Datt, they say, he wrote before its genuineness was questioned, and hence the fact that he wrote a commentary to it has small force as an argument. The best authorities of the present day consider that it is the work of some other Tul'sī Dās, probably a Kāyasth of that name, who, some say, lived in Ghāzpūr. The main difference between his teaching and that of the other poet of the same name is, that he inculcates more than the latter the worship of Sītā, and hence commenced his work on the festival of her birth. This is explained by the supposition that he was originally a 'Sikta before becoming a Vaishnav and that his new belief is coloured by his former predilections. He borrowed numerous verses

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1 But khasama also occurs in K. Rām., Ut., 24, 4.
of the older poet in his composition. Paññit Sudhákar Drivédí informs me that his own father was a pupil, in the Rámadáya, of the Chhakkan Lál already mentionel, and that he himself had learned many things from him. Chhakkan Lál told him many times that his preceptor’s, Rám Gualám Drivédí’s, opinion was that the Sat’sái was certainly not composed by the great Túl’sú Dás.

My own opinion is that the authenticity of the Sat’sái is at least doubtful. There is much to be said on both sides. The date, if the verse in which it occurs is genuine, is certainly against the authenticity, so is the style, and so is the opinion of many native scholars. A fact, which also lends strength to this side, is that if we take the date as a Sáká and not as a Vikrama year, the week-day comes right, but the year A.D. 4 will be a century later than the time of Tul’sú Dás. On the other hand, the authenticity of the Sat’sái was not impugned till the time of Rám Gualám Drivédí, who died in 1831 A.D. The fact of the large number of dohás which are common both to the Doháballi and the Sat’sái must be considered. The author of one must have borrowed from the other, and the question is which did so. If the author of the Sat’sái borrowed dohas from the older Tul’sú Dás to suit his purpose, why did he borrow only from the Doháballi, and, with one or two exceptions, only those verses in the Doháballi which are not found elsewhere in the poet’s works. We should have expected the author of the Sat’sái to have borrowed freely from the thousands of other dohas written by Tul’sú Dás, and yet he does not borrow one except from the Doháballi. On the other hand, the Doháballi admittedly borrows freely from every work of Tul’sú Dás in which dohas occur, from the Rámáyána, the Biráy Sandhipi, and the Rámi-charit-mánas, besides containing 127 verses occurring in the Sat’sái. A priori therefore, it would appear more probable that the author of the Doháballi borrowed from the Sat’sái, rather than that the author of the Sat’sái borrowed from the Doháballi. I cannot get over the violent improbability that the author of the Sat’sái, if a plagiarist, should have committed plagiarism only on the Doháballi, and not on the other greater works of the poet, and that, in committing this plagiarism, he should have carefully selected only those verses in the Doháballi which are not themselves borrowed from elsewhere.

The Doháballi not only bears on its face proof of its being a cento of verses taken from other poems of the master, but is stated to be so by tradition. It is said to have been compiled by Tul’sú Dás himself, at the request of the great Tódar Mall. It was composed, partly of new dohas, and partly of verses selected from his earlier works, as a sort of short religious manual. It was therefore compiled after June 4th, 1398 A.D., the alleged date of the composition of the Rámáyána, the latest of the works from which he quotes, and before 1623, the year of his death. As Tódar Mall died in 1689 A.D., the tradition that the work was composed at his suggestion may not be true.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe that at least a portion of the Sat’sái was written by our Tul’sú Dás, that from the poem, as he wrote it, he selected dohas, which he inserted in the Doháballi, and that the Sat’sái is not entirely a modern work, consisting partly of verses stolen from the latter. Possibly, or rather certainly, it has undergone great changes at the hands of a later author, perhaps also named Tul’sú Dás. This later author may have even given it the name of the Sat’sái, jealous that his master should not have the credit of having written a Sat’sái, as his great rival Sár Dás had done. Possibly the whole of the third Sargá is an interpolation. Although Rám Gualám Drivédí denied its authenticity he was certainly an admirer of the poem, for there is a copy of it in his handwriting in the library of the Maharajah of Banáras.

* The corresponding date is Thursday May 5th, 1720.
* See, however, notes to pp. 96, 97 ante. As Paññit Sudhákar Drivédí maintains that this is the date of the copying of the MS., and not that of the composition of the poem, the above statement is possibly incorrect.
* Since the above was written I have seen a very old MS. of the Doháballi, which does not contain any verses quoted from the Rámáyána. These verses are hence a subsequent addition. This fact modifies the statements made above.
* Not a single dohá in the third Sargá is found in the Doháballi.
* So I am informed by Paññit Sudhákar Drivédí.
The authorized list of the canonical works of Tul'ši Dās may therefore be taken as follows:

A. The six lesser works—
   (1) Rām Lalā Nahachhū.
   (2) Bairāgī Sandipīnti.
   (3) Barawē Rāmāyan.
   (4) Pārbatī Mangal.
   (5) Jānakī Mangal.
   (6) Rāmājñā.

B. The six greater works—
   (1) Dōhāball (or Sat'sai.)
   (2) Kabitta Rāmāyan also called Kabittābali.
   (3) Git Rāmāyan also called Gitāballī.
   (4) Krishnāvalli also called Krishnagīttābali.
   (5) Bināy Patrīkā.
   (6) Rāma Charita Mānas, now called Rāmāyan.

The above is the order in which they are given by Rām Gulām Drivēd, and in which they are printed in the convenient corpus of the collected works of Tul'śi Dās, published from Rām Gulām's manuscripts by Lālā Chhakkan Līl Rāmāyanī. This edition, however, gives the Dōhāballī, and not the Sat'sai.

(To be continued.)

THE KUDOS OF KATHA AND THEIR VOCABULARY.

BY BEENARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

Appended is a short list of the more common words in the language of the Kudōs of Kathā (Kabā), which has been kindly furnished to me by Mr. J. Dobson, District Superintendent of Police at Kathā. The words selected are those used in the well-known vocabularies of Mr. Brian Hodgson, though a few of the postpositions and adverbs, which experience shows to vary excessively in the Tibeto-Burman dialects, have been designedly omitted. Mr. Dobson took the precaution to record the word-sounds both in English and Burmese characters, so that no difficulty has been experienced in reproducing his spelling of the Kudō words by the usual system of transliteration. The possibility, moreover, of clerical errors has been reduced to a minimum.

The Kudō tongue is not one of those included in the list of frontier languages, for which prizes are given on examination, but little seems to be known about those who speak it, and who live principally in the Wunthō (Wunbō) sub-division of the Kathā District. It is clear, however, that they were there before the Shāns appeared in those parts, and that some of them have become absorbed into the Shān race. In fact, many of the latter living in Wunthō and its vicinity are called Shān-Kudōs in token of their mixed origin, but of this title they are somewhat ashamed, and generally try to make themselves out to be full-blooded Shāns.

It is possible that the Census Report, when it is examined, may give us some information as to the numbers, &c., of the Kudōs, though, owing to the late rebellion in Wunthō, it would seem to be doubtful whether any accurate statistics will be forthcoming. In the meantime the list of words now given throws some light on the ethnic relations of the Kudōs, and, to bring out these relations the more clearly, I have appended to each word those more closely related to it in the cognate languages. The general result is to show that the Kudōs belong to the Kachin-Nāga branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, and that they are therefore comparatively recent.

* For those who wish to study the text alone, this edition will be found the most accurate, and the most convenient. It is published at the Saraswatī Press, Bānāras, by Bissar Prasād.
immigrants into Burma. The evidence at present available points to the conclusion that this section of the race only arrived in Burma after the Burmese central authority had become somewhat established, and that these wild tribesmen, though superior in fighting qualities to the Burman, have been checked, if not forced back, by the superior power which comes from a centralised authority, even when imperfectly organised. The Kudōs would seem to have been an advance guard of the Kachin race, and, what between the Shiāns and the Burmans, to have been rapidly deprived of the autonomy which they originally possessed. They have in fact been chiefly subjugated by the former of these two races, which, unable owing to the Burmese power to get an outlet to the South-west, forced one to the North-west, — a movement culminating in the irruption of the Ahoms into Assam.

A glance at the list of the words given will show that at the time the Kudōs left their Tibetan home they were in a very low state of civilisation, and could not in fact count up to more than 5, or at most 6. The numerals above 6, and probably also that number, have been obviously borrowed from one of the Shiān family of languages. This is in curious contrast to the Chin-Lushai, who have their own numerals up to 100. The words for ‘buffalo’ and ‘goat’ have also been adopted by the Kudōs after their arrival in Burma, but it is evident that previously they had pigs, fowls, and dogs, and that they knew of horses.

Apart from the above-noted general relationship of the Kudōs, my examination of the words given has led to the very interesting discovery that the Saks, a small tribe living in the Valley of the Kulādaing in Arakan, are, of all known tribes, the most closely related to the Kudōs, and that, in fact, it can scarcely be much more than 100 years since they formed one people. The list of Sak words given in Hodgson’s Vocabulary is unfortunately incomplete, but the resemblances to the Kudō words now given are so striking, — in several cases the Sak furnishes the only parallel to the Kudō word, — as to show that they must have at one time formed one people, and that the period of separation cannot have been very long ago. This is the more remarkable as the Sak s live now far away from the Kudös, and are in fact surrounded by tribes of the Chin-Lushai race, from whom they probably received a rough handling before they reached their present habitat. The most probable explanation is that a portion of the Kudös, driven forth by some vis major, endeavoured to cross the hills to Nāga-land, but were unable to get through, or else lost their way, and, striking the head waters of the Kulādaing, followed that river down to where they now live. They now form on the West of these hills, as the Kudōs do on the East, the most Southern extension of the Kachin-Nāga races. The result of this discovery is that the Sak s must be withdrawn from the Chin-Lushai branch and affiliated to Kachin-Nāga branch, (sub-section Kudō), of the Tibet-Burman race.

As to the original habitat of the Kudös, together with that of the Kachin-Nāga sub-family generally, it is probable on the evidence before us that they came from North-Eastern Tibet, their route lying through the passes North of Bhamo. Their congener in those regions would appear to be Gyarungs, Gymis, Sokpas and Thochus, of which races but little is as yet known.

The first of these peoples is, it may be remarked, somewhat closely allied to the Karens, whose passage into Burma, though by the same route as the Kachin-Nāga immigration, was probably much anterior to it. The language of the Karens is very much corrupted, and prain facia does not seem to be specially related to those of the Kachin-Nāgas. All, however, show a tendency towards the Chinese section of the family. I use this last expression advisedly.

1 A proof of this can be seen in the word for ‘moon,’ which in almost all dialects of this sub-family is da, (with variations), instead of la, &c. Now in the Tibetan language, which was reduced to writing about 632 A.D., it is spelt s-la (A Q), which must be taken as representing the usual pronunciation of that time, and it is only since then that the sound has become corrupted into dā-wa.

2 Perhaps a Shiān immigration.
being convinced that Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and the various cognate languages and dialects are all members of one great family, which, originating in Tibet or to the Northward, has spread itself East and South-East. Of all these languages the Chinese has become most corrupted in pronunciation, thus causing it for so long to be grouped apart from the others; but from the pronunciation of some of its better preserved dialects and from the restoration by modern scientists of its old sounds, it is easily shown that its most important roots are identical with the ordinary forms still existing in the Tibeto-Burman family proper. Justice, however, can hardly be done to the subject here, and I shall content myself now with a mere statement of this thesis, promising to return to the subject on a future occasion.

**AIR.** — *Hālānāng.* (Cf. Tib. *lung,* Serpa, Bhūt. *lāng,* Ahom, Khamti, Laos, Siamese, *lām,* Garā *tām-pār.* *Hā* might stand for either *ka* or *kā,* the former being the ordinary Tibeto-Burman prefix, the latter being a wide-spread root meaning 'sky'; but seeing that the words for 'hair' and 'head' also have the particle *hā,* it seems probable that in this case also it is merely the *ka* prefix.

**ANT.** — *Pun-sênt.* (Cf. Sāk *p‘ān-zi-gyā.*)

**ARROW.** — *Tālātā.* (Has both the *ta* prefix and affix, *Cf. Sāk tōlī in tōlī-* *ma-lā,* Karen *plū,* and possibly Ahom *lēn,* Khamti *līm,* Laos *lēm-pānā.* Perhaps allied with the Burmese *lē* 'a bow' and its cognate words. Compare Bodo *ba-lā.*)

**BIRD.** — *Uz-sē-sā.* (ū is evidently the root, the remainder apparently being added to distinguish birds in general as fowls, *Cf. Tengsa-Nāga *usā,* Sāk, *wū-sī,* Singpho *sen,* Angami-Nāga *te-sā,* Mikir, Namsang-Nāga *so,* Mithan-Nāga, *č.* Allied to the Tibeto-Burman root, *wū* = a fowl; *Cf. also Southern Chin *s’un-ū,* 'a pigeon,' &c.)

**BLOOD.** — *Sā.* (Cf. Singpho *sāi,* Thochu *sā,* Manvāk *sā,* Gyami, Horpa *syē,* Gyarung *tā-sē,* Sunwar *sā,* Burmese *sē,* Karen *bōtē,* Sāk *tē,* Bodo *bē-tā.*)

**BOAT.** — *Wā-mā.* (*lī* and *vā* are possibly synonymous roots. The former is found in the forms *lī* or *lī,* with or without the ordinary prefixes or affixes, in most of the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. As to *ēvā,* *Cf. Sāk *hās,* Khamti *hū,*

**BONE.** — *Mūk-kā.* (Cf. Murmi *mūkā,* Newar *kučē,* Gyāmā *kā-thā,* Manyak *rā-kā,* Chinese coll. *kūh,* Kami *a-hū.* Possibly the *kā* or *jā,* in Tibetan coll. *rā-kā* 'a bone,' is not a servile but a form of this root in conjunction with the commoner *rā*).

**BUFFALO.** — *Kye-t.* (Cf. Ahom *k’ra,* Burmese *kye-t,* Khamti, Ahom and Siamese *k’wē,* Sāk *krī*).

**CAT.** — *Han-sī.* (Cf. Sāk *hāi-γ.*)

**COW.** — *Mūk.* (Cf. Sāk *t‘a-mūk,* Deoria-Chutia *mō-su.*)

**CROW.** — *U-hā.* (Cf. Mithan-Nāga *okā,* Sāk *mūk-kā,* Singpho *kōk-tā,* Ahom, Khamti, Laos, Siamese *kā.* *Kā* appears in several of the Himalayan words for 'crow.' As to *u,* *Cf. under 'egg.'

**DIY.** — *Ya-sā.* (Cf. Sāk *yat-sā,* Bur. coll. *yet.* Possibly connected with *yā* in *wan-yā* 'to be light,' *Cf. under 'egg.' It is noteworthy that this word has no connection with that for 'sun').

**DOG.** — *Kjā.* (This root runs through most of the cognate languages varying in form from the Chinese *k’iān,* and Burmese *k’eyā* to the Southern Chin *āi.*

**EAR.** — *Kā-nā.* (Kā is the prefix. The root *nā* is found throughout the Tibeto-Burman family).

**EARTH.** — *Ka.* (Cf. Sāk *kā,* Namsang-Nāga, Bodo, Garo *hā,* Karen *haw-kō,* Vaya *kō,* Singpho *vā-hā,* Sunwar *kūpī,* Kiranti *b‘ā-k‘ā,* Limbu *k‘ān.*

**ESG.** — *U-dī.* (Cf. Singpho *v-dī,* Mithan-Nāga *ōtī,* Sāk *va-iti,* Kiranti *u-ding,* Karen *dī,* Limbu *rīn,* old Chinese *tān,* Mikir, Lepcha *a-ti,* Taangthu *ā,* Shandu, *a-ti,* Karen, Lushai *a-tā.*

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2 The Burmese MS. shows the existence in Kikb of at least the heavy tone.
4 Vowel sound as in air.
5 ḷ is apparently pronounced as ch. Cf. the usage in Burmese, S. China, &c.
Dhimal tū; Southern Chin, a toi. The prefixed u in Kudò, &c., doubtless stands for ū, a fowl. The root ti or tā ī, &c., Mr. Hodgson would identify with the similar one for 'water' found in many of the Tibeto-Burman languages).

**Elephant.** —Akyā. (Cf. Singhpo magwi, Sāk ṅāhā).

**Eyes.** —Mē-tu. (Mē is the root which is found in different forms in all Tibeto-Burman languages. The nearest to Kudò is the Mikir mēhā).

**Father.** —Asa. (Cf. Singhpo ьā, Namang-Nāga va. These two languages and Kudò are alone in possessing this word instead of the universal pa, po, &c. It is probably a softening of the latter. If a comparison with the Dravidian languages be allowed, (I have already elsewhere shown a connection between these and the Tibeto-Burman family,) the example of Yerukala āne throws light on the matter).

**Fire.** —Wun. (Cf. Singhpo wun, Namang and Mithan Nāga wun, Garo wā, Bodo wāt, Sāk bādā. This is again a notable variation from the usual root mi or mē. It is probably connected with Southern Chin awā, 'light,' Tib. coll. wē 'light,' Chepang wā-gā, 'dawn.' See 'light' infra).

**Fowl.** —U ь. See 'bird,' supra.

**Fish.** —Lang-nga. (Lang perhaps refers to some particular kind of fish. The root ngs in its various forms is found in most of the cognate languages).


**Foot.** —Ta-paotu. (Ta is perhaps the prefix. Cf., perhaps, Bodo yā-pā. (See 'hand').

**Goat.** —Gapā. (Talaing kāpa, Sāk kābī, Shan pā. The Palaung word for 'goat' is not known, but if, as is possible, it is the same as the Talaing, the inference would be that the Kudòs had borrowed the word from them).

**Hair.** —Halōng-ā. (As to halōng see 'head.' Cf. Mithan-Nāga kō, Newong-Nāga kō, Tengra-Nāga ku, Khari-Nāga kō, (perhaps) Singhpo kārā, Tib., Murmi, Takpa kārā).

**Hand.** —Tapu. (Ta is perhaps the prefix. This is an example of the curious manner in which, as was first pointed out by Hodgson, the words for 'hand' and 'foot' run into each other in these languages. It is not easy to find any etymological relationships to this root, though it may possibly be connected with the following words for 'arm':— Southern Chin bāwā, Lushai bān, Manip. pāmbām, Shanda bāpī, Angami-Nāga, bā.)

**Head.** —Ha-lang. (Ha is the prefix. Probably a shortened form of halōng in halōng-ā = hair. (Cf. Chepang tolōng, Magar tālā, Shandu, Kami, Lushai bā, Southern Chin alā.)

** Hog.** —Wāg. (This root is found in almost all Tibeto-Burman languages).

**Horn.** —Yōngā. (Cf. Namang and Mithan Nāga yōng, Garo korōng, Singhpo rung, Sāk arōng. This root with the meaning 'bone' is very common in the Tibeto-Burman family).

** Horse.** —Sabu. (Cf. Sāk sāpā, Newar sīla, Tib., sī, Southern Chin sē or sū).

** House.** —Kyīn. (Cf. Sāk kyīn, Tib., Bhit, Chepang kyīm, Mikir hēm, Karen hī, Līmbu kīm, Burmese im, Manip. yām, Lushai, Southern Chin īn. It is also found in many other cognate languages including, probably, Chinese ǐ).

**Iron.** —Sin. (Cf. Sāk sīn, Doaria-Chutia sīn, Bodo chīr).

**Leaves.** —Pun-tāp. (Cf. Sāk pun-tāh.)

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*Compare Sāk ăbā, ka-in with Kudò āga, wa.*


2. An alternative derivation would make it the root as in Sāk ătār, pūn and pūnā being added to distinguish 'hand' from 'foot.'
LIGHT. — Wau-ya-ma. (From the examples of verbs given below, ma or mat would seem to be the termination of the aorist or present tense in Kudo, and wau-ya-ma therefore = it is light. See 'day' and 'fire,' supra.)

MAN. — Ta-ma-raft. (Mi is of course the well-known root meaning 'man,' ta being the prefix Sat is an affix peculiar to Kudo and probably has some meaning*).


MOON. — Sa-da. (Cf. Sako vaita, Singpho sita, Manip. ti, Namsang-Naga da, Tib. coll. i-ta, corrupted from s-ta-da, Bhut. dan. Sa is perhaps an affix only, (cf. Sokpa sa-ra), but see under 'sun'.)

MOTHER. — Ama. (This is a root found in all cognate languages, except Southern Chin and a few others, which have varieties of the root na).

MOUNTAIN. — Kay-a.

MOSQUITO. — Pau-at. (Cf. Sako pieh).

NAME. — Nam (This is merely a corruption of the Burmese coll. na-me, which in turn is derived from the Pali).

NIGHT. — Nat-keat. (Cf. Sako hanakata, and as to nat, Mithan-Naga rang-nak, Tablung-Naga, rang-nak, Lepeha sanap).

OIL. — Salau. (Cf. Kami sau, Lushai sau-ka, Sako sa-ka, Southern Chin a-si, &c.).

PLANTAIN. — Salu-shi. (Shi=fruit. Cf., perhaps, Limbu hi).

RIVER. — Myit. (Burmese colloquial. There is doubtless an indigenous word for 'stream'.)

ROAD. — Lu. (A very common root in the Tibeto-Burman family).

SALT. — San. (Cf. Namsang-Naga san, Deoria-Chutia six, Sako sana, Singpho sana, Nowgong-Naga ma-tena. Probably ultimately related to the cha or ch root found in most cognate languages).

SKIN. — Salu. (Cf. Burmese bari Dhimal d'al; (perhaps) Sokpa da-ka).

SKY. — Hamu. (Hu is perhaps a prefix, but see under 'air.' Cf. Southern Chin an-d-hau, Thochu ma-khe, Manyak ma, Burmese ma, Murmi ma, Gyurung mun, Naga ke-mu, a cloud.)

SNAKE. — Ka-pa. (Ka is the prefix. Cf. Sako kapu, Mithan, Tablung, and Namsang Naga pu, Horpa pu, Garo dpa-pu, Sanwar bha-ba, Bhut., Lepeha bo, Magar bul, Tib. bral, Lushai ral, Manyak bra, Thochu begi, Southern Chin pu-au).

STAR. — U-ni-shi. (Perhaps, Gyurung asi-ni).

STONE. — Lang-khe-shi. (Ling is the root, which is widely diffused in the Tibeto-Burman family).

SUN. — Samat. (Cf. Sako sa-ma. As to met see under 'sky.' Sa in this case would appear to be the root for 'sun' found in Bodo shan, Garo san, Dhimal sa-ne, Lepeha satchak, but in Kudo it is found also prefixed to the word for 'moon'.)

TIGER. — Ka-d. (Cf. Sako ka-d, Namsang-Naga da, Deoria-Chutia mes-d, Tablung-Naga sanu).10


WATER. — We. (Cf. Newar ve, Sak i).

I.—Nga. — This is a very common root in the Tibeto-Burman family, and elsewhere.

* Possibly the same word as the same Sako.
10 Query = tigress. Sa, 'a tiger' and ve, the feminine suffix.
THOU.—Nank. (Cf. Singpho, Burmese nang, Mikir, Magar náng, Lushai, nangma, Southern Chin naung, Chinese coll. ni, Gyami, Horpa ni, Manyak ní, Angami-Naga no. The root is also found in many other languages and dialects).


WE.—Ali-suda. (This is a very anomalous form, and is evidently from a different root to the singular.)

YE.—Hani. (Cf. Limbu b'eni, Kiranti b'ananin.) Also Murni aini, Sokpa ch'íni, Horpa ni-ni. Looking to these analogies I would derive this word from ha = thou, (Lepcha has connected with Tib. coll. k't, Tib. k'god, &c.) and ni = thou (cf. nank above), the word thus being a reduplicated 2nd person, (though from two roots) — a sufficiently common method of forming the plural).

THEY.—Anda. (This differs again completely from the singular form.)

MINE.—Ali-suda. (Probably a mistake for nga.)

THINE.—Hani. (For nank?)

HIS.—Ami-shi-la.

OURS.—Ali-suda.

YOURS.—Hani.

THEIRS.—Anda.

ONE.—Taunt. (Nat is apparently a numeral auxiliary. As to ta, (Cf. Burmese coll. te, Mithan-Naga ita, Manyak tábi, Takpa ti, Gyarung kati, Limbu tit, Burmese tach.)

TWO.—Krin-tet. (Tet, as will be seen below, is a numeral co-efficient. Cf. Singpho k'eng, and perhaps Karen bi.)

THREE.—Sam-tet. (This root for three is very wide-spread, and needs no illustration.)

FOUR.—P-tet. (The servile has absorbed the initial letter of the root. Cf. Newar p', Gyarung pl', Muri bì, Garo bê, Sâk pê, Lushai, Lepcha pê, Mikir p'di, &c., &c. The root p is almost as common as sam.)

FIVE.—Ngã-tet. (Ngõ or ngó for five is found in most Tibeto-Burman languages. In Southern Chinese it has the clipped form ng.)

SIX.—Kik-tet. (Probably from the Shan hik. The real Tibeto-Burman root for this numeral appears to be rāk, so that if this is an indigenous word, the servile has dislocated the initial letter of the root. The latter is very widely diffused.)

SEVEN.—Set-tet. (Cf. Chinese shi, Khamti sei, Kami set-ri, Southern Chin 'si, Gyami ch'í, Ahom chi, Singpho si-nî, Garo si-nîng.)

EIGHT.—P-w-tet. (Cf. Ahom, Khamti, Laos pê, Siamese pê, Chinese coll. pê for pat. Possibly connected with Murni, Gurung pêf, which root (if p is a servile), appears in a good many of the Tibeto-Burman languages.)

NINE.—Kam-tet. (Cf. Ahom, Khamti, Siamese kan. This root in slightly modified forms appears in most languages of the family and in Chinese.)

TEN.—Sham-nâ. (Shim is evidently the real root; ŋâ = Khamti, Laos, Siamese ŋâng = one. Cf. Ahom, &c., shi, Chinese coll. shih, Singpho, Gyarung sî, Sunwar sa-shî, Takpa chi, Murni ch-wat.)

TWENTY.—San-nî. (Cf. Laos san-nâng, Ahom, Khamti san.)

THIRTY.—San-ship. (Cf. Ahom san-ship, Khamti, Laos, Siamese san-ship, Chinese coll. san-shih, Gyarung ba-min-št, Singpho ten-shi.)

FOURTY.—Shi-ship. (Cf. Ahom, &c., sei-ship, Chinese coll. sei-ship.)

FIFTY.—H-ship. (Cf. Ahom, &c., h-ship, Southern Chin han-khyt.)

ONE HUNDRED.—Fuk-ná. (Cf. Chinese coll. pâk for pâk; Ahom, Khamti pâk.)

EAT.—Yôk-nat. (Mai or ma is probably the termination of the aorist.)
DRINK.—U-wawen-ma. (Cf. Sakpa w1-d, Karen aw.)

SLEEP.—Erk-ma. (Cf. Burmese coll. ëk, Burmese ëp, Limbu ëp-se, Vayu im, Mikir, Kami, Southern Chin î.)

WAKE.—Mi-li-ma.

LAUGH.—Ni-yôk-ma. (Cf. Chepang ʔn, Angami-Naga nû, Bodo, Garô mi-ni, Singpho ma-nû, Lushai, Kami, Southern Chin no, Newar nyû, Taungthu nyû, Manipuri âék, Murmi nyet, Gurung nyed, Mikir inyik.)

WEEP.—Hapma. (Cf. Limbu hû-bû, Garô hôp, Bodo, Kiranti (one dialect), Manipuri kâp, Southern Chin kák, Singpho krâp-u, Lushai tap, Newar kûwô, Nágâ krua, Dhimal hûr, Kami kû.)

BE SILENT.—Yâ-p'ô-tshî nim. (Nim is apparently the termination of the 2nd person singular of the Imperative; cf. Burman coll. ʔnim, Burmese ʔnang, Southern Chin ʔnâng.)

SPEAK.—Tû-ta b'auk. (Cf. as to ʔ, Namsang-Naga tû, Burman tû, 'to reply.' As to b'auk, Sunwar pûk and perhaps Ahom pûk, Siamese p'ut.)

COME.—Li. (Cf. Dhimal, Gyami lê, Burmese lô, Manipuri lûk, Kami lañ, Southern Chin, Lushai, Taungthu lô, Magar râ.)

GO.—Nâng. (Cf. Lepcha ʔnû, Burmese ʔnang, 'to cause to go, to drive'.)


SIT DOWN.—Tûnûnim. (Cf. Burmese t'áin.)

MOVE, WALK.—Târah nang, lam ta-yang. (Nang = to go; lam = a path.)

RUN.—Kam-ma. (Cf. Bodo ʔdû, Singpho gágû, Karen gêh. Perhaps allied to the Burmese kâ = to dance.)

GIVE { to me.—nû-yân ô. (Ô is evidently the dative affix.)

 to any.—hî-yân ô-yân. The second yân in the second phrase is probably a mistake for yang, which is either the future particle or an alternative one for the aorist (see infra). I is the root to give, the only analogy to it being the same word in Telugu. Hî is probably the Singpho khô (ã he) a root found in several of the Tibeto-Burman languages.)

TAKE { from me.—Ngâ-het lang. (Het is a postposition. As to lang, cf. Tib. tan, Tib. coll.,

 from any.—hî-het lang. Bhut. lêm, Mikir long 'to obtain,' Manipuri lan, Southern Chin lô, Kami, Shandu, Singpho Lushai lâ, Chepang lû, Magar lû-o, Garo, Limbu lê, Angami-Naga lô 'to accept, take.'

STRIKE.—Tan-nang. (Cf. Old Chinese tâng, Dhimal dûnghai, Karen tân-dû, Tib. dûn, Tib. coll.,

 Serpa, Bhut., Magar dûng, Lushai, Southern Chin dêng.)

KILL.—Wan-šhi-yang. (Wan appears to be the root, and is perhaps allied to Bodo wot.)

BRING.—Lut. (Probably a shortening of la for lang = to take and ô = to give.)

TAKE AWAY.—La-nang. (La for lang = to take, and nang = to go.)

LIFT UP, RAISE, BEAR, CARRY.—Nû-an.

HEAR.—Tê-pu-ma. (Cf. Namsang-Naga, tût-o, Mithan-Naga a-tâk, Gurung tûd.)

UNDERSTAND.—Ngâ-min-shâ-ha-ma.

TELL, RELATE.—Hî-yang. (Cf. Southern Chin han, Kami hë, Lushai han 'to abuse,' Burmese han 'to preach,' Chinese coll. hun Vayu hû, Old Chinese gow.)

RED.—Hama. (Perhaps Karen gaw.)

GREEN.—Si-nâ-pî-nâ-nga-ma. (It is not clear whether the root is ʔsin or pî. If the former it is allied with the Burmese, Singpho ko-tîng, &c., &c.)

LONG.—Sôu-ma. (Cf. Southern Chin sôuk, Mithan-Naga chó-ëk, Manyak âk, Angami-Naga hûc, Shandu sf, Lushai, Burmese coll. shê, Manipuri sang, Kami shang, Burmese 'rañ, Tib. ring.)
Tall man.—matamia saut-ma.
Short man.—matamia tun-ma.
Great.—Tōm-āna. (Cf. Karen dā, Namsang-Nāga a-dōng, Takpa tēn, Lushai, Southern Chin tēn 'to be fat'.)
Round.—Waing-waing nō-ga-ma. (From the Burmese. Probably an adverbial form,—see 'green'.)
Square.—Lètaun. (Burmese.)
Flat.—Palat-k'ara. (Perhaps, Serpa k'lhō, Bhut. le-blok, Garung p'lag-bā, Lepcha lēpb.)
Level.—Ngā-tāna. (Burmese. Both the words, 'flat' and 'level' are apparently adverbs.)
Fat.—Tōm-ma. See above, 'great'.
Thin.—Asina. See above, 'small'.
Wear (be).—Naung-ma. (Cf. Burmese näng.)
Thirsty (be).—We z nō-ta-ma. (We = water. Ngāta is probably the Burmese ngāt.)
Hungry (be).—Yōk-k'ūe-na.

MISCELLANEA.

DATES FROM SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

Autu, Vol. XXI. p. 49. I have treated of some 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. I now find that this is a common practice in Southern India; and to show this, I propose here to treat briefly of the dates of the inscriptions, edited by Dr. Hultzsch in South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. I shall begin with the regular dates, and shall first take those which leave no doubt whatever that the months, referred to in the dates, are the solar months.

1.—On p. 111, an inscription on the cast wall of the Sōmanathēśvara temple at Padavēja is dated.—On the day of (the nakhatra) Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponds to the yōga Ayūṣmat and to Saturday, the thirteenth lunar day of the former half of the month of Simha of the Sāka year, which was current after the Sāka year 1371 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Sāka is Sāka 1371 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the Simha-samkrānti took place, and the solar month Bhādrapada began, 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July A.D. 1449. And the European equivalent of the date is Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1449, when the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 8 h. 45 m., and when the nakhatra was Uttarāśāḍhā for 10 h. 30 m., and the yōga Ayūṣmat for 4 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this day was the 13th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, and therefore the month of Simha, i.e. Bhādrapada, quoted in the date, must be the solar month Bhādrapada.

2.—On p. 70, an inscription on a stone at Arappakam is dated.—On Wednesday, the twelfth lunar day of the latter half of the month of Kumbha of the Alkhaśaya-aviṇāsasambhava, which was current after the Sāka year 1488 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Alkhaśaya (or Kāshaya) is Sāka 1483 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the Kumbha-samkrānti took place, and the solar month Phalguni began, 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January A.D. 1567. And the European equivalent of the date is Wednesday, the 5th February A.D. 1567, when the 12th tithi of the dark half ended 20 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this was the 12th of the dark half of the aṣāda Māγaṇa.

3.—On p. 85, an inscription on a stone, built into the floor of the court-yard of the Varāhīpuram temple, is dated.—On Thursday, the day of (the nakhatra) Pūrṇavasu, which corresponds to the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of Mēṣha of the Saṃvāya year, which was current after the Sāvaṇha-Sāka year 1471 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Saṃvāya is Sāka 1471 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the Mēṣha-samkrānti took
place, and the solar month Vaśākha began, 19 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th March A. D. 1549. And the European equivalent of the date is Thursday, the 4th April A. D. 1549, when the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 14 h. 44 m. and when the nakṣatra was Punarvasu for about 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this was the 7th of the bright half of Vaśākha, and the day thus belonged to both the solar and the lunar Vaśākha.

4.—On p. 78, an inscription on the north wall of the Perumāl temple at Gāngānagar near Vēḷur is dated. On the day of the nakṣatra Rohiṇi, which corresponds to Monday, the first lunar day of the former half of the month of Rśīabhā of the Prāmāṇya year, (which was) the 17th year of the (reign of) Sakalakālāchakravatīn.

According to Dr. Hultzsch, the year Prāmāṇya must here be Saka 1261 exp. In that year the Vṛṣīabhā-saṁkrāntī took place, and the solar month Jyaishtha began, 9 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th April A. D. 1339. And the European equivalent of the date is Monday, the 16th May A. D. 1339, when the first tithi of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. and when the nakṣatra was Rohiṇi for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar the day was the first of the bright half of Jyaishtha, and it therefore belonged to both the solar and the lunar Jyaishtha.

5.—On p. 104, an inscription on the south wall of a Manīṣa at the base of the Tirumalai rock is dated. On the day of the nakṣatra Utriṛṣajī (i.e., Uttarabhadrapada), which corresponds to Monday, the eighth lunar day of the former half of the month of Dhanus of the Ananda year, which was current after the Saka year 1296 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Ananda is Saka 1296 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the Dhanuṣ-saṁkrāntī took place, and the solar month Pauṣa began, 20 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th November A. D. 1374. And the European equivalent of the date is Monday, the 11th December A. D. 1374, when the 8th tithi of the bright half commenced 3 h. 41 m., and when the moon entered the nakṣatra Uttarabhadrapada 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this day fell in the bright half of Pauṣa, and it therefore belonged to both the solar and the lunar Pauṣa.

The four following dates (Nos. 6–9) do not work out properly.

6.—On p. 74, an inscription on a stone at Sattuvāchchāeri near Vēḷur is dated. On Wednesday, the thirteenth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Makara of the Yava-nāvikārāra, which was current after the Saka year 1497 (had passed).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Yava is Saka 1497 expired, as stated in the date. And in that year the sun was in the sign Makara, or, in other words, the solar month Māgha lasted, from 4 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th December A. D. 1575 to 15 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January A. D. 1576. During this time there was only one 13th tithi of the dark half, and this tithi lasted from shortly after sunrise of Thursday, the 26th December, to about the end of the same day, and it cannot in any way be joined with a Wednesday. In my opinion, the word Makara of the date is probably an error for Dhanuṣ; for the Dhanuṣ-saṁkrānti of the same year took place 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th November A. D. 1575, and a 13th tithi of the dark half ended on the following day, Wednesday, the 30th November, 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This day would belong to the solar Pauṣa, and by the lunar calendar to the asvini Margasrāṣṭra.

7.—On p. 108, an inscription on the base of the Iśvara temple at Tellur near Vēḷur is dated. On the day of the nakṣatra Tīruvān (i.e., Brāhmaṇa), which corresponds to Monday, the fifth lunar day of the former half of the month of Kṛṣṇa of the Rādhāraṇa year (and the Saka year 1353).

By the southern luni-solar system the year Rādhāraṇa is Saka 1353 expired (or 1353 current). And in that year the sun was in the sign Kṛṣṇa, or, in other words, the solar month Brāhmaṇa lasted, from 23 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th June to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July A. D. 1430. During this time there was only one 5th tithi of the bright half, and this ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th July, when the moon was in Hasta (13), not in Brāhmaṇa (22), and which therefore clearly is not the day of the date. In Saka 1352 expired, the year of this date, the only fifth of the bright half on which the moon was in Brāhmaṇa was Monday, the 20th November A. D. 1430, which by the northern calendar was Margasrāṣṭra 5, and which also was the 22nd day of the solar Margasrāṣṭra. Now, as the solar Margasrāṣṭra of the north would in the south be called the month of Kārttiga, I am inclined to think that Monday, the 20th November A. D. 1430, is really the day of the date, and that in the date the word Kārttika has been erroneously put for Kārttiga.

8.—On p. 108, an inscription at the Ammaipāṭi temple at Pāṭavēdu is dated. To-day,
which is (the day of the nakshatra) Rēvati and Monday, the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of Karkatāka, which was current after the Saka year one thousand one hundred and eighty (had passed)."

In Saka 1180 expired the sun was in the sign Karkatāka, or, in other words, the solar Śrāvana hasted, from 11 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June to 22 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th July A. D. 1258. During this time there was one 7th titthi of the bright half, which commenced 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 8th July, and ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th July. Here we might feel inclined to assume that the titthi had been joined with the day on which it commenced; but on Monday, the 8th July, the moon was in Hasta (13) and Chitrā (14), not in Rēvati (27).—Under any circumstances the date appears to contain an error, but what the exact error may be I am unable to decide. If the word Karkatāka of the date were a mistake for Kārttiqā, the 7th titthi of the bright half would end on a Monday,—the 4th November A. D. 1258, which, by the northern calendar, was Mārga-śuddhi 7 and also the 7th day of the solar Mārga-maṇiśa; but on that Monday the nakshatra was Śravāaśa (23), not Rēvati (27). Again, if in Saka 1180 expired we were to search for a Monday on which the moon was in Rēvati and on which also a 7th titthi ended, we should find this to have been the case on Monday, the 24th June A. D. 1258; but that Monday was the 7th of the dark half, and on it the sun was in the sign Mithuna.

9.—On p. 125, an inscription on a pillar in the Mandapa in front of the Rājasinhavarmesāsāra shrine at Kāśchipuram is dated. —On the day of (the nakshatra) Tēr (Rohini), which corresponds to Tuesday, the seventh lunar day of the latter half of the month of Makara of the Kilaka year, which was current (during the reign) of Kambanā-sulaiyar.

According to Dr. Hultzsch, the Kilaka year must here be Saka 1291 (current, or 1290 expired). In that year the sun was in Makara, or, in other words, the solar Mārga hasted, from 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th December A. D. 1368 to 2 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th January A. D. 1369. And during this time the 7th titthi of the dark half ended 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 1st January A. D. 1369, when the moon was in Chitrā (14), not in Rōhini (4), and which clearly is not the day of the date.—I am unable to suggest any correction of this date, and can only say that during the solar Mārga of Saka 1290 expired the moon was in Rōhini at sunrise of Thursday, the 18th January A. D. 1369, which was the 10th of the bright half of the lunar Mārga; and that the whole year Saka 1290 expired contains no Tuesday, either in the bright or in the dark half of a lunar month, on which the moon was in Rōhini.

10.—Differing from the above, a date on p. 54, from an inscription inside the front Gopura of the Virūchhipuran temple, gives us the solar month, and both the day of that solar month and the lunar day, without stating, however, whether the lunar day belonged to the bright or to the dark half. Dr. Hultzsch translates the date thus:—On the day of (the nakshatra) Anuvahā (i. e., Anurādha), which corresponds to Wednesday, the sixth lunar day, the 3rd (solar day), of the month of Pānguni (i. e., Phalguni) of the Viśvāvasa year, which was current after the Saka year 1347 (had passed).

By the southern lunar-solar system the year Viśvāvasa is Saka 1347 expired, as stated in the date. The month of Pānguni is the solar Chaitra of the northern calendar; and the nakshatra Anurādha, joined, in or near Phalguni, with the sixth lunar day, shows that this sixth lunar day belonged to the dark half of the lunar month. In Saka 1347 expired the Mina-saṃkrānti took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 15 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th February A. D. 1426; and the European equivalent of the date is Wednesday, the 27th February A. D. 1426, when the 6th titthi of the dark half (of the amṛat Phalguni) ended 20 h. 30 m., and when the moon was in Anurādha for about 23 h. after mean sunrise.

Another date in Dr. Hultzsch's volume (p. 60. verse 21), which also, like the dates 1—9, quotes a sign of the zodiac, may be omitted here, because it has been already treated by Dr. Fleet, ante, Vol. XIX. p. 426. But I would take this opportunity to say a few words about the date of the copper-plate in the possession of the Syriac Christians at Kottayam which was first given in this Journal (Vol. I. p. 229) by the late Dr. Burnell, and which has again been drawn attention to by Dr. Hultzsch, ante, Vol. XX. pp. 287 and 289. According to Dr. Hultzsch's translation the date is this:—On the day of (the nakshatra) Rōhini, Saturday, the twenty-first of the month of Mina (of the year in which) Jupiter (was) in Makara (within the time) during which the sacred rule of the illustrious Vīra-Rāghava-chakravartin was current.

Dr. Burnell, when writing about this date, 

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The name of the Jovian year has evidently been omitted from this date through an oversight.
BOOK NOTICE.

KALhana's Rajatarangini, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, edited by M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, Vol. I. Sanskrit text with critical notes.

The two great Asiatie nations, with a very ancient but isolated civilization, afford a striking contrast in their treatment of history. The Chinese possess not only authentic chronicles, going back year by year to the eighth century B.C., but also historical accounts of their royal dynasties, beginning from a period considerably earlier than 2000 B.C. India, on the other hand, did not produce any work of even a quasi-historical character till more than a thousand years after the commencement of our era. That a people so intellectually gifted as the Indians, who reached an advanced stage in philosophical speculation, and showed great accuracy of observation in linguistic investigations several centuries before Christ, should have entirely lacked the historical sense, is certainly a remarkable phenomenon. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that when the Aryan conquerors had overthrown the plains of Hindustan, the Indian mind, influenced by the climate, turned more and more away from the realities of active life towards speculation, arriving as early as the sixth century B.C. at the conclusion that action is a positive evil. Hence it is not till the twelfth century of our era that the first Indian work was written which at all deserves the name of a history, viz., KALhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. Yet even in that author, as Prof. Weber says, the poet predominates over the historian.

The Rajatarangini first became known through Horace Hayman Wilson's essay on the Hindu entered Rohitak about 8 h. after mean sunrise, and on the same day Jupiter was in the sign Makara, which it had entered on the 28th November A.D. 679.

Again, in Kaliyuga 3875 expired the Mina-sanchranti took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the 19th February A.D. 775, and, accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mina (or Chaitra) was Saturday, the 11th March A.D. 775. On that day the moon was in Rohitak for about 17 h. after mean sunrise, and Jupiter was in the sign Makara, which it had entered on the 17th October A.D. 774.

Perhaps there may be other days which also suit the date. But even if this should not be the case, I know too little of the history of Southern India to be able to say, which of the two possible equivalents of the date, given above, would be preferable.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

History of Kashmir, published in 1825. Ten years later the editio princeps appeared under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This edition is based mainly on a Déravagāri transcript from a Sārada MS., which has now been proved to be the original of all known MSS. of the Rajatarangini. Its value is not great, owing to the numerous mistakes made in the course of the transcription, and to liberties taken with the text through ignorance of the topography of Kashmir on the part of the Pandits who undertook to edit the work.

Troyer's edition, published at Paris in 1840, and comprising only the first six cantos, was based on the same materials. Though an improvement on its predecessor, it is still very defective, and proved of but little use to General Cunningham in his chronological researches.

No further progress in our knowledge of the Rajatarangini was made till 1875, when Prof. Bühler undertook his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir. This scholar, whose researches have thrown more light on the ancient history of India than those of perhaps any other living Sanskritist, then discovered the codex archetypus of all existing copies of the Rajatarangini. It was fortunate that Dr. Stein, a pupil of Prof. Bühler, was enabled to visit the Valley of Kaśmir in 1888 and the following years, one of his objects being to obtain possession of this valuable MS. with a view to editing it. Though he found it to be still more difficult of access than it had been during the lifetime of its former owner, on whose death it had to be divided among the heirs, Dr. Stein's persevering efforts were at last crowned with success in 1889.
The *Rajatarangini* consists of eight cantos or *taraṅgas*, comprising altogether nearly 8,000 verses, and is composed in the ordinary Slokametre. The codex archetypus, when obtained by Dr. Stein, proved to contain the whole of the work, with the exception of one leaf in the middle and one at the end, these having probably been lost when the partition took place. The name of the copyist, Ratnakartha, is given in the colophons to some of the *taraṅgas*, but the date is nowhere stated. However, as the dates of various other works copied or composed by the same writer range from 1648 to 1681 A.D., the MS. in question may safely be assigned to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Though written in a difficult hand, as may be seen from the two facsimile specimen pages reproduced in Dr. Stein's edition, the MS. is remarkably free from corruptions and mistakes. The faithfulness of the transcription is proved by the fact that the *lacunae*, which vary in length from one syllable to several verses, being indicated by dots and empty spaces, are left even where it would have been easy to supply the missing letters.

Dr. Stein conjectures that the original of Ratnakartha's MS. must have been a very old one, because in one particular passage the copyist is in doubt whether to read ते or ते, a confusion which could only be due to a peculiarity of the Sārada character, not to be found in Sārada inscriptions later than the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The syllables य and य are in this older form of the Sārada character almost identical in form, as e is always written with a vertical stroke before the consonant (य=ए). It must, however, be borne in mind that the characters used in MSS. may very well have differed from those employed in coins and inscriptions. This peculiar method of writing e is also to be found for instance in a Dēvanāgarī MS. of Shadgurushishya, dating from the end of the fourteenth century.

It being evident from what has been said that Dr. Stein's edition is practically based on a single MS., the question as to whether the codex archetypus contains any old glosses becomes one of primary importance. It is a satisfaction to be informed that there are actually many valuable marginal notes on details of the topography of Kaśmir, besides various readings and corrections, supplied by four different hands. The annotations of two of these, designated as A² and A², are old and of considerable critical value. A³, probably a contemporary of Ratnakartha, appears to have revised from the same original what the copyist had written, and to have added the notes and various readings which the copyist had omitted. The additions of A² are of special value, inasmuch as he fills up the *lacunae* in cantos i to vii not from conjecture, but as the evidence adduced by Dr. Stein shows, from a MS. independent of the original copied by Ratnakartha. As there seem, however, to be no traces of its use in later copies of the *Rajatarangini*, this MS. has in all probability been irretrievably lost. Unfortunately the text of Ratnakartha contains numerous corrupt passages in the last third of the seventh and the whole of the eighth cantos, while the *lacunae* are here rarely filled up by A³.

Considering that this part of the MS. comprises rather more than one-half of the whole work, these omissions are much to be deplored, particularly as the increased trustworthiness of the narrative, as it approaches the times of the author, is counterbalanced by obscurity due to corruptions.

Dr. Stein's critical notes show that he has proceeded with great caution in dealing with a task beset with serious difficulties, and the parallel passages which he brings to bear on obscurities in the text are evidence of the extreme care with which he has executed his work. That there is still scope for emendation in the eighth canto, Dr. Stein is himself the first to acknowledge; but it will be clear to all Sanskritists, who examine his edition, that he has accomplished his task with all the thoroughness possible in the circumstances. Dr. Stein is to be congratulated on having been able, not only to produce the first trustworthy edition of so important a work as the *Rajatarangini*, but to study on the spot in the course of the last four years the topography of Kaśmir, on a knowledge of which the full comprehension of that work so largely depends. It is also fortunate for the subject that this combined task has fallen into the hands of so persevering, energetic, and enterprising a man. Sanskrit scholars will look forward with much interest to the appearance of the second volume, which, besides an introduction and exegetical notes on the text, is to contain a commentary on all matters of historical, archaeological, and topographical interest occurring in Kalhana's narrative. On the completion of that volume Dr. Stein will have accomplished a work complete in itself, which will add much to our knowledge of the history and archaeology of medieval India. It seems a pity that the book should have been published in the very unwieldy form of atlas folio. But as it has been brought out under the patronage of the Kaśmir State Council, this practical drawback was perhaps unavoidable. We have here another recent instance of the enlightened support extended by Indian Princes to the promotion of research and to the preservation of the ancient literature of their country.

Arthur A. MacDonell.

Oxford.
IX years ago, during one of my official tours, I halted at Tanjore, and visited the Sarasvatī-Mahāl, or the “Palace of the Goddess of Wisdom” in that town. This building forms a part of the residence of the late Rājās of Tanjore, and is so called because it contains a vast library of miscellaneous works composed in Sanskrit, Marathi, Tamil, and English, printed and in manuscript, collected by successive Rājās. The volumes I found neatly arranged and labelled, and catalogues of the books available for the visitor, whose curiosity might tempt him to see what treasures of the ancient lore of the country lie buried there. I did not examine the catalogues of Sanskrit books, because I knew that Dr. Burnell, who was employed as a Judge for several years at Tanjore, had examined the whole library, and had described everything of that kind that was valuable. But I carefully went through the lists of Tamil works, and found two manuscripts, bearing respectively the titles Vikrama-Chōlap-Ulā and Kulottūṅga-Chōlap-Ulā, which seemed to be of some historical value. They were written on palm leafs, about a foot long and one and a half inch broad. The leaves were written on both sides and in clear characters; but they were fast decaying, the edges breaking under the slightest touch,—tiny insects, more diligent than the antiquarian, having already gone through every leaf of the manuscript and “read, marked and digested” a great portion of it.

A Tamiḻ Panṭit, who accompanied me, and who was an ardent admirer of the ancient masters of Tamiḻ poetry, was in raptures over the two poems, especially their latter parts, in which the author describes in very lascivious strains the amorous demeanour of the women of the palace at the sight of the king; but to me the introductory portions, wherein the ancestry of the Chōḷa princes is given, was of absorbing interest. It struck me at the time that the poems would furnish a clue to the tangled genealogy of the Chōḷas, which at present cannot be unravelled with the same facility as of information afforded by inscriptions alone. I had them copied at once. Some months afterwards, the late Tyāgarāja Chettiyaṉ, Tamiḻ Panṭit of the Government College, Kumbhakonaṉ, who had copies of these poems with him, having kindly lent me his manuscripts for my use, I compared them with the copies taken at the Sarasvatī Mahāl, and found little or no difference, except a few blunders made by copyists.

I give below the text and translation of the first 182 lines of the Vikrama-Chōlap-Ulā. The rest of the poem is of no value to the student of history, and is besides of too licentious a character to be rendered into English. As denoted by the title, the work belongs to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamiḻ as “ulā.” This name is derived from the root ulā, which means ‘to stroll’ or ‘to go in state.’ Poems of this class usually begin with an account of the ancestors of the hero, then depict his personal appearance when he sets out from his mansion, followed by his vassals and servants, and conclude with a very elaborate description of the enamoured behaviour of the women of his court, young and old, the eagerness with which they await his appearance, their joy and confusion when his eyes meet their gaze, their sorrow and sadness when he passes out of their sight. The poem is one of the best of its kind in the Tamiḻ language. For elegance of expression and richness of imagery it may be compared to Moore’s Lalla Rookh. It is composed in the Nerīṭa-kali-veṭṭu metre. The name of the author is not known.

The poem begins with the genealogy of the Chōḷas, which is traced through Brahmā, the Sun, and other mythological personages to the king, who is said to have built high banks on both sides of the bed of the river Kāviri. The name of this king is mentioned in the Kaliyattu-Parasai as Karikāla-Chōḷa. His successors are described as follows:—

I. The king, who set at liberty the Chēra prince, on hearing the poem Kaḷavaṇi sung by the poet Poygaṉ. This is Seṅgaṭ-Chōḷa; see my translation of the Kaḷavaṇi, ante, Vol. XVIII. p. 258.
II. The victor of many a battlefield, who bore on his person no less than 96 scars gained in battle.

III. He who constructed a roof of gold to the sacred hall in the temple at Chidambaram. From the Leyden grant it appears that this king was Parantaka-Chóla. He also bore the title of Vira-Narayana-Chóla.

IV. He who conquered the Malaimud, i.e., most probably the Koîgu and Chéra countries, and killed 18 princes in retaliation for the insult offered to his envoy.

V. He whose armies seized the countries bordering on the Gaṅgá and Kádáram.

VI. He who defeated the king of Vaṅga, and thrice attacked Kályána, the capital of the Western Chálukyas.

VII. He who won the battle of Koppa (or Koppai). The inscriptions of this king, commencing with the words Tuirumagai marutuva śagol śedana, are found in many parts of the Tamil country, and it appears from them that he was known by the title of Udaiyári sri-Rájendradéva, alias Kó-Parakéśarivarman.

VIII. He who made a sarpa-sayana, i.e., a couch or bed in the shape of a coiled serpent, for the image of Viśnu at Sírugaṅam.

IX. The victor of Kudal-saṅgama.

X. His successor, of whom no particulars are given.

XI. He who chased the Páudyás, defeated the Chéra, twice quelled the rebellion at Salai, annexed Kónkaṇam and Káppádam, caused the death of the proud king of the Márátas, and abolished all tills throughout his kingdom. This is Udaiyári Sri-Rájárájadéva, alias Kó-Rájácéśarivarman, whose inscriptions begin with the words Tuirumagai póla perumalacakeluviyum.

XII. Vikrama-Chóla, the hero of the poem, and the son of the last mentioned king. His inscriptions begin with the words Tuir maṇi valara and are found in several of the large temples in the Tamil districts. He bore the title Udaiyári Sri-Rájendra-Chójadéva, alias Kó-Parakéśarivarman.

Then the poem describes the king's bed-room, his morning-bath, prayers and dress, of which his jewels form the most conspicuous part. The usual complimentary phrases describing the reigning king as the consort of the goddess of the Earth and of the goddesses of Wealth and Victory occur here. This helps us to understand the allusion in almost every inscription of this period to Bhuvanam-muljum-udaiyal or Ulagam-muljum-udaiyal, i.e., the goddess of the Earth, as the mistress of the king. After a tedious and overdrawn account of the royal elephant, the poem proceeds to give a vivid sketch of the pompous pageant which the procession of an oriental king always presents. The king is seated on an elephant under the shade of a magnificent parasol, while his attendants fan him with chauris. Huge sea-shells and pipes are blown; the big drums thunder; the royal bodyguard, with drawn swords, appear behind

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2 [This appears to be the great Rájárája, whose inscriptions refer to the conquest of Malaimud; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. pp. 2 and 236. — E. n.]

3 [This must be Rájárája's son Rájendir-Chóla, who boasts in his inscriptions of having conquered the Gaṅgá and Kádárám; ibid. p. 109. — E. n.] 4 [The corresponding verse (viii. 86) of the Káliétattu-Puráṇa suggests that No. VI. is Kó-Rájácéśarivarman alias Rájárájadéva, who, according to his unpublished inscriptions, "caused to be burnt the palace of the Chálukyas (king) in the city of Kámpíll." — E. n.]

5 [The same battle is mentioned in unpublished inscriptions of Kó-Rájácéśarivarman, alias Vira-Rájendradéva. — E. n.]

6 [I cannot follow Mr. Kanakasabhai here, but believe that the king referred to is Kulettuiga I. (A. D. 1063 to 1012). — E. n.]

7 [In my opinion, the hero of the poem is not Rájendir-Chóla, but Vikrama-Chóla, who ruled from A. D. 1112 to 1127; see ante, Vol. X. p. 292. — E. n.]
him; the tiger banner flutters in the breeze; and before and on both sides of him come, mounted on horses, his vassal kings and nobles, an interesting and detailed list of whom is given:

1. Foremost in the brilliant assemblage of princes is the Tončaimān. This is evidently the Pallava king, who was at this time a feudatory of the Chōla. He is said to have defeated the Chēras, the Pāṇḍyas, and the kings of Mālava, Simhāla and Konkāna.

2. Munaisyar-kōn, or the king of Munai, a place now known as Tīrumanṣaippāḍi. The word Munaiippāḍi signifies a war-camp, and the place appears to have been so named because it marked the boundary between the Chōla and Pallava kingdoms, before the latter had merged into the Chōla dominions.

3. Chōla-kōn, or the viceroy of the Chōla kingdom proper.

4. The Brāhmaṇ Kaṇṇa. This name is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Krishna. He is said to have been a native of the town of Kaṭalam, which is I believe now called Kaṭamur and is in the Tanjore district. He was a minister in charge of the palace and the treasury.

5. Vana, or the Bana king.

6. Kaliṅgar-kōn, or the king of Kaliṅga. His capital was Kaliṅgaagaram, the modern Kalingapatam in the Vizagapatam district.

7. Kaḷavaṇ, the king of the hill-fort of Señi. As Kaḷavaṇ, 'the forester,' is a Tamil synonym of the Sanskrit Pallava, he appears to have belonged to the Pallava royal family. His fortress Señi, which is spelled Ginge in English, belongs to the modern South Arcot district.

8. The king of Vēṇādu. This is the ancient name of the southern part of the Travancore territory.

9. Anantapalai, who is said to have been famous for his charities.

10. Vattavāṇ. This seems to be a Tamil form of the Sanskrit name Vatsa. He stormed the three-walled town of Māṇai, which was defended by Aṛyas. In the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla, this town is referred to as conquered by the king, and the name is coupled with Kaṭakam, indicating most probably that Māṇai and Kaṭakam were identical or adjacent to each other. Kaṭakam is the modern Cuttack in the province of Orissa.

11. The king of Chēdinādu. This may be Chēdi or Bundelkhaṇḍ, but is more probably another Chēdi, a petty principality in the Tamil country, the capital of which was Tirukkuvalur in the South Arcot district.

12. The chief of Āpaikkāval, i. e., Tīruvāṇaikkāval in the Trichinopoly district.

13. Adigaṇ. This is the title of the chiefs of Dhamapuri in the Salem district, the ancient Takaḍur or Takaṭa.

14. Vallabhāṇ, the Nulambaṇ, i. e., the king of Nulambāḍi, a division of the Mysore territory.

15. Tirigatap [i. e., the king of Trigarta].

This description of the king's appearance in public agrees so well with what Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, saw about two centuries later when he visited Southern India, that I am tempted to quote his words. "It is a fact," says he, "that the king goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth, and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like, in so much that his collar is of great value . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . The king aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you, what this king wears between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And there are about the king a number of Barons

* An inscription of an Adigaimiṇ appears at page 106 of Dr. Hultsch's South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I.
in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom, they are called the king's trusty lieges."

**TEXT.**

Āṭṭi mukattuttamaṇi nittaniṇai chittamē,
Tavaļṭattamarai tāṭār kōvēl
Avuļippēṟṟutum arantuṇai kuṟṟittē

Chër tanta tāḷamaiyēl kēḷ vaŋ tiruvutarak
Kēr tantaṟuntik kanaḷattu — pāṟntanta
Āṭṭikadavudlichey mukasumāṅkavanta
Kē]<k>ata<tn>kula maṇṭan Kēchiamṇē — mēttakka

5. Maiyarū kādēci Marlichiyūm māṇḍilam
Cheyya tanji yāḷḷitterōṇum — maiyal kūr
Čintanaiyēvi kṛuru mṛṛṛṛṟurruttañiŋ
Maṇṭanaiyēvanta maṇḷavaŋp
Taduturaiyēl adupuḷiyam pulvāyum

10. Kūda nīruddīya kōṟṇavaŋp — nōdiya
Mākavimānantanāiyēranta maṇṇavaŋp
Pōkapuripuranta pōpatiyum — yākattu
Kūṟalariyama manuṅkuṇarntu kēṟṟokki
Tēn vacakkuraśba Chembianum — mēṟalīn

15. Tēṛi māḷaliyōḷipra mutumakkaḷ
Tēṛi pakuttu tarāpatiyum — kūḍārtam
Tūkkum eyil erinta Chōḷḷanēmēṟkadalīl
Vissukul kēḷ kadalīl vidḍōnum — āṅkup
Pīḷamataṇiŋ pukkuttan pēṟōiyiḷ Nākaṟ

20. Kulamakālaṅi kaippūrdātakēṭu — mulakaiyak
Kēkkum cērīn puravu kēkk kalikundai
Tūkkum talai pakunta tūyaŋp — mēkkuyaruk
Kōḷḷum Kuḍakkuvaḍūḍaṟuttīḷiyat
Talḷum tirai Pōṇki tāntoṇum — tellarvich

25. Chemippuliyēṟṟurruttakkīri tirittup
Pōṇnikaraṅi kāṣḍa pūpatiyum — mēṟgaruḷin
Mēṭakka Pōikal kavi koṇdu Vīḷvaḷaṅp
Pāntaṇaiyēvī vidda pāṟtīpaŋp — mettēla
Menkonda tōṟṟukīŋ mēḷumīra mūṇa

30. Pūŋkoṇḍa vēṟṟippuravalanum — kāṅkoṇḍa
Kēṭalattēraḷ kuṟṟīkkuṇtilu māṅgaṇā
Kāṭalāṛ poṇ mēynta kāvaḷanum — tūtarkkāyāp
Pāṇḍu pakal onṟillnopată chirānum
Koṇdu Malaṁaṅḍu koṇḍōnum — taṇḍinār

35. Kaṅkā natiyum Kadāṟamnum kaṅkoṇdu
Chēṅkāṭanṭattirunta Cheṃbiyaṅp — Vaṅktai
Mūṟrum muraṇḍakki mūmmadipōy kēḷiyaṇp
Cēṛūṇa tanj jāṇnaḷi cēvrakaṅp — paṟṟalarai
Vēṟṟattadu kalattu vēḷaiṅkai āyiramnum

40. Koṇḍappoṭṭam kaliraṟ kōṇḍōpu — māṟṟalāndāl
Pāṟaravat Teṅp-Araṅka mēṟṟkkup paṇmaniyā

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*Marco Polo’s Travels, by Col. Yule, Vol. II. Bk. III. Chasp. XVII.*
Lādaravappāyalamaittōgum — Kūdalār
Chunakamattu koḻum tāipp̣paraṉikkēṉiṉaiṭa
Tunkamata yānai tuṇiṭtōgum — aṉkavaṇṇiṉ

45. Kāvāl pulintavaṉgi kāṭtavaṉum enṉirvakal
Pūvalayam mūṟṟum purunataṟ piṅ — mēvalatam
Chelaittarantu chilaiyaittādintirukār
Chelakkalam aṟutta taṇḍīnath — mēlaik
Kadal kondu Kōṇkaṉamūn Kānndamūṉaikkoṉ

50. Dadal koṇḍa Māṟaddarachai — yudalai
Yirakkī vadal varaṟiyē yellaiyāṭtollai
Māṟakkakiyūnchūṅkamam māṟṟi — yarattikirī
Vārithikirī valamāka vantālkkkū
Māṟṟipoli tōl Apayṛkup-pārviṭakkat

55. Tōnriya kēn Vikkiramachōḷan vēddaiṭtumkai
Mūṟṟu muraṟcu muṟkī muḷaṅkka — nōṟṟalaiyā
Mummaippuṇṭam purakka mūdirakakkuv
Chemmaittanikkōl tichaiyalappā — vemmai
Vidavupaduttu vijukkakakikai eddu

60. Kadavudikāḷuṟu kalippa — chudarchēr
Iṟaiṭṭār makkudam iṟakkī archar
Tunaiṭṭal apikēkānchūdhī — paṇaittōru
Nirāḷiyēḷum nilavāḷiyēṭjanīṇā
Pōrāḷiyōṟaṭ potu ṅikku — cẖirārum

65. Mēyā tikiri virī mēkalaiyakur
Rūyā nila madantai tōḷkalīṇum — chāyaliṅ
Nōṟumulakāṅkal c̣ cientaṅttadaiya
Kōṭīl kula maṅkāi koṅkaiyinum — pōṭīl
Niraṅkira chelvi neduṅkankalīṇum

70. Uṇaṅkira nāḷi oru nil — aṭikalarkāl
Tēṅgaṟ tiśi alantu muttirchilapūṇḍu
Tēṅgaṟ malai ārachkeṭkanīntu — tēṅgaṟ
Varavidda teṇṟal adi varuda vāḍkaṟ
Poravidda pēṟam pōṛa — iraviṅka

75. Nittilappantarkīl nhilappiyariṉ
Rottalai malai tunaiṭṭulom — maittadāṁ
Kanṟum muḷaiyinum periya kalīyanam
Enpumulakāṅkal ēḷudaiya — peṇṇṣaṅku
Peyta malai ēṭi pe chakkiravarttiyudan

80. Eṭṭiya palli igiteṭjantu — payyāṭa
Pōṇṇitturai māṅchaṟaṇamāṇīṟ pūchuṟarkai
Kanṟittinarukkin kāppaṅjinta — mūṟṟai
Māṟaṅkkoḷantai velḷi malaiṅkoḷjuntai mavulippu
Piṅaṅkkoḷjuntai vaḷḷi pēṟaṟi — kāṟaṅkkaḷattu

85. Chekkaraṃpāi vichumpai teyyattanichendrārāi
Mukkad kaiyai muḍiṉaṅkki — mikkuyarnta
Tēṇṟottōḷi mudittu chāṭṭum takaiyaiṅ
Māṟaṅkkalaṅkal varavarulī — tēṅmoṭṭu
Chēḷumalar mukattu chōṇmīmakaludanē.

90. Tāḷumakarakkulai tayaṅka — vāḷuṇ
Tada mulaippār madantai tāṇṇudāṅ tōḷiṅ
Chudar maqikkēyuraṅ chōlintu — padarun
Tañippilappernūkkitit taiyalunāṅ
Maqikkadakāṅkaiyil vayaṅkap — paṅippaṅ.
95. Muyaṅkuntiruvudanāṅ muppē kodutta
Vayaṅku maṅi mārpēṅmalka — vayaṅkā
Varuṅkorga māṭirkuvaṅkaṅkuṅudanē
Maruṅkiṣiruvudavāṅ vāyppat — tirunṭiyya
Vayaṅppadimattarun pēraṇiyattintu
100. Vaṇṭattalaiyīn vaṅappamattuk — kaṇṭangalōṅ
Kāmaṅ chilai vaṅkap vāṅkīya kaddāḷakait
Tāna muddvaṇpaṅkan tantaṇāiyai — kāmarupūṅ
Kōḷattodu peyro in kōyiṣpuraniṅgu
Kāḷattiruṅ kākākalīṅ — nāḷattu
105. Tāṅē mulan kuvatangittanakketīrē
Vāṅē mulāṅkīnum vāṅṭpadavī — vāṅkū
Kaṇiyumarrumandarkaṅkaiyuntiṅmai
Taṇiyum yamareṭhatevaṉdāṅ — tuṇiyār
Pariya porukodi kaṅṭattu panaṅka
110. Ariya oru tāṅeyāki — kariya
Malaṅkkōddai madittidiyak kuttum
Kolaṅkkōddu venekā kōddam — malaitōda
Vūru matam tapatēyāka vulaṅkattu
Vēṟu matam peṟa vēkattār — kūronatē
115. Tāṅkkippaḷiyāṟṟatattat padar niṟṟu
Vāṅkkippaḷiyai mēmpuṅjutu — mōṅkīya
Kaṟṟappuyamāraṟdākōmāṅ Akaḷaṅkaṅ
Murṟapparintarpīṅ muṅ pātam — murṟa
Varuttamatu marantu māṭirattu vēḷam
120. Parutta kāṅḍantiḷaṭṭuppāyapp — peruṅkāt
Tuvaṅtto maturuchuvadu mitiṭṭōdi
Yavarāṅnaraṅkāḍiṟī — yivaṟṟai
Yalittavaṅ eikōmāṅṭalāṅṇiṅtu
Kalittāṅneṅṟuvuṅkukāḷiṅ — nelīṭṭiyya
125. Vēṟṟuppulattai vēṭṭiṅṭaṅṭittamara
Lōṟṟupparumāṅariyiraiṅk — kūṟruk
Karuttumayirāṟpatanirttanai
Yiruttipadi padiyāyēṟit — tiruttakka
Koṟṟakkaviṅki ḫḷaṟṟakkulirinteliraddiṅ
130. Koṟṟakkavarīyaḷukāḷaṅchippa — voṟṟai
Vaḷamupuriyūta vaḷaṅkkuḷaṅkāḷarpach
Chilambumurucharūchilamba — pulampayil
Vaḍpadai tōṟṟa mara maṅṅavärenūṅkak
Kōḍupuliṅkkōṟṟak kodiyōṅkach — chēḍupattat
135. Teṅṇaru Māḷuvnuṅ Chīṅṅalanaṅ Koṅkaṅṭa
Maṅṅarunṭoṅka Māḷaināḍar — muṇṇaṅ
Kulaipappurutokkēṟṟōṅda paraṇi
Maḷaiyattarum Tōṇḍaimuṅ — palarmudimidē
Lārkkūṅkaḷaiṅkā Aṉakāṅgratavaiṅyil
140. Pāṛkkumatimantrapāḷakariṅ — pōṛkkut
Todukappannaitumbe tāchēṅṇoduṅchūdak
My soul! Pray thou daily to the excellent (Ganapati) that has the face of an elephant!

Let us praise her (Sarasvatī) whose shrine is the white water-lily, full of pollen, so that she may inspire us with elegant Tamil!

The first of gods, creator of the earth (Brahma), who rose with faces four out of the water-lily, that grew from the dark navel of the sacred person of (Vishnu) the spouse of that goddess whose seat is on the lovely lotus flower. Then his beloved son Kasyapa. Then great Marichi, a faultless seer. Then he whose car rolls on a single flaming wheel. Then that
stern sire who drove his chariot over his son to soothe a cow in dire distress. Then the mighty monarch who made the timid fawn and the fierce tiger drink together in the same cool springs. Then the king who rode an aerial car and (mounting to the skies) saved Bhogapuri. Then the Sembiya (i.e. the Chóla) who by a solemn sacrifice created a wondrous man and won his cause, satisfying the ruthless god of death. Then the sovereign who shared the grey beard of elders and drove Yama out of his sight. Then the Chóla who stormed the castles of his foes which hung in the air. Then he who let into the Eastern bay the swelling waters of the Western sea. Then the prince who bravely went down a cavern, and by his radiant beauty won the hand of the noble daughter of the Naga race. Then that generous man who is known to all the world as having joyously entered the scales (to be weighed), to save a little dove. Then he who brought the river Ppiggí (Káviri) whose rushing current cuts its way through the rocky ridges of high Kujágú. Then the king who set his tiger (banner) on the mountain whose summit gleams with crystal waterfalls, and formed high banks to control the floods of the Ppiggí. Then the sovereign who heard the lofty lay of Poygái and graciously struck the fetters off the feet of the Villavā (i.e. the Chóra king). Then that conqueror whose person was covered with scars (gained in battle), twice three and ninety in number. Then that guardian (of the world) who, with pious love, covered with sheets of gold the roof of the hall where Siva (literally, pure honey) dances. Then he who, to avenge his envoy, obtained of old, in a day, the heads of twice nine princes and conquered Malainádu. Then he who sat on his throne while his armies seized the Gauá and Kádram. Then that matchless soldier who broke the power of (the king of) Vaágá and thrice attacked Kályána. Then he who, riding on a single tasker, killed his enemies in a fierce fight at Kopppa and took a thousand elephants. Then he who, with gems of many kinds, made a couch in the shape of a hooded serpent for the god (Vishnú) of the Southern Raágam (Sriraágam) where ancient (Védic) hymns are sung. Then he who cut down countless majestic rutting elephants, and won a great victory at Kúdál-sángama. Then he who after the above watched and protected the earth. After all these kings had ruled the whole compass of this earth, came the Abháya whose shoulders were adorned with garlands of ár; who, with his army which had chased the sá (a fish, the flag of the Pándya) and broken the bow (the flag of the Chóra) and twice cut the rebels at Sálapi, annexed Kónkánam and Kannádam (and all the land) up to the shores of the Western sea; caused the death of the proud king of the Márátas; rid the country of all evils and toils; and ruled with mercy the whole of this sea-girt earth up to the bounds of the Northern mountain. His illustrious son Vikrama-Chóla assumed the diadem amid the thundering of the three drums, and governed the three worlds, extending his righteous dominion in all directions, the cool shade of his umbrella removing all evil (or unhappiness) and gladdening (the hearts of) the eight celestial elephants (which guard the eight points). Kings took off their glittering crowns, which were wound with wreaths of flowers, and bowed their heads at his pair of feet. He brought under his own martial sway the seven swelling seas and the seven continents. While thus he reclined on the shoulders of the goddess of the Earth, like the broad and bright girleó on whose hips are the chains of mountains, and on the bosom of the beauteous and chaste virgin (the goddess of Victory) who is the sole mistress of the seven worlds, and in the presence (literally, long eyes) of the goddess of Wealth who dwells in the (lotus) flower,—one morning, he rose brightly from his bed which was all white as the moonlight, under a canopy of pearls, and to which he had retired overnight, wearing the choicest pearls paid as tribute by the Southern (Pándya) princes; his person perfumed with the paste of the sandal of their (the Pándyas') mountain; his feet wowed by the southern breezes at their bidding; accompanied by the empress "Mistress of the seven worlds," who, with bright large eyes and swelling bosom, her tresses twined with fresh blossoms, and her shoulders wound with strings of fragrant flowers, was graceful as a goddess and gay as the playful swan, and served by a group of women whose glances wound like sharp swords. (Having risen) he bathed in the river Ppiggí whose current never dries up, and put on his wrist a bracelet made of the tender shoots of the orugu grass, handed to him by his priests, and offered his prayers to him (Siva) who is the light of the ancient
Vēdas, the flame on the silver mountain (Kaṇṭhās), who wears the young crescent on his head, whose throat is dark, and whose ethereal body is of a ruddy hue, who is the supreme luminary amongst gods, who has three eyes, and who is full of mercy. (Then) he distributed large sums of money (to the Brāhmaṇa) and was pleased to send for the (royal) jewels whose magnificence passeth description. On his face, which was the seat of the goddess of Eloquence, and which bloomed like a full-blown flower beset by bees, sparkled fish shaped ear-rings. On his shoulders which bore the broad-bosomed goddess of the Earth, he set epauletts, which blazed with brilliant gems. On his wrists, where the restless goddess of Fame sat, alone bracelets set with precious stones. On his chest, which was the abode of the goddess of Wealth, beamed the priceless jewel which the ocean gave up when churned (by the gods) with the great snake (Vāsuki for a rope). At his waist, he placed gracefully his sacred sabre on which lay the great goddess of Victory. Having put on rich and rare ornaments of exquisite beauty and arrayed himself gorgeously, he issued out of the palace, appearing so enchantingly handsome, that it seemed as if Siva had bestowed on him, while he bowed his wrinkled crown to the god, all the heavenly charms of which he had deprived Kāma (Cupid) when the latter had once bent his bow on the god. There stood before him the huge and fierce royal elephant which would not brook to hear the roar of other elephants; and if it heard the thunder of the clouds, would sweep (with its trunk) even the sky, and finding no trunk or tusks opposing it, would be appeased; which would alone bear the heavy war-banner, and with its death-dealing tusks batter and break down even hard rocks; which, being unaccustomed to the smell of other cutting-juice but its own, — when Akalākka (i.e. the Spotless) had, with its swaying victorious shoulders, removed from the neck of the elephants which guard the eight points, the burden (of this earth), which they had borne with silent anguish, and made them forget the aching pain of their forelegs and discharge rut in floods, — scenting their rut, followed up the current of the floods, and pacified by the sounds of the celestial elephants, rejoiced that they were gladdened by the favour of its royal master; which would trample under foot and lay waste the enemies’ lands and furiously devote to death the dear lives of the princes who face it on the field of battle. On such an Airāvata (or white elephant) he mounted step by step, and sat under the shade of a superb umbrella. A pair of thick chauris fanned cool and gentle puffs of wind; the deep sound of the great sea-shell swelled; bands of pipes made shrill music; the sālamba and the big drums thundered; the well-drilled bodyguard of swordsmen appeared; high above all waved the banner of the conquering tiger; and there crowded warrior kings, such as: — the Tadheṇām, who in a single campaign scattered the armies of Malaināḍu and defeated the Tenṇar (Pandya), Māḷuvu, Śiṅgaḷu, Kōṇkanu, and other kings of distant lands; and of the ministers of Anagha, whose sounding anklets rest on many a crowned head, the Muṇaṣīyar-kōn, who with his headgear wears the wreath of victory in besieging enemies’ strongholds; and the Chōla-kōn who, whenever his sovereign is displeased with the Udukkar, Kaṇgār (Gaṇgaś), Marāṭṭar, Kaḷīṅga, Kōṅgar and other Western nations, bends his bow on them with a frown; and the Brāhmaṇa Kaṇṇaṇ of the town of Kaṇṭhām, the high walls of which pierce the clouds, who daily superintends the royal guard, treasure, palace, sword (or armoury), tiger (standard) and council; and the Vēṇu, armed with the bow bound with leather, who offers the lives of rival kings to death, their stinking caresses to demons, and compels their fond mistresses (who have become widows) to remove their ear-rings (and other ornaments) and the Kaḷinga king, who with his victorious banner has put to flight many a prince in Vēṅgai, Viḷḷū, Kollam, Kōṅgam, Irāṭṭam and Oḍḍam; and the Kaḷavaṇ, who rides the gay elephant, king of the hill-fort of Seṇji, which, crowded with battlements, resembles the unassailable red mountain (Mēru); and the king of Vēṇuṇḍu who drove the rogue elephant, which caused people to tremble by its great fury; and Ananṭapālān, who performed deeds of great charity and spread his fame from Kumari to the Mandakini; and the Vattāvan, whose huge elephant broke down the three walls of Northern Maṇṇai, where the Āryas had fought hard for their town; and the prince of the sacred Chōḍināṭu, who levelled to the ground the strong fortifications of Kādi; and the chief of Āṇaikkāval, who, when he ties the sounding anklet on his leg, never fails to compel the foes whom he encounters, to tie up the hair
on their head in tangled knots; and the Adiga, who cut down the armies of Northern Kalinga and routed the king of Oddiyam; and Vallabhan, the munificent Kulambar, who, riding a rutting elephant, conquered Kottarum belonging to the Minayar (Pandyas), and Kolaim; and Tirigattam, of the red-trunked elephant, who overthrew Kouru which is defended by mountains, and knocked down the crags of Kukagou; and after him came the Vallavan, Kosalan, Magadan, Maluvan, Villavan, Koraian, Minavan and Pallavan. Surrounded in this manner in front and on both sides by great kings and chiefs without number, he approached the street where live the fair women whose polished bracelets sparkle with many gems and brilliant diamonds.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHEI.
1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(Continued from page 89.)

TEXT.1

Obverse face of the First Stone.

Namū tassa bhagaśādū aparuddha samamāsamaddādha. Siddhā bhavantu Jinaacakavarāhivuđhājiyā siddhāṃ Buddhassarnamū. Rāmaṇadāśapatiḥbhū-Rāmaṇhipatinā katā

Jinasasasamaddādhi tam pavatti kathiyatē. Rāmaṇadāśapatiḥbhū-Rāmaṇhipitārāja-kāli Jinasasasassuddhi.

Sakyamunino Sammāsamaddhārā parinibbānsto dvināṃ vassasatānam uparātthārasamā vassā vitivattē Dhammāsākara-rāja abhisēkākāh pāpamū. Tāto catutthō vassē Nagrodhasamādhamoṃ paṭicca Buddhassanē sañjātā ‘tivīya pasādāna bhikkūnaṃ lāṃhasakārō vēpulamm agamāsi; titthiyānam pārihamī.


Tāto paṭicca rāja Dhammāsako sāsana’-uppanna-mala-kaṭṭaka’-buddhāpaharanēna sāsanaṃ sōdhakāmā Möggaliputtatissamaḥēthāram upanissayaṃ katvā, Vibhajjavādī Sammāsamaddhū-sassatādīvā lañcō titthiyātī samayān uggahētvā, sabbo bhikkhū samipātēpētvā samāmahākkhaëkāto vaśāpētvā, tōto ëkā pañhaññirivē; kihāvē Sammāsamaddhū ti? vuttē Vibhajjavādī Sammāsamaddhū ti vadantā sāsanaṃ saṅghī upōsamāsāgthakāmmanā karotanāna bhikkūnaṃ atthañ pavissītē.

Tāto Asokāramā sattavassānaṃ upōsathō paçchijjī.


1 Throughout this text ç represents by e’ ç by ô: the diacritical sign Â represents sandhi: the sign represents a long vowel.
Tadā Suvaṇṇabhūṁiraṭṭhō Sirimāṣākō nāma rāja rajjaṁ kārēsi. Tassa rājaṭhānī, nagaram Kōḷaśabhaṇṇabātecoṭṭyassā pacchimāṇudisaiyum hōti. Tassa tu nagarama paċhīn 'upaddhābhāgho pabbāḷhaṁ adhunā hōti; paċchīn 'upaddhābhāgho saṁcā bhūṁibhāgho hōti. Taṁ pana nagarama Gōḷamanusṣagāranāṁ viya mattsikhārānāṁ bhuhulatāya Gōḷamattikā
nagaraṁ ti yāv 'ajjaṭhāna vōhaṁantī.


Evaṁ Rāmaṇāḍēso sisamanatthānaṁ paṭṭhāya ciraṅkantaṁ dibbati. Gacchante gacchante kalē mahāmahādhalassemi Rāmaṇāḍēsaṁ visum visum dāmarikatarkaṁna bhiṁmattā, abhiṁvatthāgappillattā, dbhūkkhappillattā, varaṭcakkaṁkhetiyā sattarājasāvāya bhiṁbhūttēsa ca, Rāmaṇāṭhānaṁ duṭbbalaṁ jātai. Tena taṁ niṃvasīnaṁ bhikkhīnaṁ sakkena pariyaṭtāṁ va paṭipattīva va pariropuṭēva asakkenyattā:ssānān pi duṭbbalaṁ jātai.

Suriyakumāro ti pana paṭilakkhaṇāramānaṁ Manōharāṇāso rajakaranakāle accanta duṭbbalāna jātai. Tadā Sammaṁsaṁbuddhaṁparinnāṁbhātā chasatāthikavassasahassā hōti dāṭhabbaṁ.

Ek 'uttaracchasatāṭhikavassasaḥassā pana kāla ruddha-rūpa-bōdhasakkaṛō Arimadanapar 'issēruñ ānurūkeḍhōna rūna saṇṭaṇkattayaṁ bhikkhuṁsaṅghaṁ anēva Pugāmasaṅkhāte Arimadanapurō samam paṭṭhāpitaṁ.

Tatō saṭt 'uttaracchatavasakāle rasa-yama-pāṇa-sakkarājō Luṅkādipasimī Siṁsasahodhī-Parakkamabhaṁhūra jāsānaiḥ viśodhēsi.

Tatō pana chathī vassē yama-sīkhi-pāṇa-sakkarājō Luṅkādīpe cēliyāvibhivandanatthāya Puğāmabhūpācariyabhūtō Uttarājivamāṭhātherō: "sambhūlō bhikkhūva saddhiṁ niyam abhirīhiṣāṭīmī" yeṇa Kusimanagaram tēna pakkāmi. Kō pana 'sa Uttarājivamaṭhāḥī therī ti? Ayaṁ hi thērō Rāmaṇāḍēsoiyuttō Ariyavansaṭṭhāressa ssīso; Ariyavansaṭṭhāro pana Kappuṅgamaravaśī-Mahiḥkālaṭhāressa ssīso; sō pana Sudhammanaravaśīno Prūṇa-

dassimahṭhāressa ssīso; sō tu lōkiya-jhānānābhiṁśālabbī tappacecaṁyā pāṭuva Maṅgaliḥaṁtraṇa

Uruvelḷajāyaṁ mahābōdhiyaṅgaṁ sammañjīva, pana paṭcārantā, Sudhammapuriyaṁ pūreyā

carati. Tassa ca patidūmā pāṭuva maṅgaliḥaṁyaṅgaṁ sammañjīvanākāle, Sudhammapurato Magadhāratṭhabhāgminī Uruvēḷavāsi-vāṇījyākā manussā divē, paccagantuva Sudhammapuriyaṇān
manussānam āročenti. Tasmā Prānadassimahāthero lōkiyajjhābhānīnāsamāpatilābhīti saṇjavāniṣu.


Tato paraṁ Uttarājivamahāthero Lāṅkādīpe yaṁ kičiṁ cetiya-vaṇḍanādi-kiccaṁ niṭṭhāpētabbāṁ, tāṁ sabbāṁ niṭṭhāpiṣvā, Pugāmanagaranā paccaṅkumāraṁ ārābhi.


Uttarājivamahātherō pi sambahulēhi bhikkhūhi saddhiṁ nāvam abhiruyya, Kusimanaṁ patvā, yōna Pugāmanagaraṁ mad asavatītvā, tasmiṁ paṭvāsai.


Tē paṅca paṅca mahātherē Kusimanagaraṁ patvā, vassīpaṁyākāpaṇakathṭhāta Pugāmanagaranāgamamaṅkāhāvatō, Kusimanagaro yēva vassī upapacchiṁ. Tēsaṁ vassī ’pupagamaṅkāhāvāni vihāravatthu va pākūṅo va Kusimanagarassā dakkhiṇadābhāge yēvānāhaṁnā dissati. Atha khot Chapaṭho mahāthero vuttāhassvō pavārētvā, catuhi therēhi saddhiṁ yēva Pugāmanagaranān teṇā cārikaman pakkāmi.

Uttarājivamahātherō ta kātipaṇyadivasasampattā Chapaṭamahātherē kālam akāsi.

Эваи मानिण्डेसे सुधाममनगराते सुसानासा गंत्वाः मारमण्डेसे पुगामनगरे पाति\स्तनूमा एतुविस्धिक\वावाससाते वितिवत्ते येवा सिखी-बौद्ध-पूना-सक्कराजे लक्ष्मीदिपाते सुसानाम एगांतु मपुगामनगरे पाति\स्तन्तिती दाज्हाबाम।

तदां पुगामनगरे नारसपत्यायरो नामा राजा राज्या करेति। सो पाँचभुः माहाठरोः नविया पासना\\nविराजिया माहाठरण्या नवासानुष्ठानम करात्पेक्षा, बहुपणमपदा\nकक्षे पांच माहाठरे आसपासदा\' पेड़े तिमि माहाठरे अनुमूनुष्ना वाचित्वः बहुगुणाः जाता।

एकमिमी पांचारण जातिनास यापुसमा महाठरथा महादानम् दातुम सामाजिक करीपेक्षाः।

tसामिक सामाय राहुलथरे एकतिखिरुपाया नातकायित्यिया दासाणेनाबिहरतिया पित्तो गिहिब्धावम पात्तहयामणो गिहिब्धावती कक्तुम उराभ्षी। तदां चपापामाहाठरायो जटारो पिय माहाठरे पुराप्पुण्या धामिया कथिया तम ऋवायम, समानहुस्तिसम। एविया सो कत्तिया पिय माहाठराया धामिया कथिया ऋवायमणो पिता तिमि नवियात्तुम नासाक्षी।

तिमि कत्तिया माहाठराया: "याज्ञवाल, नामपकारेर्रू अमृतिह धामिया कथिया ऋवायमणो पिता सामान्य तां तिमि नवियात्तुम नासाक्षी। मा यिद्धा तवम गिहिब्धावया वायामुळ्यः। रामानुयादेसा पांचा गंत्वा नवाम अभिरुचित्वा, मलयविपान पत्ता, तस्मिन येवा गिहिब्धावया वायामुळ्यायती।" पुराप्पुण्यम् वेवूयोजितो रामानुयादेसा गंत्वा, नवाम अभिरुचित्वा, मलयविपान गटो।

तत्तथा पांचा सो विनायकाः जातिकामाः मलयविपासरण राजनाम सत्तकासा खुद्दसकक्षापकारणाः सिक्क्हापणुमा सवजतियापुपलिया अथाम् बोधोः। मलयाराजा तस्मिन पादित्वा, नामपकारेर्रू राष्ट्रिया पत्ता अपान पुत्वें रुपेण। राहुलथरे तस्मू ज्यात्तु नासाक्षी। गीहिहु वर्ता, गरावससा कक्तिया।

Api ca aparēṇa samayya catasū pañcāya Chapaṣṭamahāthero kālam akāśī. Sivalimahāthero ca, Tāmalimahāthero ca, Anandamahāthero ca, tayō mahāthera Pugāmanagaro sasānam ujōtayaśī｡


'வாதானுச்சாந்தரானம் எகாத் ஸங்ககங்ககாற்றன் யுத்தருபன் த.' தட்டோப பாப்புதி பெ ෍ மாகாத்ரா விசு ஸங்ககங்கமம் அக்காயமாகு.

தட்டோ புகாமானகாரோ ஸுகாமானகாரோ ஆகாளாசாந்தவுரிஹுதோ ஸ்கிக்குசங்ககோ தா, ஸிவலிமாகாத்ராசிஸாப்புதோ ஸ்கிக்குசங்ககோ தா, ஸ்லாலிமாகாத்ராசிஸாப்புதோ ஸ்கிக்குசங்ககோ தா, அணாமாகாத்ராசிஸாப்புதோ ஸ்கிக்குசங்ககோ தா: க்கிள்கரோ ஸ்கிக்குசங்கா விசு ஸங்ககங்கம், விசு ஸங்கா நிகாயா ஜாதா. தேவு பாப்புதி ஸுகாமானகாரோ ஆகாளாசாந்தவுரிஹுதோ ஸ்கிக்குசங்ககோ தாத்தின் பசிமாகாலகங்கத்தா 'பசிமாகங்ககுசங்ககோ' தி புகாமாவணியா மாமாமானுஸ்தி வேறானு. தட்டோ பாப்புதி ஸ்கிக்குசங்கா ஸ்லாலாதிப்போ ஆகாளாசாந்தவுரிஹுதோ 'ஸ்லாலாப்ஸ்கிக்கங்கா தி, பசிமாகங்ககங்கத்தா 'பசிமாகங்ககுசங்கா' தி வேறானு.

தட்டோப இந்த்து பெ மாகாத்ரா ஸிவலிமாகாத்ரா தா ஸ்லாலிமாகாத்ராசிஸாப்புதோ தா, வேறு மாகாத்ரா யவதாயகா ஸாணான் ஜாதித்துவா, யாத்தாகங்கா தான். ஆனாமாத்ராபோ பாப்புதி பசிமாகாபானான்சினான் ஸ்லாலிமாகாரோ ஸாணான் ஜாதித்துவா, முனி-சுந்தா-ராசா-சக்கார்ஜெ சாம்பாத்தோ யாத்தாகங்கா தான்.

Reverse Face of the First Stone.

Dibbatu Jinaacakham!

Dalamaraçtìhō pana Padippajayabhidhānāgāmavāsīputtō Sāriputtō nām'ēkō samanerō Pugāmanagaraun gantva, Ānandathārsasa santikō upasampajjivītā, atthakhathāsāhita hambhāvāyānā mahācampakā mahāsāhāyāhārā layāyā satthadhammavāpā bhābandhā sevāramন'ēkō samanero Pugāmanagaraun gantva, Ānandathārsasa santikō upasampajjivītā, atthakhathāsāhita hambhāvāyānā mahācampakā mahāsāhāyāhārā layāyā satthadhammavāpā bhābandhā sevāram
Muttimanagarē pana Kambōjasaṅghapakkho; Sivalimāthērāpaveṇiḥūtō Sihal-saṅghapakkho; Tāmalindamaḥērāpaveṇiḥūtō Sihalasaṅghapakkho; Ānandamaḥērāpaveṇiḥūtō Sihalasaṅghapakkho ca; Muttimanagarē yēva dēviyā "cariyabhiṭṭāsas Sihalādipānā gantvā apasampadaṁ gahetvā puna" agantvā, visūṁ saṅghakammaṁ gantvā upasampadāṁ gahetvā puna" agantvā, visūṁ saṅghakammam karontassa Buddhavaṁsamaḥērārassa pavānibhiṭtō Sihalasaṅghapakkhoḥ; Sihalādipānā gantvā gahitiṃapasampadassas Muttimanagarānā paccūgantvā, visūṁ saṅghakammam karontassā Mahānāgābhīdānaṁ Mahāsāminī pavānibhiṭtō Sihalasaṅghapakkho cēti: chadhā bhinnā saṅghapakkhe, ekato saṅghakammaṁ saṅkhātaṁ nānāsānamāsakā te nānānām karoti.

Tēsu pi sabbūsu chasu nikāyēsu simāsamaṣṭhānāpamadakamadda saṅghakammakarapiṇē, bhāhunaṁ Bảnīyabhiṭṭathānaṁ bahunātānaṁ bhatiṭṭhānaṁ sākto dhanaṁ saṅghakammam karoti. Tassā ca simāyam upasampadakammaṁ karoti.

Kēcē pana thērā yasminī gāmaṁkēṭhē yattakē paḍēsē simān bandhitum iĉchanti; tattakassā samantaṁ nimittaṁ ṭhāpētva, nimittaṁ bha saṃsāramas bhati ṭhitānaṁ bhikkhuṁ sathapāsaṁyanaṁ baniḥ-bhikku-basena sōdaṁhān akatva, antoṇimittatagatē yēva bhikkhuḥ sathapāsagatē katva simaṁ bandhanī. Tassā ca simāyam upasampadakammas karoti.

Kēcē pana thērā: "yasminī gāmaṁkēṭhē simaṁ bandhitum iĉchanti; tasminī gāmaṁkēṭhē samantaṁ antoṇimittatagatēna ca sathapāsaṁyanaṁ baniḥ-bhikku-basena sōdaṁhān katva ca simaṁ bandhitabbā ti" vadanti. Tathāpi simābandhanakālē sabbā yēva gāmaṁsimā sōdētum dukkaraṁ ti maṁmahāsā, visūṃgāmalakkaṁhaṁ saccate tathātu anupadhārētva, yattakāṁ yattakāṁ paḍēsē parichchhīdētva, rāja kassaci dēti: tattakē tattakē paḍēsē visūngāmo hōti ti sōdētum kathā sōdētaṁ upacakrāsimāmittam eva và tātō adhiṁkāṁ pi và yātā niñcē yathārūcītakaṁ paḍēsē rājāllī parichchhīdētva, tattāth eva ṭhitānaṁ bhikkuṁ sathapāsaṁyanaṁ baniḥ-bhikku-basena sōdaṁhān katva ca, sakhāya gāmaṁsiyam sōdaṁhān akatva, simaṁ bandhanī. Tassā ca simāyam upasampadakammas karoti.

Aparē tu thērā: ‘dvinnāṁ baddhasimānāṁ yēva rukkasakkādiḥ-sambandhēn’ aññamaṁsaṁ-saṅkarō hōti; baddhasina-gāmaṁsimānāṁ va dvinnāṁ gāmaṁsimānāṁ va rukkasakkādiḥ-sambandhē pi saṅkarō na hōti, aṭṭhāṁ adhiṁśaṁ coveti, yasminī gāmaṁkēṭhē simaṁ bandhitum iĉchanti; tassā gāmaṁkhetāssā samantaṁ aññehi gāmaṁkēṭhē rukkasakkādiḥ-sambandhē ava-chedam akatva, tasminī yēva gāmaṁkēṭhē ṭhitānaṁ bhikkuṁ sathapāsaṁyanaṁ baniḥ-bhikku-basena sōdaṁhān katva simaṁ bandhanī. Tassā ca simāyam upasampadakammas karoti.

Aññē pana thērā Pāliyaṭṭhākathāsū vuttaṁ nadillakkaṁhaṁ va jātassaralakkaṁhaṁ va sabbūriṇānārūpanadharētva ‘avadāchaṁsaṁ anudaśāhaṁ anupacchānaṁ ti aṭṭhakathāyaṁ vattapadaṁ attaṁ samminadharētva, ativuttothikē pi Rāmaṁsiyāñcē nadillakkaṁjātassaralakkaṁpavāraṁhēssu pi naditajāssarēsu sajjāyām udakukhepasimāyam upasampadammaṁ karoti.

Ekakkō pana thērā yasminī gāmaṁkēṭhē simaṁ bandhitum iĉchanti; tassē aññehi gāmaṁkēṭhē rukkasakkādiḥ-sambandham avacchhīdēti, tasminī gāmaṁkēṭhē antoṇimittatagatē ca bhāhunimittatagatē ca sathapāsagatē ca kathā sōdaṁhān, chandaṁ va āharītva, bha va niḥaṁsīva, simaṁ bandhanī. Tassā ca simāyam upasampadakammas karapiṇē pana tassē ca gāmaṁsiyam rukkasakkādiḥ sambandham aviyojētva upasampadakammas karoti.

Tāda sō rājī Satthuṣāṇe suṣṭhutaraṇaṃ pasannattāya ēvaṃ cintēsi: "pabhajādhiṅk kho upasamapadā upasampadhipāṇi ca, asannāṃ; upasamapadā pana simā-paris-vaṭṭhu-nilāṭyānusāvāna-sampattisaṅkhātāli pañcāḥi sampattihī yuttā vākuppā thānāraṇāḥ hōti. Tasaṃ pariṣuddhass' upasamapadāpakkhasa vaṭṭhussa byājanapāpārpaṇiṃ katva vaścētuṃ samaththānam ācāryayuṇa ca labbbhamāntti vattthuṃñayāniṣvāna-sampattiyō samvijjamāṇārāḥ bhavya-vuṇa; simā-paris-sampatticchānaṃ pana vijjamāṇābhāvāh kathāh jānitaṃ labbbheyantī ti?" 

Tatō rājī: Vinayaṭhakaṭhaṭāḥ ca; Sārattihatipaniṃ nāma Vinayaṭiṃka ca; Viṃṭhukhīvhitēnā kathā Vinayaṭiṃka ca; Kaṭkāvataraṇī nāma Māṭika ca, aṭṭhakaṭhaṭā ca; Vinayaṭiṃkhabhayapaṭtāṇa ca, taṭṭikaṭā ca; Vinayassāṅgaphakaraṇa ca; Simālaṅkārapaṭtāṇa ca; Simālaṅkārasaṅghānāḥ ca — byājaojantō ca atthato ca samanuṣharittva tad anusārēṇa Pūjīya cʿaṭṭhakaṭhaṭāh, attthakaṭhāya ca tikaṇā, paṭṭāpana ca, paṭṭāpana ca, puṇāca ca, saṣādnaṃ vāca, saṃānyiṇī ca, kidosō nu kho Bhagavo aṭṭhāśayānuppō atthākatikāra-tikāra-paṭṭāpanakāratikāvācasirahānōmatō simādikakere Vinayaṭiṃkhabhayō ti sammadō eva punappaṇuṃ upaparikkhati, punappaṇuṃ anuvicinatī. Taiss' evān puṇappuṇam upaparikkhatassā punappaṇaṃ vicinantassē evavuppō Vinayaṭiṃkhabhayō paṭṭibhāti:


Api ca vassaṃ sattusā māsaṃ adjaḷhamāsi adjaḷhamāsi samādhāraṇācārebhaddassē, ekavāraṇasānaṃ vā, paṇcāḥi paṇcāḥi samādhāraṇācāre bhaddassē ekavāraṇasānaṃ vā, samāvaṭṭhikahāsānaṃ vā. Adjaḷhamāsi pana param ekavāraṇasānaṃ dubbuttilekhaṇaṃ. Paṇcāhāni uṇa eṭhā caṭhāre, caturāre ṭa, tīhe tīhe ṭa vē, dvīhe dvīhe ṭa, dinō dinō vē vē, vassanāṃ, panītiṣṭhilekhaṇaṃ.

Samaṇṭhikī ca kāle yassaṃ nadiyaṃ vassānāsa catūśa māsaṃ yathākathaṭhāci tiṭṭhe vē atiṭṭhe vē uṭṭharaṇī bhikkhuṇīya antaraṇāsakō ēka-dvā āngulamattatā se ṭtumyati; ayām nadiyaṃkaṭhā gacchati. Adjaḷhamāsi adjaḷhamāsi bhī ekavāraṇanakalikhaṇaṃ samaṇṭhikī kāle yasassā nadiyaṃ vassānāsa catūśa māsaṃ yathākathaṭhāci uṭṭharaṇī bhikkhuṇīya antaraṇāsakō tīmityati; ayām mahānāsajjīḥaṃ gacchati. Dasāhe dasāhe ekavāraṇanakalikhaṇaṃ samaṇṭhikī kāle yasassā nadiyaṃ vassānāsa catūśa māsaṃ yathākathaṭhāci uṭṭharaṇī bhikkhuṇīya antaraṇāsakō tīmityati; ayām mahānāsajjīḥaṃ gacchati. Paṇcāhāni paṇcāhāni ekavāraṇanakalikhaṇaṃ samaṇṭhikī kāle yasassā nadiyaṃ vassānāsa catūśa māsaṃ yathākathaṭhāci uṭṭharaṇī bhikkhuṇīya antaraṇāsakō tīmityati; ayām khuddakāmādasiṣṭhānaṃ gacchati.
Samavuṭṭhikā ca kāle yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassānassa catuṣu māsēsu yathhakatthaci uttarāṇyībhikkhuṇīyāntaravāsakā tēmiyati; dabbuṭṭhikā kāle tu na tēmiyati; sa nadiṣakham na gacchati na vattabbā; dubbuṭṭhikā apamāṇaṭṭa. Samavuṭṭhikā pana kāle vassānassa catuṣu māsēsu yathhakatthaci uttarāṇyībhikkhuṇīyāntaravāsakā tēmiyati; ativuṭṭhikā pana kāle vassānassa catuṣu māsēsu yathhakatthaci uttarāṇyībhikkhuṇīyāntaravāsakā tēmiyati; sa tu nadiṣakham gacchati na vattabbā: ativuṭṭhikā pa apamāṇaṭṭa.


Ayaṁ ca Rāmānādēsī sabba-vuṭṭhikā vā; kathām pan ētassātivuṭṭhikkattāṁ niyattī? 'Yasmiṁ hi vassānassa catuṣu māsēsu ti' imāṁ vassānassa catuṁsi kattam atṣākhatāyam vattum. Imasmiṁ pana Rāmānādēsī vassānakkālu chamāsikā hōti. Paścāte paṇcāḥ ēkārāisa vassānakkālu samavuṭṭhikaṁ khaṁ na vuttaṁ; caturāhe caturāhe vā, tihī tihī vā, vidiē vidiē vā, dīnī dīnī vā, vassanām ativuṭṭhikakkhanēna dēvō vassati. Tasmā Rāmānādēsātivuṭṭhikkattāṁ viṁśyayati.

Tasmā imasmiṁ Rāmānādēsī yuddhaṁ na nadiyaṁ samavuṭṭhikā kāle yathāvuttēna vassanapakkākēna dēvō vassantō vā vassānassa catuṣu māsēsu yathhakatthaci uttarāṇyībhikkhuṇīyāntaravāsakēmaṁ samabhavēya; yuddhaṁ mahānādiyaṁ udakukkhepi karitva, katam upasampadakkamman akuppauṁ thānaṁ bābhavēya. Yuddīcē pana jātassaro samavuṭṭhikā kāle yathāvuttēna vassanapakkākēna dēvō vassantō vā vassānassa catuṣu māsēsu pivitum vā hatthapāde dhōvitaṁ vā udakaṁ bābhavēya; tuddīcē mahājātassaro udakukkhepi katvā, katam upasampadakkamman akuppauṁ thānaṁ hōtī."

Tasspīvam paṭibhāyimagamminēvina vasaṁsimena Rāmādhipatīno pānīvam cītaṁ parivatikēdu apradāpiyē: "Ye hī kēci thērā yasmiṁ gamaṃkēttē simaṁ bandhitum ihchanti; tasmiṁ gamaṃkēttē thitānaṁ sabbēsam ēva bhikkhūnāṁ hatthapāsāyanādīvasaṁ sūdhananam akatvā antōnimittattēgāte yeva hatthapāsagatē katvā simaṁ sammannti. Tesaṁ simasamuttikammanas parisavipattitē yeva kuppauṁ hōti."


Ye vā pana thērā gamalakkaṁparahitaṁ yaṁ kiṁci yathāruccitakam thīnām rājālīlī paričchindāpētēva, visuṅgāmakēttēna hōtī saṁsāya vā, tasmiṁ yathāruccitakathāṁ yeva thīt bhikkhū hatthapāsagatē katvā, simaṁ sammannti; na sabbaṁsimi pakatigamaṃkēttī. Tesaṁ pi taṁ simasamuttikamanas parisavipattitī kuppauṁ hōti. Tassāṁ tassaṁ pi simāyāṁ katam upasampadādikamanāṁ simāvippattitī kuppattī.
yre cawder thera yasmiin gakhkhett bi siman saammantum icehanit; tassa gakhkhettas' anuuchi gakhkhettehi rukkasakhdissambandivacchedham akatva, tasmin yeva gakhkhettes' titnaan bhikkhunm hathapasayanadiwasenas sidhananm kavva siman saammantuni. Tasaam pi simasammatikamman pariwasippattito kuppen hoti; yasmi hi:

**Obverse face of the second stone.**

Yatho dvinanah baddhasiinsanaan rukkasakha-dissambandhuni' ananamamati saukarabhavato hoti; tatho baddhasina-gamasimanaan pi va dvinana gamasimanaan pi va rukkasakhadi-sambandhena saukarabhavato hoti yevatti. Tassan ca simayam kadam upasampadadikamman pi simavippattito kuppen hoti.

Yere pan' anu theva ativuthikasitam Ramaanadise' nadilakkha-jatassaralakkha-virahiti pi nadijatassaresa sayjityam udakukkhesimayam upasampadadikamman karoriti. Tesaam upasampadadikamman pi simavippattito kuppen. Ativuthikho hi Ramaanadise' yadisayam nadiyam samavuthikile kalay yathavveta vassanappakareno doev vassanto, vassanassa caturos maseus yathathakathaci uttaranyaya bhikkhuniyaa antaravasakatemanam na sambhavayya. Ativuthikattan' pan' imasa padesaas' antaravasakatemanam na sambhavayya. Tadasiphi nad samavuthikile yathavvataan antaravasakatemanam athanaa gahiteva, nadilakkha gachchati ti vatun kathan yanjeyya? Yadise pan' jatassare samavuthikile yathavveta vassanappakareno doev vassanto, vassanassa caturos maseus pivitun va hathapado dhuvitun va udakam na bhavayya. Ativuthikattan' pan' imasa padesassa vassanassa caturos maseus pivitun va hathapado dhuvitun va udakam bhavayya. Tadasio pan' jatassaro samavuthikile yathavvataan pirama-hattha-pada-dhovana-pahnoke, udakasa vijjamanam athanaa gahiteva, jatassare ti saukham gachchati ti vatun kathan yanjeyya ti?

Appi kacce pan' theria yasmin gakhkhett bi siman bandhitam icehanit; tasa' annih gakhkhettichhi rukkasakhadi-sambandham avacchinditva, tasmim gakhkhette anunimittagatana ca bahinimittagatana ca sabbesanpi bhikkhuhaan hathapasanayanadiin karitva siman bandhant. Tassam simyamam upasampadadikamman karapakale pada tasa ca gamasimayaa rukkasakhadi-sambandham aviyoejtvaa upasampadadikamman karonti. Tessaam upasampadadikamman pariwasippattito kuppen. Tassa baddhasimaya ca gamasimaya ca ananamamati saukarabhavapattit. Yadi va pan' eto theria parisuddhaya baddhasimaya va, gamaalakhaasahitam pakatigakhkhettvaa, visunggakhkhettvaa, va nadilakkhapattitaya mahinnadiva, va, jatassaralakkhapattit jatassare va, samuddalakkhapattit samuddde va, upasampadadikamman karonti. Yere pan' tasmin upasampadadikamman gana hoti. Tne vuttanayenaa vippanasimmaya va, gamaalakhaasahitam gakhkhettvaa, va, nadilakkhapattitaya khuddakaadiyaa va, jatassaralakkhapattit khuddakajatassare va, upasampannaa bhikkhu yevaa hotiti. Tessaam upasampadadikamman pariwasippattito kuppen yuvatti."


Tato Ramaanipatirajja ajhishitaa sabbe pi tipitakadharhe bhikkhu s'aththakatha-tikaa Vinyapalii byajjanaato e'aththato ca paripakkhityaa, punapanama sammad eva saamandetva, samanyayitvaa, simavigpatti-parisavigpattinaan vijjanmanabhaavami disva, yathadithaan rannii Vinyavanicchayam arccosum.

Tato raja: "_sho vata!-_ Buddhassanam paavacavassahassaperimamaan kilaam thassaliti" ajhahseri caaariyasabhe vuttaan; idani pana Buddhassa Saabudhipattato satcacatalladishikaam 1 dvesamassamatam eviti; idani ca kho dani yeva sasanam samalana sakanakaam s'abbudaa.

1 Catusatthahikam in MS. B.
FOLKLORE IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

No. 3.—The Three-eyed King.

Sulaññabawà was succeeded in 442 B. C. by Duttabuang, the son of Mahàññabawà by Bódayl. The advent of this king, who had three eyes, the third being between the other two, was prophesied by Gantama Buddm himself according to the following tradition.

1 There is a similar tradition among the Talangs, from whom the Burmans appear to have adapted their own version after the conquest of the maritime provinces by Alompra in 1757 A. D. The Taleing name for the king is Mutgirjè and not Duttabuang. The following is extracted from Haswell's Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language, p. xvi: 'The Peguan name of Mauinm is Mit-mo-lem (Mit-mu-lâm) or One-eye-destroyed. The legend is, that an ancient king had three eyes, two in the usual places, and one in the centre of the forehead. With this third eye he could see what was going on in the surrounding kingdoms. The King of Siam was at war with him, and, finding his plans continually thwarted, suspected there were traitors in his camp, and called a council to find out who gave information concerning his plans to the enemy. His officers told him that there was no traitor, but that the King of Mauinm was able with his third eye to see all that was going on in the Siamese. It was suggested that the King of Siam should give his daughter to the King of Mauinm, so that when she had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the king, she might manage to put out his third eye. This counsel was followed and proved successful, and the third eye was destroyed. Hence the name of the city. It is often called Mit-lâm-lâm (Mit-lâm-lâm), or Eye-destroyed-destroyed. These traditions about Duttabuang and Mutgirjè are, I believe, traceable to the worship of Siya, which prevailed in Burma in ancient times.

2 See ante, Vol. XIX. pp. 443, 459. [Observe the line of royal descent. Father, then elder-son, then younger-son (childless), then elder-son's son. Compare ante, Vol. XXI. p. 567 ff.—Ed.]

3 This tradition, with slight variations, is gravely recorded in the Mahàyàna Mahàpiñjariyà or Chronicle of the Burmese Kings.
Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers Mahápunnā and Chúlapunnā with a sandal-wood monastery situated at Vānijjagāma, otherwise called Lēgaing, in Sunaparanta. The sage accepted the gift and occupied the monastery for seven days. On his return he walked along the Yoma range fringing the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and from the top of the Póndāduaung hill to the north of Prome, he saw a piece of cow-dung floating in the sea, which stretched to the range of hills on the east. At the same time a mole came and paid him homage by offering him some burrowings. On seeing these two omens the Master smiled, and being asked by Ananda the cause of his doing so, he replied: "My beloved Ananda, after I have attained Parinirvāṇa, and after the religion has flourished for 101 years, yonder sea will dry up and the kingdom of Śrīkēṭṭāra will be founded. The mole before us will be incarnated as Duttabaung, the founder of that kingdom, from whose reign will date the establishment of my religion in the country of the Mruumās."7

The mole had been asked by his wife to wake her up when Gautama approached their home, so that she might participate in the merit that would accrue to them both by making some suitable offering. As it was rather early in the morning when Buddha arrived, the husband thought that he would not disturb the slumbers of his wife. But when she got up and found out that the sage had come and gone, and that her husband had made an offering of his burrowings, she became irate at his remissness of duty, and lost no time in following Gautama and crying out to him, at the top of her voice, to stop and receive her offering. In compliance with her entreaty, he stopped at a hill, called, in after times, the Dāngylāduang, and duly received her proffered burrowings. This done, the female mole thought that she would have revenge on her husband for his extreme recklessness for her spiritual welfare, and took an oath thus:

"By the efficacy of the merit I have just acquired, may I, in my next birth, be a person capable of wreaking a singular vengeance on my husband in his next birth!"

The male mole was duly incarnated in the womb of Bēdayl, the Queen of Mahābānbawā, while his wife became Princess Pēksonā in the country of Pandwa.10 The princess was beautiful, accomplished, and clever, and many were the princes that sought her hand. Her father determined that high birth, if not uninterrupted descent from the race of Sakyā kings of Northern India, should be the sine qua non of his future son-in-law, and he accordingly wedded his daughter to Duttabaung, king of Śrīkēṭṭāra.

Duttabaung was a puissant prince, who wielded the sceptre of an extensive empire. His dominions included the whole of Jambūdīpa12 and his influence was felt even in the land of

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4 Lēgaing is in the Minbu district. It is still a famous place of pilgrimage.
5 Burmese derive Pōndāduaung (Sole-head) because, according to tradition, Gautama Buddha turned the soles of his feet on the top of this hill and pronounced an oracle regarding the foundation of Śrīkēṭṭāra (Śrīkēṭṭāra). See ante, p. 6.
6 That the sea washed the shore as far as Prome appears to be supported by the marine shells found on the hills in the neighbourhood, but the exact or approximate period when it dried up has not, as yet, been determined.
7 The exact derivation of Mruumā (pron. Bāmm), the national appellation, by which the Burmans are known to themselves, has not been definitely settled. Sir Arthur Phayre says that it is derived from Brahmd, the progenitor of the human race according to Buddhist tradition; while Bishop Bigandt derives it from Men, the appellation by which the Burmans are known to the Chinese (Mruum = Myin-md according to one method of phonetics). Hodgson, on the other hand, maintains that it is derived from a word signifying 'man.'
8 The Dāngylāduang hill is nearly opposite Prome. There is another of the same name opposite Pagan. The local derivation of Dāngylāduang is tām, to stop, abruptly; ḫy, to see; and tām, a hill.
9 [Pēksonā is spelt Pēkkonā = (?) Pēkkonā.—Ed.]
10 Pandwa is identified with Tsang-dingyül in the Magwē district. For the story of Bēdayl, see ante, Vol. XIX, p. 437 ff.
11 Burmese historians take a delight in tracing the descent of their kings from the Sakyā race of Northern India, to which Gautama Buddha belonged.
12 Burma is included by native writers in Jambūdīpa. Their idea of geography is extremely hazy.
the Nāgas and Asuras. His might and power was such that even Indra, the Lord of the thirty-three gods of Tavatimsa, had to lend his celestial aid to the consummation of his wishes. When Śārekaśītarā was built both Sakra and the Nāgas rendered valuable assistance, and on its completion Duttabaung was inducted to his throne by Sakra, who conferred on him celestial weapons. One of these was a wonderful spear, which carried royal messages to the king’s tributaries. Sakra also presented Duttabaung with a wonderful drum, which, when beaten, could be heard on the utmost confines of the empire, thereby indicating that the time for paying tribute had come.

Duttabaung ruled with justice tempered by mercy, and great was the amount of tribute received by him. He was loved by his subjects and feared by his tributary chiefs, and was, in short, blessed in all respects except one. That was, although he was extremely fond of his wife Pēkṣanā, he was treated by her with coldness, haughty disdain, and inveterate hatred, dissimulated under the cloak of feigned obedience and respect. Her one object in life appeared to be to foil his designs wherever possible, to effect the reduction of his power and influence, and to bring ignominy and shame upon him in all that he undertook. But so long as the king observed the precepts inculcated by Gantama Budhika, supported the monks, and looked after the interests of the religion, the designs of this malicious queen were frustrated by the occult power of the nīlī (spirits).

One day, however, in an evil hour, the king, without due investigation directed the confiscation of a piece of rice-land measuring 5 pās (a pā is a measure of land which may be taken for the purposes of the story at an acre), which a widowed sweet-meat seller had presented to her preceptor. Henceforth, owing to this sinful deed committed against the religion, the king’s power declined. His satraps and governors grew refractory and eventually threw off their allegiance; tribute was withheld; the wonderful spear would no longer go on its wonted errands; and the drum would sound no more. To add to this long series of misfortunes Queen Pēkṣanā hit upon a plan, which was doomed to be successful in fulfilling her evil desire. She had an old skirt of hers washed clean, and obtained some rags from a cemetery, and then had a towel woven with these materials for the use of the king. Duttabaung placed too much confidence in the love and fidelity of his wife, and not suspecting anything wiped his face with it, when lo! on account of the extreme uncleanliness of the towel, his third or middle eye became blind! Simultaneously with his blindness his celestial spear and drum disappeared! Not convinced that his power had diminished, the foolish king in his dotage set out on a progress through his dominions with the object of re-establishing his government on its former basis. He was cruising near Caupe Negrais, when by spitting into the sea he excited the wrath of the Nāgas, who carried him and his brazen boat to their country under the earth.

Thus perished the three-eyed king, Duttabaung, and the oath of his wife Pēkṣanā, in her previous birth, was fulfilled.

13 Sakra, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, is known to the Burmans as Sakya-mi. Min is pure Burmese, signifying an important personage; for Sakya ( = Sakra), see ante, Vol. XX. p. 422.
14 Burmans have a saying that, when a king is powerful, even rulers of nīlī (spirits) have to render him assistance.
15 Native histories are mostly the work of Buddhist monks, or of monks who have turned laymen; and every opportunity is seized upon to improve their position, and to impress on the secular rulers the unwisdom of interfering with the Buddhist Religion, as inculcated by the monkish brotherhood. The Makhya-banabins was put into its present shape by a body of learned monks and ex-monks after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824 A. D.).
16 Skirts of women and clothes from a cemetery are regarded by the Burmans to be specially unclean for men. [In the unclesness of the former we have a most interesting survival of a custom of toba.—Ed.]
17 The Burmese name for Negrais is Nāygit = Nāga-coiling. [The symbols for yit may, however, be rough, rus or ris according to the phonetics adopted. The usual Pāli form of the word is Nāgarai.—Ed.]
MISCELLANEA.

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

A REPLY.

I shall proceed to deal with Mr. Houghton's criticisms seriatim.¹

Mr. Houghton disagrees with me in thinking that any of the words given in my list relate to social life or are in common use. In refutation of his statement I may say that the following Sanskrit derivatives are in very common use among the Burmese: (7) chakram in the sense of walking about for exercise; (8) drop as a synonym for gôt (Pāli go'ra), meaning primarily to be possessed of a certain status in society, and secondarily to be proud; (10) kanukha, a world or a cycle of existence; (12) parissad, an assembly or audience, a congregation of people meeting together for purposes of religious devotion or festivity; (14) prakatê, in statu quo, or in a state of nature; (15) prasad, a turret, or a building with a number of roofs overtopping one another.²

Adhvan.—Mr. Houghton says: "The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten." With all due deference, I must say again that this word is in very common use. When a Burman wishes to express the incautious duration of his repeated existences before he can enter Nirvāṇa, he would always employ this word in connexion with samadra. Again, in Burmese histories, as well as in conversation, the word is commonly employed to signify the long succession of kings subsequent to the reigning ruler.

Ampita.—The Sanskrit derivatives are pronounced amraîk or amsaîk, as pointed out by Mr. Houghton. The substitution of k for h, in my former article (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94) is, as admitted by the Editor, a misprint. The truth of Mr. Houghton's remark that, "the application of the epithet amraîk (amrita) to the Buddhist Nirvāṇa is obviously modern and needs no discussion here," can, I must confess, be hardly admitted by any scholar who knows anything of Pāli and Buddhism. There can be no doubt that North Indian influence is responsible for the transformation of the word, the various stages of which appear to be as follows: amrita—amrit—amritā—amrā, which, according to the Burmese system of phonetics, would be pronounced amritā.

Abhishēka.—No doubt in the "corrected spelling" issued under the authority of the Textbook Committee of Burma, of which I was a member, the Sanskrit derivative bhīsik was changed to bhīsik on the advice of the native sangha or pandita, who were in the majority, and whose evident desire was to disclaim any relationship of Burmese with Sanskrit, and, in spite of ancient usage, to try and derive all Sanskrit derivatives from Pāli, the sacred language of the Southern School of Buddhism. I do not at all see how "the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being e and not i is a proof of its late introduction." In the first place, this statement is inconsistent with the assertion made in Mr. Houghton's first paragraph that "from very ancient times, indeed, the kings of Burma kept Brahman astrologers at their courts for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates and what not" (I suppose the vague "what not" would include the duty of performing the coronation ceremony of Burmese kings). In the second place, in dealing with Indo-Chinese languages, which have borrowed their alphabet from India, it is hardly safe to base one's conclusion on the mere morphology of words. The genius of such languages is so different from either Sanskrit or Pāli that it would be much safer to take into consideration the phonetic forms of such words. Although the derivative from Sanskrit, which we are now discussing, is written bhīsik or bhīsik, the combination e is always pronounced eh, thus establishing its affinity to the vowel e in abhishēka.

Chakra.—I must again point out the very common use of the derivative from this Sanskrit word. The Pāli expression dhamma-machakka is always rendered into Burmese as dhamma-achakrā, thus showing the partiality of the Burmese language for derivatives from Sanskrit and rebutting Mr. Houghton's contention: "the former, or Pāli, word (chakka) was that originally used, and that the Sanskrit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar." One of the titles of the Burmese king was "the Lord of the chakrā weapon (or dice);" and in common conversation the notion of a supernatural element is always conveyed by the word chakrā in such expressions as gatā chakrā, supernatural or flying chariots; nad chakrā, supernatural faculty of hearing.

Chakravāla.—The cosmogony of the Burmese is not derived "from the Brahman astrologers at the Court," but was introduced with Buddhism.

Chakravartin.—I cannot at all agree with Mr. Houghton's statement as to the manner of

¹ See ante, p. 24 ff.
² The numbers refer to the words in my former list, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 95.
the introduction of the derivative from this word. No Burmese king has ever arrogated to himself such a title, and the condemnation of the Burmese courtiers is hardly justifiable. Nor can I subscribe to his expression the "old speakers of Pāli."

Chankram.—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary (page 99), identifies the Pāli word caukama, meaning "a covered walk, arcade, portico, cloister," with the Sanskrit चूक + आम. The word चूक is meaning "walk (abstract and concrete)" is given at page 165 of Cappeller's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Drayna.—The exceedingly common use of the word drop, which is derived from drayya, has already been pointed out above.

Kālpa.—Mr. Houghton contends that, where a Pāli and a Sanskrit derivative having the same signification exist in Burmese, greater antiquity should be attached to the former. With all due deference to his scholarship I would beg leave to differ from this view. I would select only a few instances to show that this contention is not warranted by facts. The Pāli words dhammachakka and Sāriputta always assume in Burmese partially Sanskritic forms as dhammachakra and Sāriputtad. Again, in a Burmese inscription, dated 1198 A.D., which was found at Pagan, the word Nirāpa occurs, which has closer affinity to the Sanskrit Nirādira than to the Pāli Nibbāna; and the Pāli Vusakamma is always rendered in Burmese as Visakrama (Sanskrit Viśakarman). How would Mr. Houghton explain this remarkable phenomenon? Could he explain it in any way other than by saying that the Sanskrit derivatives in the Burmese language are of more ancient date than the corresponding Pāli derivatives?

As regards the pronunciation of the conjunct consonant ल as anuśra in such words as allāpā and allāpa, it is hardly justifiable to adopt the standard obtaining in Arakan, though it is undoubtedly not nowadays a centre of native learning. Since the fall of Arakan in 1755 A.D. the capitals of Burma have been the seats of learning and the centres of literary activity for the whole of the Burmese Empire.

Mrigasiras and Pushya.—The point to which I would desire to draw attention in connexion with these words is that in Burmese works, such as the translations of Jātakas, preference is always shown to the employment of Sanskrit derivatives. If the Pāli derivatives were already in existence, and were therefore, better and more widely understood, how could we account for such preference? Surely terms, which had attained some popular fixity, would have been employed in translating astrological works, which, according to Mr. Houghton, were a later importation.

Parissad.—In the Revised Vocabulary of Burmese Spelling issued by the Text-book Committee, this word is, no doubt, as pointed by Mr. Houghton, spelt parissad. At the sitting of the Committee, when the spelling of this word was discussed, the reason given by one of the sages for the adoption of the form as it now stands was, that it was derived from niratis, which is but another form of parissad + iti! This was no doubt an attempt made with a vengeance to disclaim all connexion with Sanskrit. The word used to be spelt until a few years ago parissad, but the modern school of Burmese writers, who know nothing about the obligations of Burmese to Sanskrit, desire to eliminate all Sanskritic elements, which they do not understand and cannot appreciate. वरिक्ष in Sanskrit means "sitting around, besetting; assembly, congregation." The corresponding Pāli form parissad is primarily employed in the Buddhistic sense of the various classes, of Buddha's disciples as monks, nuns, lay disciples, female devotees, &c., &c. (See Childers' Pāli Dictionary, page 346). Mr. Houghton's 'violent assumption' that the original Sanskrit word means rather a council, as in a court, or an assembly of ministers, and that it was so first used by the Brahmins in the king's court, the use of the word becoming afterwards more generally extended, is scarcely warranted by the circumstances of the case. The supposition that the word was first introduced in a political, and not a religious, sense, and that it then pertained to the masses is not reasonably justified by the absence of means for the dissemination of ideas from a centre of political activity among the masses of the people, by the difficulty of communication and intercourse, and by the attitude of indifference generally assumed by native rulers towards their subjects. There can be no doubt that the word parissad was introduced into Burma with the Buddhist Religion.

Prakṛiti.—My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Houghton for rectifying this error. The Sanskrit derivative is now being superseded by the Pāli derivative, for the reasons explained above.

Prākāśa. Burmese architecture is, at present, almost a terra incognita; and it is hard to refute arguments in the shape of vague surmises.

Prāśa.—See my remarks on abhisāka above. The derivative prāśa is in very common use among the Burmese. That the Buddhistic sense of the
word is at one with the Sanskritic sense is clearly shown at page 378 of Children's Pāli Dictionary.

Rāsi.—The derivative from this word is not now used as a title of respect when addressing Buddhist monks, the word now in use being rāhānā (Pāli, arahāna). The modern signification attached in Burmese to rasse is an anchoorie, who is beyond the pale of the Order of Buddhist Monks. The imputation of pride and conceit to Burmese monks, as implied by Mr. Houghton's remarks, is, I think, uncalled for and unjustifiable.

In spite of the high authority of Dr. Judson, who is, by the way, not an authority on Pāli or Sanskrit, the Pāli form isi of the word rāsi is never found in Burmese as a naturalized word. In translating isi its equivalent rasse is invariably used. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that Sanskrit and Pāli derivatives are by the Burmese sometimes coupled together, as if the object is to explain one by the other:

kān kramā = kama Pāli + karmā (Sanskrit)
kap kambhā = kappa (Pāli) + kalpa (Sanskrit)
Rasse Rahanā = Rāsi (Sanskrit) + Arahāna (Pāli)
Amē pučcha prasana = Amē (Burmese) + pučhad (Pāli) + prāna (Sanskrit)

The above combinations are frequently met with in Burmese prose.

Samudra.—In Burmese books, so far as I have read them, the word samudrad is always used, in a literal and not a metaphorical sense, in preference to the vernacular word pisāh. In Burmese poetry the two words are sometimes found joined together. I should be glad to know the grounds of Mr. Houghton's statement: "It was therefore probably introduced at a late period by some philosophical writer."

Sāriputra.—The form Sāriputrad as well as that of amraik (Sanskrit amrita, Pāli amata) are found, in the Pārami-gāna, the "Paradise Lost" of the Burmese. This work was compiled by Sīlānāsa, a learned monk of Taungdwingyi in the Magwé District of Upper Burma, in the latter half of the 16th Century A.D.

Sattva.—Here, again, Mr. Houghton has been misled by Dr. Judson, who says that sattra means a "rational being" in Burmese, which is not a complete definition. The sense in which this word is used in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Burmese is nearly identical. In Burmese we speak of lā sattva, mankind, kōtā sattva, animals of the land, gē sattva, fishes of the sea. Mr. Houghton's explanation about the possible confusion of the two Pāli words sattā, a "being, creature, animal, sentient being, man," and satta, seven, is highly ingenious, but cannot bear any criticism, because surely when a Burman with some knowledge of Pāli reads a book in that language, he would have common sense enough to construe according to the context, and not take the meaning of each detached word without any reference to the other words in the same sentence. Mr. Houghton says: "It seems probable that the Sanskrit form of this word (which is mainly used in philosophical works) was adopted in Burmese . . . ."

This Sanskrit derivative occurs as sattad, in an ancient inscription of Pagan, dated 585 B.E. (1223 A.D.).

Here, again, we have an instance where the word is derived from the Sanskrit sattra, and not from the Pāli sattā.

Sakra.—Mr. Houghton accuses me of allowing my religious zeal to overstep my discretion in giving "this personage" the title of the "Recording Angel of Buddhism": "A very little enquiry would have shown him" that Children makes use of this very title in his Dictionary (page 419), and that the Burmese notions regarding this god are more in conformity with Buddhist than with Hindu ideas.

The point at issue, therefore, between Mr. Houghton and myself is, whether Sanskrit or Pāli derivatives were first introduced into the Burmese language. His remarks appear to show that he is in favour of the theory which accords priority to the latter class of derivatives. I venture to hold the opposite view and to base my conclusion on the following statements of fact:

In the Buddhist literature of the Burmese we meet with the remarkable phenomenon of translating Pāli words by means of Sanskrit derivatives; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pāli word</th>
<th>Sanskrit derivative</th>
<th>Original form of the derivative in Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amata</td>
<td>Amraik</td>
<td>Amrita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammachakka</td>
<td>Dharmachakrā</td>
<td>Dharmacakra</td>
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<td>Kamma</td>
<td>Kramā</td>
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<td>Sakka</td>
<td>Sakrā</td>
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<td>Samudda</td>
<td>Samuddarā</td>
<td>Samudra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sangaha</td>
<td>Sangroha</td>
<td>Sangraha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sāriputta</td>
<td>Sārīputtrā</td>
<td>Sārīputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satta</td>
<td>Sattāvā</td>
<td>Sattva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vissakamma</td>
<td>Viskrām.</td>
<td>Viṣvakarman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Spelt phonetically.
Again, in the ancient inscriptions of Pagan dating from the 11th and 12th centuries we meet with the Sanskrit form of invocation stōnam buddhadāya instead of the customary Pāli form nannī tamā bhagyavatā arahato samuddānabuddha-samāsa. Also in some inscriptions, as the Pōkān datung Inscription (see ante, p. 2) traces of the influence of the Mahāyāna, or Northern School of Buddhism, still exist in the expression of the wish of the donor to attain Buddhahood, and not Arahatship (see Hibbert, Lectures, 1881, pp. 254-5). Lastly, that Sanskrit studies were much cultivated among the Burmese in ancient times is clearly proved by the Tet-inwa-saung Inscription at Pagan, dated 994 B. E. or 1442 A. D., which records a list not only of works belonging to the Buddhist Canon, but also of medical, astronomical, grammatical, and poetical works translated from the Sanskrit language.

These facts appear to indicate:

(i) That the form of Buddhism first introduced into Burma Proper was that of the Mahāyāna or Northern School;

(ii) that the Buddhist scriptures when first introduced were written in Sanskrit, which is the language of the Northern School;

(iii) that the Southern School or Hinayāna, the language of whose scriptures is Pāli, subsequently absorbed and assimilated, by its stronger vitality, the Northern School, which, through the cessation of intercourse with Northern India, had fallen into corruption and decay.

These inferences are further supported by the evolution of the Burmese pagoda, in which are combined the stūpa type of Northern India and the chaitya type of Ceylon, as pointed out by the Editor of this Journal in his lecture on the subject before the Anthropological Institute in October 1892.

I am glad that my short note on the existence of Sanskrit derivatives in the Burmese language has been criticised by Mr. Houghton. The controversy will, I hope, excite some interest in the subject. At present there is a lamentable dearth of scholars in Burma, and Burmese history, Burmese literature, and Burmese antiquities are fields in which the labourers are exceedingly few, though the harvest should be plentiful and rich.

Taw Sein-Ko.

Christ's College, Cambridge, March 8th, 1893.

WISHING STONES IN BURMA.

On the platform of the Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon there are two Wishing Stones. There is also one on Maunglay Hill, and one in the Kəgən Cave in the Amphoe District. There are probably others scattered about the country.

The custom is to formulate a wish in the mind and then try and lift the stone, e.g., "I want so and so: may the stone be heavy (or light), as the case may be if my prayer is heard!" The stone is then lifted and if it proves heavy or light, according as wished, the prayer is heard.

The Burmese are very fond of testing things twice, but not oftener. Accordingly the wish is usually repeated twice, reversing the desired weight of the stone: i.e., it is wished to be light and then heavy, or vice versa. If the prayer is answered to the same effect twice well and good, but if the prayer is answered differently at the two trials it is neither granted nor denied. The first trial in such a case is considered the better of the two.

At Rangoon the stones are chiefly used by old women and maidens. The old women to ascertain the health of relatives, and the girls with regard to their love affairs.

R. C. Temple.

BAIO, INDO-EUROPEAN FOR MONASTERY.

Sangermano in his Description of the Burmese Empire, written 1780-1883 A.D., uses throughout the book the word bao to mean a Buddhist monastery. At p. 90, (reprint 1885) he says, "there is not any village, however small, which has not one or more large wooden houses, which are a species of convent, by the Portuguese in India called Bao." He means clearly what is called a kyanuga by the Burmese and a śākāra in the classics.

Again in the Life of Monsignor Pecoto by Quirini on page 123 occurs:

"egli sembra dissi, che i Talapoini non siano che un' avanza, e rampollo di certi filosofi Indiani, menando una vita a quelli somigliante in certi loro Monasterj, con vocabolo Egizio, e nell' Egitto usato, Baò chiamati."

Lastly in Haswell's Pégane Language, s.v., there occurs Bhā, a monastery. This seems to settle the derivation of this word, which puzzled Yule; see Hobson-Jobson, s.v., Kyauhn, in Supplement.

R. C. Temple.
BOOK NOTICE.


I cannot do better than commence by quoting the first words of the preface of this excellent book. "The aim of the present work is to satisfy, within the compass of a comparatively handy volume, all the practical wants not only of learners of Sanskrit, but also of scholars for purposes of ordinary reading." It will appear from what follows that this modest aim has been completely arrived at.

Dr. Macdonell has followed the newer school of Sanskritists, of whom Professor Whitney is the most prominent leader, in abandoning native authorities, and confining himself to words which can be quoted from actual literature. There is much to be said for this standpoint, and no doubt it supplies a convenient hard and fast principle for the selection of words—a principle, too, which, in a work like the present, meant more for Sanskrit students than for comparative philologists, stands the test of practical usefulness. At the same time, with every respect for the learned scholars who have adopted it, I feel bound to protest against it, as being based on a false assumption. Even assuming that the principle is a sound one, it is impossible to carry it out thoroughly at the present day. For until every Sanskrit work in existence has been made accessible to scholars, and has been indexed, it is impossible to say whether any word suggested for insertion in a dictionary, or any form suggested for insertion in a grammar is quotable or not. But putting that point to one side,—it is a fallacy to assume that the portion of Sanskrit literature of which we have existing remains contains the omne scibile of the language. I believe that the greatest European Sanskrit scholar will be the first to confess that in many particulars his knowledge of Sanskrit is very small beside that of scholars like Hemachandra or the authors of the Dhitupdth. The latter may, no doubt, be sometimes mistaken, but I should not dream of doubting the existence of a word mentioned by them, merely because it did not occur in known literature, unless some cogent argument were advanced for showing that they were wrong. Besides, only a small portion of the whole of Sanskrit literature has survived, and what right

have we to assume that the part which has not survived contains no words which do not occur in the part which it has? For this reason, though I fully admit its practical convenience in a work like the present, I feel compelled to utter a protest against a fashion, if I may so term it, which is coming to the front, of treating with too much distrust the works of the oldest Indian Lexicographers and Grammarians. I maintain that a complete Sanskrit dictionary should contain all words given in native dictionaries, whether found in literature or not, for one never knows when a certain word will not be required by the student. Moreover, many of these unquotable words may be found most useful to the comparative philologist, whether he compare Sanskrit with other Aryan languages, or with modern Indian languages, and even when he endeavours to study the life history of Sanskrit itself. To take an example from the field of comparative philology with which I am most familiar. There is a Hindi word agārīḍ, meaning "sugar-cane sprouts," the derivation of which would be a mystery to the student, who had only a lexicon based on the theory of the new school to guide him. The preservation of the g shows that the word must have come through a Prākrit form containing either a double gg or a g protected by a nasal. This would refer us to a Sanskrit form anāgārīka, but no such word is to be found in Dr. Macdonell's dictionary, as it is not quotable from literature. A reference, however, to the older dictionaries, shows that the Indian lexicographers did give a word anāgārīka, meaning "sugar-cane sprouts." Here we have a direct proof that the old lexicographers were right, and that the writer of a complete Sanskrit dictionary would not err in including it. But this word is not only a help to the student of modern Indian languages. It is a help to the student of Sanskrit itself. It is one of the many instances of false etymologies which occur in that language, and is a valuable example of the way in which the founders of Sanskrit (as distinct from the Vedic language) helped out the paucity of a traditional priests' language of the schools, and made it available for the use of the forum, by borrowing words from the vernaculars current at the time of the birth of profane Sanskrit learning. They took these Prākrit (I use the word for want of a better term) words and worked back from them to what they considered must have been the original word as

matter of letters, a possible corruption of anāgārīka, but is certainly not derived from that word.

1 For reasons which it is unnecessary to quote here, there is no doubt that the Prākrit word was appauka (i.e., agva, with pleonastic a and kā). This is, as a
BOOK NOTICE.

The only work which I should have been glad to see represented, and which has been left out, is the Nālōdāya. This difficult poem has to be read at some time or other by every serious student of Sanskrit, and it has the advantage of having been excellently edited many years ago by Yates. There are many words in it with meanings which I have not seen in any dictionary. Such are (to quote a couple of instances from the first few verses) vṛddh, to be happy (I. 5), adhīrdā = rājñena adhīkrītya (I. 7).

None of the purūṣas are included in the list, nor any of the tantras. The omission of the first is immaterial, for the language of these works is usually of the most simple description. There are, however, a few words occurring in māhātmyas and tantras which the reader will miss. Such are kṛt-śūla (though puruṣa-śūla is given), and bṛj, in the sense of "mystic"-formula, a word of frequent occurrence in the tantras. Each mystic formula has a name such as māyā-bṛj, and so forth, and they can all be found, as well as I remember, in a work called the Tantra-sūtra, which has been printed in Calcutta.

The arrangement of the dictionary is as compact as is compatible with clearness. Compounds are arranged in convenient groups under a leading word. Before consulting the dictionary, the reader must be warned to master thoroughly the system of punctuation, on which the whole system of each group of articles depends. For instance, duṣṭa-śūla, occurs under the group headed by duṣṭa-kul-ika, and unless the meaning of the preceding semi-colon is understood, a learner may be tempted to read the "duṣṭa-śūla," as duṣṭa-kul-śūla. The system is, however, simplicity itself, and, what is wanted in a dictionary, aids compactness, without sacrificing in any way the readiness with which a word can be found. On one point I must congratulate Dr. Macdonell on having the courage to revert to Benfey's system of giving verbal prepositions in alphabetical order after the last form of the simple verb with which they are used.

Although references are not given, all that is really necessary to the ordinary student is to be found, viz, the literary period to which each word or meaning belongs, and the frequency or rarity of its occurrence. Another point of importance

used in Vedic times, and adopted the word thus formed as Sanskrit. Sometimes, as in the case of anāgarika, their etymology, was at fault, but this does not prevent the word being Sanskrit.

It is therefore well to recognize at once the limits of Dr. Macdonell's work. For the purpose of the student of Sanskrit literature it is admirable and complete, but it does not supply the wants of the comparative philologist nor does it pretend to do so.

Having said so much about what the dictionary does not contain, it is time to say what it does. Briefly speaking, it is mainly a dictionary of Classical (or as some call it, "Prosaic") Sanskrit and only contains such Vedic words as occur in those portions of Vedic literature which are readily accessible in good selections. Out-of-the-way technical terms are, as a rule, excluded, but a special feature of the work is the large number of grammatical and rhetorical terms so necessary for the adequate comprehension of native glosses, and which have hitherto not been found in any dictionary. Chancing to have had a good deal to do with rhetorical terms lately, I have been able to test this feature of the work pretty thoroughly, and have found that Dr. Macdonell's claims to usefulness in this respect are amply borne out. Even when the meaning of a rhetorical term is clear, it is not always easy to hit readily upon the exact English accepted equivalent. The translation of the Sāhitya Darpana has hitherto been the only guide to the student, but it is inconvenient to use, and only deals with the main stems of the many-branching tree of Hindu rhetoric. For the purposes of a future edition I may refer Dr. Macdonell to a useful little Hindi book, Bihārī-Tulsī-Bhāshān Bīhāra, by Paśčim Bihārī Lāl Ghurā, which gives an alphabetical list of some hundred and fifty rhetorical terms, each of which is fully explained, together with examples from Hindi literature.

Dr. Macdonell, in his preface, gives a list of the books to which the dictionary specially refers. It contains some forty names, principally of the high classical period of Sanskrit literature. It includes such difficult works as the Kādambarī, the Kīrtanārjuna, and the Śīvapālavadha. Curiously enough the Rāmdāsa is not mentioned, though no doubt every word in that not very extensive epic will be found duly explained. 1

1 Printed at the Kharg Bāla Press, Bankipur. The book deals ostensibly with Hindi rhetoric, but it is equally useful for Sanskrit students, the technical terms being all borrowed from Sanskrit. 2 I may mention that the study of rhetoric has been carried to astonishing lengths by Hindi writers, commencing with Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century. After the death of Tulasī Dāsa (1823 A. D.), poetry disappeared from India, and during the latter half of the 17th Century and the whole of the 18th nearly the only celebrated authors (always excepting the incomparable Bihārī Lāl) were men who taught people how to write poetry, but who could not write them themselves.

2 I omit from consideration the larger Petersburg Dictionary which I am not just now able to consult.

3 Given in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.

4 Not in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.
is that wherever the accent is known from Vedic texts it has been indicated in the transliteration.

The etymological portion of the dictionary is, so far as it goes, complete. As already mentioned, it does not aim at comparative philology, outside the bounds of the Sanskrit language. All words,—except the small number which defy analysis, have been broken up into their component parts in the transliteration. When its means failed, the derivation is concisely added in brackets. I only regret that Dr. Macdonell did not take advantage of the opportunity to point out how much Sanskrit, and especially Classical Sanskrit, is indebted to words borrowed from vernaculars in a state of much greater phonetic decay than that at which the main portion of the language had been arrested. This is a wide field, hardly touched upon as yet, save by Prof. Zacharias; and is one which promises with little labour to yield a bounteous fruit. Words like 

ângra already mentioned, the possible connection between verbal bases such as iêchhâ, and 

jâpa, (both Vedic) parallel forms such as kapâta and 

kauâda, kauârikâ and chauârikâ, gêka and 

griha (both Vedic), patra and patta, and hundreds of others, point to one of the two things, either the existence of dialects at the time the Vedic hymns were composed (if not when they were compiled), or else to the borrowing, by a language already stereotyped, of words from vernaculars in a later stage of phonetical growth. Both of these facts fall well within the province of the etymological lexicographer: and a correct appreciation of both is absolutely necessary to comprehend the relationship between Profane and Vedic Sanskrit, and between the former and the Vernaculars of India from the time of Aûkôka to the present day.

One word I miss from Dr. Macdonell's dictionary, which well illustrates what I mean, — akûpa.

The word is not quoted, and hence it is quite rightly omitted, but still I should have been glad to know what a skilled etymologist such as he is, would have said about it. The word has two meanings: 'not a base metal (kûpya);' and 'base metal.' Other dictionaries explain the second meaning by declaring the a to be expletive, that is to say ignotum per ignotius. Pandits give the a its negative force, and say the word means 'that metal with reference to which all other metals are not base,' i.e., 'metal which is very base.' I believe that a reference to the despised vernaculars and Prâkrits will clear up the difficulty. In the former this a prefix is by no means uncommon, and can always be referred through Prâkrit either to a Sanskrit 6, or to a Sanskrit att (a, t, a). Hence I believe that this second meaning of akûpya is to be referred to a Prâkrit form of akûpya or attakûpya.

In order to test the vocabulary of this dictionary, I have gone through the first sixty pages of the Kâdambari, and compared it with the dictionary hitherto available to English scholars, of Sir Monier Williams. In these sixty pages there are about eighteen words which I have failed to find in the older work, all of which, with a few unimportant exceptions, are duly registered in that under consideration. The exceptions are of no moment, and cause no trouble to the reader. Those I have noticed in my edition of the Kâdambari, are uklâta (uklâta is given), dâdâhîn (dadâha, a pâlî-staff, is given), utsadda (utsâda is given), raçita (raçita is given), vâmâ (vâmâ marsh bhûdantah lôkâtâ, comm.), bâkunâ-jâda (bâkuna-jâda, is given). This will show the thoroughness with which the work has been done, and of how far it supersedes previous similar books. Of the above omitted words, only one (utsâda) is found in the smaller St. Petersberg Dictionary.

I have already drawn attention to the compact and convenient arrangement of the articles. A word of praise must also be given to the beautifully clear type, and to the freedom from misprints,—an accuracy which makes an Anglo-Indian condemned to hard labour at the hands of Calcutta compositors sigh with envy.

In conclusion, I must congratulate Prof. Macdonell on being the first to produce a scientifically arranged Sanskrit dictionary, of convenient size and moderate cost. Measured by its aim it is a complete and brilliant success, and if here and there I have appeared to be a chhidîn-invâhin, I have referred not to the execution of what has been done, but have only expressed my regrets that his aim has not been a higher one. But then, if it had been as I wish it, and if Dr. Macdonell had given us still more gifts from the storehouse of his learning, the size of his book would not have been convenient, nor would its cost have been moderate. Things are better as they are, and we may hope for, at some future time, a lexicon embracing the whole Sanskrit language, and dealing with it in all its aspects from his competent pen.

G. A. GRIESON.

* So also they talk of a word a-vana (not avana), 'very excellent': 'that with reference to which all other things are not excellent.'

* e.g. Hindî achâpala = chapala.
THE TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BRIHAT-SAMHITA.

BY J. F. FLEET, L.C.S., Ph.D., C.I.E.

The topographical information contained in the Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira is to be found chiefly in chapter xiv., entitled krama-vihāya or “the Division of the Globe;” the special object of which, in conformity with the astrological nature of the whole work, is to provide an arrangement from which it may be determined what countries and peoples suffer calamity when particular nakṣatras or lunar mansions are vexed by the planets. For this purpose, the twenty-seven nakṣatras, commencing with Kṛittikā (the Pleiades), are divided into nine groups, of three each; and the globe, into a corresponding numbers of nine divisions, starting with the Madhyadśa or middle country, as the central part of Bhāravasara or the inhabitable world, and then running round the compass from east to north-east. And an application of the distribution,—though not a very careful one, unless it can be improved or corrected by any emendation of the present text,—is given in verses 32, 33, of the same chapter; where we learn that, as the groups of nakṣatras are vexed, commencing with that of which the first nakṣatra is Āgnēya or Kṛittikā, so, in due order, destruction and death come upon the kings of the Pāñchālas (middle-country), of Magadha (eastern division), of Kālīga (south-east division), of Avanti (southern division), of Ānarta (south-west division), of the Sindhu-Sanvīras (again the south-west division), of the Harṣhavarsas or Harṣhavarsas (not mentioned elsewhere), of the Madras (north-west division), and of the Kauṅgas (north-east division).

The first part of my catalogue, the divisional list, gives all the names thus mentioned in chapter xiv., as it runs in Dr. Kera’s edition, arranged alphabetically under the divisions of the country adopted by Varāhamihira. As has been indicated, the primary division is the Madhyadśa or middle country. I do not find any definition of this term in the Brihat-Samhitā. And there seem to be differences in respect of its limits. Thus, Prof. H. H. Wilson has spoken of it as being “the country along the Narmadā;” and Alberuni, from the information given to him, has explained it as being “the country all around Kanauj, which is also called Aryavarta.” Sir Monier Monier-Williams, however, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives it a considerably more ample extent; defining it as “the country lying between the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhya mountains on the south, Vinasana on the west,” i.e. apparently the place where the river Sarasvati was supposed to lose itself in the sand, “Prayāga on the east, and comprising the modern provinces of Allahabad, Āgra, Dehli, Oude, &c.” And this seems to be more in consonance with Varāhamihira’s view: since we find him including in it, on the east, Sāketa (Oude), and on the west, the Marn country (Marwād), and the Sarasvatias or people living on the banks of the Sarasvati which rises in Mount Abū, and, running almost due south, flows into the Bay of Cutch; while, on the other hand, the Yamunas or people living on the banks of the Jamnā, which rises in the Himalayas, are placed by him partly in the middle country and partly in the northern division, and the Vindhya mountains, which run across the peninsula and constitute the northern boundary of the valley of the Narmadā, are excluded by him from the middle country altogether, though, in connecting them only with the south-east division, he fails to represent fully their extent.

In presenting this divisional list, I do not mean to suggest that it furnishes materials for preparing an accurate map of ancient India; or that the cities, rivers, mountains, tribes, &c., and especially the tribes,—belong actually and only to the divisions to which they are allotted by Varāhamihira. Mistakes in his details can easily be shown: for instance, though he places Kachcheha and Girinagara both in the southern division, he locates Raivatataka in the south-west; whereas this mountain is quite close to Girinagara (Junagadh) and the Girnar mountain,
and is considerably to the south of Cutch. My object is to make a start, in order that, when the lists of other books have been treated in the same way and all have been compared, we may then be in a position to put all the materials together, and arrive at some consolidated and satisfactory results.

In addition to the divisional list of chapter xiv., the astrological statements that run through the whole book, and in particular verses 1 to 39 of chapter xvi., which define “the countries, peoples, and things belonging to the domain of each planet,” add a variety of other names which are not mentioned at all in chapter xiv. All these names I have included, with those taken from chapter xiv., in the general alphabetical list.* And here I have inserted notes on some of the names, chiefly in the direction of quoting the earliest epigraphic references to them; but without attempting to give all that might be said about them, or about the others that I have passed over without comment. Little, if anything, in a topographical direction, is to be learnt from these astrological references; which simply tell us, for instance, that (chap. xviii., verse 6) “should the Moon leave Saturn at her right, then sovereigns keeping the town will “triumph, and the Sakas, Bāhlikas, (the people of) Sindhu, Pahlavas and Yavanas, be joyful.” They are of value only as tending to indicate the comparative importance or notability of the different tribes and places, as judged by the number of different allusions to each of them. To apply them in any other way, e. g. to assume that the names mentioned in one and the same passage are to be referred to much about one and the same locality, would only be conducive to error. Thus, such a rule might be applied in respect of the verse just mentioned, without going far wrong. But chapter iv., verse 25, and chapter xvi., verse 22, give clear instances to the contrary. The former couples the Arjunāyanas and the Yaadhēyas, who belong to the northern division, and the Kauravas, who, as the people of Kuru-land, may perhaps be referred to the northern division, with the Prāglītas or kings of the eastern country. And the latter couples the Arjunāyanas, Yaadhēyas, Triagartas, Pauravas, and Vāsadhānas, of the northern division, with the Ambashthas of the east or south-west, the Pārasis of the west, and the Sarasvatīs and Matsyas of the middle country. But little, therefore, if anything at all, could be gained, in this or any similar list, by noting the way in which different names are connected with each other in the astrological passages.

DIVISIONAL LIST.

The Madhyadēsa or middle country includes (xiv. 2, 3, 4) Ga[ā]pura (see under Ga[ā]hava), Kābālōte, Kapihimala, [Mathurā], and Sākṣēta;—
the Ma[ar]u and [Udumbā] countries;—
the Dharmanāya forest;—
the rivers Sarasvatī and Yamunā;—
the following tribes or peoples; the Arimēdas, Aśvatthas, Aundhumbras, Bhadras, Ga[ā]ngas, Ghośhas, Gusas, Kañkas, Ku[ku]ras, Kūnas, Madhyamikas, Mājopayas, Māthūrakas, Matsyas, Nīpas, Pāchālīs, Pāṇḍus, Sālvas or Sālvas, Sāmīkhyātās, Sarasvatas,

Sārasvatas, Ud[dhikas], Ujjīhānas, Upajyotīshas, Vatsas, and Yāmanas.

The eastern division includes (xiv. 5, 6, 7) [Chandrāpura], Kāśi, Mēkala, the milky sea (kā[ir]ēla), the (eastern) ocean (aman[tra]), [Ṭāmalipt], and Vardhāmāna;—
the [Kōsāla], Magadhā, Mithila, [Pundra], Samātaka, and Ud[ra] countries;—
the mountains Ai[jana], Mā[ya]vat, Padma, Sībira, Ud[aya]giri, and Vi[r]shabhadhāvaj;—
the river Lāhvītā;—
and the following tribes or peoples; the Amba[shṭhas], Bhadras, Chandrapuras, Dantara—

* As far as the end of chapter lxx., of course I have utilised Dr. Kern’s translation. It is to be found in the Jour. R. A. Soc., N.S., Vol. IV. pp. 430-479 (chap. i. to vii.); Vol. V. pp. 43-90 (chap. viii. to x.), and pp. 231-288 (chap. xvi. to xxxv.); Vol. VI. pp. 34-91 (chap. xxxvi. to li.); and pp. 279-338 (chap. lii. to lxv.; chap. lvi., on boils and their consequences), is left untranslated, as being of no interest whatever; and Vol. VII. pp. 81-134 (chap. lxv. to lxxx.). I have glanced through the remaining nineteen chapters, without actually reading them: here, the Devāṇāḍī characters, with their absence of capitals, may possibly have caused me to pass over a point or two which otherwise I might have noted; but I think that I have not omitted anything of importance.

** Names in square brackets are supplied from the tribal appellations; thus, in the present instance, Mathura, from the mention of the Mathurakas,
The south-west division includes (xvi. 17, 18, 19) the great ocean (maḥāravya), and Vaḍavāmukha;
the Ánarta, Dravīḍa, [Kāmbōja], Pāraśāva, and Sūraśātra countries;
the mountains Hēmagiri, Phêṇagiri, and [Rēvatakas];
The river (or country) Sindhu;
and the following tribes or peoples; the Ábhiras, Ambaśīṭhas, Áravas, Bādaras, Barbaras, Chaśāchakas, Kālakas, Kapilas, Karpāraṇyänas, Khaṇḍas, Kīrātas, Mākaras, Pahlavas, Raivatas, Sindhu-Savīras, Sūdras, and Yavana; also the eaters of (raw) flesh (kravāśa), and the people with the faces of women (nārimukha).

The southern division includes (xv. 11-16) Ákara, Átri’s hermitage, [Avanti], Baladevapāṭṭana, the beryl-mines (vaiḍūrya), Bhārakachchha, Chitrakūṭa, (the places for obtaining) conch-shells (kakṣa), Daśapura, Dharmapāṭṭana, the elephants’ gden (kuṇḍaradot), Gaṇarāja, Girinagara, the hermitages (ṭopasārāma), the islands (deīpa), Kāṭch, [Kārmarnyā], Kol-lagiri, Kramāchadivipa, Lijaṭa, Maruchapattana, Nāsikya, the southern ocean (yāmyakalha), the places for obtaining pearls (mukhya), Sīṁhala, Tālākṣa, Vanavāsi, and Veḷḷuru:
the [Chēra], Chōla, Kachchha, Kāṛatasa, [Kārala], Kōṇaka, and Taṅkaṇa countries;
the Daṇḍakāyana and Tumbavāna forests, and the great forest (maḥātavya);
the mountains Dardura, Kunama, Mahēndra, Malayā, Mālindya, Rishyanūka, and Sūrpa;
the rivers Kavērī, Krīṣṇa, Tāmrapārīṇi, and Vēṇū;
and the following tribes or peoples; the Ábhiras, Áryakas, Ávantakas, Bhaḍrās, Chēr-ya, Gōnardas, Kairalakas, Kāḷājina, Kaṅka-tas, Karmaṇyakas, Kīrṇas, Phāṅkikāras, Piśkas, Rishabhās, Rishikas, Saurīs, and Sibikas; also, the mariners (vairika), the people with thick matted hair (jaḷāḍkāra), and the eaters of whales (timingildāsana).

The northern division includes (xv. 24-28) Bhogaprastha, the city of spirits (bhōtapura), [Pushkalāvatī], [Takṣasālī], Vasāti, and Yaśāvatī;
the Ádāras, Antardvīpin, Gāndhāra, [Mālava], Trigarta, and [Uttara-Kura] countries;—
the mountains Dhanushmat, Himavat (Himálaya) Kailása, Krunócha, Mêru, and Vasumat;—

the river [Yathmû];—

and the following tribes or peoples; the Agnídhras or Agñítyas, Ambaras, Arjumáyanas, Dañdápîgâlakas, Dásamáyas, Dásékras, Gavyas, Hémátâlas, Hûnas, Kachchhâras, Kailayas, Kaiâvatas, Kaññadhânas, Köhâlas, Kshatrîyas (under the name of râjânya), Kshémadhùrtas, Kshudrâminas, Madrákas, Mâlavas, Mânâhalas, Mânáavyas, Pauravas, Puâkalâvatas, Saradhanas, Sitakas (or Sátkas), Sálmâkas, Takshâsâlas, Udchyas, Uttara-Kurus, Vâstadhânas, Yâmunas, and Yaudhâyas; also the flat-nosed people (chipâtanâkâ) the thick-haired people (kshêthara), the roamers in the sky (kchachara), the dog-faced people (svanuskha), and the horse-faced people (tunayânana).

The north-east division includes (xiv. 29, 30, 31) Brahmâpur, the kingdom of the dead (nâshatrâjya), the gold-region (vivarâhâ), and the marshes or swamps (pâlû);—

the [Kâmbra] and Kûlûta countries,—

the forest of Vasaus or spirits (vivâna), the forest-kingdom (vivarâjya), and the forest-territory (vivarâthâra);—

the mountains Mûruka and Mûnîja;—

and the following tribes or peoples; the Abhisâmas, Anuvîvas, Bhîllas, Chînas, Dâmâras, Damdas, Divras, Gândharvas, Gôshlas, Kâmbras, Kauśindas, Khâshas, Kîras, Kûrîtas, Kuchikas, Kûçathas, Pauravas, Saîrâdhâlas, and Taîqâras; also the nomads (pâruoû), the weavers of bark (chûranasana), the dwellers in the sky (dirvâkha), the demons with matted hair or elf-locks (jaûsena), the one-footed people (kchcharâpura), and the three-eyed people (triûras).

ALPHABETICAL LIST.

Abhára, or Abhára, the name of a people placed in the southern division, xiv. 12, and in the south-west division, xiv. 18; miscellaneous astrological references, v. 33, 42; ix. 19; xvi. 31. One of the Nâsik inscriptions mentions an Abhára king (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 104). And the Abhíras are named among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Abhisâra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., xxvi. 19. The Abhisâra country is supposed to be the modern Hazâra, in the Pâñjâb (McCainle's Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 69, note 3).

Ádâra, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Agnídhrâ, or Agñíthra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25. In a text, Kern reads Bhûyaprasth-Arjumâyâ-Gñíthra; and in his various readings he notes that one MS. gives Agnyayû, but all the others, except the one from which the word in his text is taken, Agñýayû. In his translation he gives "Agnídras (or Agñítyas)." Albérûni has given the Brihat-Samhâta dizioneal list (India, Translation, Vol. I. pp. 300-303); and here he gives "Agñítyas."

Abhâra, a place in the southern division, xiv. 12. Kern, who translates the word by "the mines," considers that it denotes the modern Kândahâr. The name apparently occurs in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junagâdh inscription of Radradâmân (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262; the text has Akar-Anûthi). Alaka, apparently a city; the lord of Alaka (Alakû-adhâk), misc. ref., xi. 58. Kern in his translation gives the feminine form, Alakâ; which, however, does not suit the metre. The published text is Ikshvâku-Kalâkandathâ, "the Ikshvâkus and the lord of Alaka;" with the various readings of kûkula and râlaka, for râlaka. But, in a note to his translation, Kern prefers Ikshvâku-Kalâkandâh; which is the reading of the commentary, and is supported by the remark Alakâ-nagarî tân-nâthâ râjâ. The only other Alaka that is known, is the city of Kûbêra. The name of Ralaka is not otherwise known at all.

Ambâra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Ambashtâ, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7; also in the south-west, xiv. 17; misc.
ref., xi. 19; xvi. 22. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks that the Ambatthas of the eastern division are the *Ambas* of Ptolemy, vii. 1, 66 seq.; and that they are not to be confounded with their namesakes in the south-west.

Ānarta, a country in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 80; xiv. 33; xvi. 31. This country is mentioned in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, pp. 262, 263).

Andhra, or Andhra, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., xvi. 11; xvi. 25; — the lord of Andhra, or of the Andhras (Andhra-pati), misc. ref., xi. 59. The Andhras are carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Asoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 239, 240, 247, 248). Other early epigraphic references are to be found in Gupta Inscriptions, p. 230, and Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 127.

Āṅga, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., v. 72; ix. 10; x. 14; xi. 56; xxxii. 15. See under ‘Jathara.’

Arjana, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Antardvīpa, or Antardvipa, a region in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Antargiri, a mountain region; misc. ref., v. 42.

In a note to his translation Kern remarks—“I am not able to say which part of the Himalayan hill country was called Antargiri; it may be Kumaon, or a still more eastern district. Cf. ch. xvi. 2, and Mahābhbār, II, ch. xxvii. 3.” In xvi. 2, the original has *bahir-antah-nilā-jāḥ*, “the people beyond and within the mountains;” note, “i.e. a part of the Himalaya.”

Antarvēṣṭi, a region; misc. ref., v. 65. Kern translates by “the Doab.” The name may apply to any Doab; but it usually denotes the country lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, which is mentioned as Gaṅgī- Yamun-antardvīla, in Ixix. 26, misc. ref.; and it is used in that sense in the Indor grant of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 69).

Ānuvisā, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Aparantaka (v. i. Aparantika), “the people of the western marches,” a people in the western division, xiv. 20; misc. ref., v. 70.

See also ‘Aparantya.’ Mention is made of the Aparantya people or country in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 109), and in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 262). And one of the Asoka edicts classes the Yavanas, Kambōjjas, and Gandhāras as aparantya (id. Vol. XX, pp. 240, 241). Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has said that there are reasons for thinking that Sopara, in the Thāna District (see under ‘Saurāparaka’), was the chief place in the Aparantya country Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XV, p. 274, and note 3).

Aparantya, a people, evidently identical with Aparantaka, q.v.; misc. ref., v. 40, ix. 15.

Ārāva, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Arbuda (the modern Mount Abū), misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 31; xxxii. 19.

Arinēda, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Ārjunāyana, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., iv. 25; xi. 59; xvi. 22; xvii. 19. The Ārjunāyanas are named among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14). An early coin of the Ārjunāyanas is figured in Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. II, p. 223, Plate xlv. No. 22.

Ārya, a people; misc. ref., v. 42, where Kern takes the word as meaning “the inhabitants of Aryanārta,” q. v.

Āryaka, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15.

Āryāvārta, the inhabitants of Aryanārta (the text uses the nom. plur.), which is a customary name for Northern India; misc. ref., v. 67. See also ‘uttarāpatha.’ The word Āryāvārtaka means ‘the abode of the Āryas, or excellent or noble people.’ It is used to denote Northern India in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13). In the Mānavadharmasūtra, ii. 22 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 18) Āryāvārta is defined as the land between the Himalaya and Vindhyā mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western seas. But a more precise division between Northern and Southern India is given by the poet Rājaśekhara, who, in the Bādarāmāyaṇa, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte’s Rājaśekhara: his Life and Writings, p. 21), speaks of the river
Narmadā (the 'Nerbudda'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhya range, as "the dividing line of Āryavarta and the dakṣiṇāpatha."

Āśika, a people; misc. ref., xi. 56. Mention is made of the Āśika people or country in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 109).

Āśāma, a country, and the people of it, in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., v. 39, 73, 74; ix. 18, 27; xvi. 11; xxxii. 15 — the lord of Āśāma (Āśāma-para, -nātha, -nāṇḍra) misc. ref., xi. 34, 55; xvii. 15. Below his translation of xiv. 22, Kern adds the note — "the Assakanoi of the Greeks." Mention is made of the Āśāma people or country in one of the Ajanta inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. IV, p. 131).

Aṣṭagiri, 'the mountain behind which the sun sets,' in the western division, xiv. 20.

Āśvatthā, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Aśvamukha, 'horse-faced people;' misc. ref., xvi. 35. See also 'aśvamukha' and 'turaṇāna.'

Aśvamukha, 'horse-faced people,' in the eastern division, xiv. 6; identified by Kern with the Hippoprosopoi of the Periplus Maris Erythraei. See also 'aśvamukha' and 'turaṇāna.'

Atri, (the hermitage of), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Aūdrā or Udāra, a country (the modern Orissa), and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 74. See also 'Udāra.'

Audumbara, the people of the Udumbara country, in the middle country, xiv. 4. See also 'Udumbara.'

Aūjjanikā, the people of Ujjayanī, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 56.

Aūśāna, 'a king of the Uśānas,' q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 55.

Avāgāra or Avagāra, a people or country; misc. ref., xi. 61; xvi. 38. Kern translates the word by 'Afghāna,' in both places. In xvi. 61, among other various readings there are Chōl-Abākāṇa, Chōl-Āvāmīgāra, and Chōl-Abānīgāra-Kaukākan; and in xvi. 38, Chōl-Abāgāra, and Chōl-Abākāra.

Āvāntaka, a king or other inhabitant of Avanti or Avantī, q. v.; misc. ref., xiv. 33. See also 'Āvanta' and 'Āvanti.'

Āvāntaka, the inhabitants of Avanti or Avantī, q. v., a people in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., v. 73. See also 'Āvanta' and 'Āvanti.'

Avanti, a city (better known as Ujjayanti), q. v., or Ujjayini), misc. ref., v. 40; ix. 17; also an inhabitant of the same, misc. ref., ix. 18, 21. See also 'Avanti, Avanta, Avantaka, and Avanti.' The name Avanti occurs in inscriptions at Nāsik and Ajanta (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. IV, pp. 109, 127), and in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262; the text has Ākhar-Avantī.

Avantī, a city, the same as Avanti, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 35.

Āvanti, 'a king or other inhabitant of Avanti or Avantī, q. v.; misc. ref., v. 64; lxxv. 2. See also 'Avanta' and Avantika.

Āyōḍhyaka, the inhabitants of Ayodhya, which is the modern Ajodhya, Andh, Awadh, or 'Udaipur; misc. ref., iv. 24. See also 'Sāka.' The name Ayodhya occurs in the spurious grant of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 257).

Bādana, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Bāhlika, a country, and the inhabitants of it; misc. ref., v. 37; xvii. 6. See also 'Bāhlika, Vāhlika, and Vāhlika.'

Bāhlika, the same as Bahlika, q. v.; misc. ref., x. 7; xvi. 1; xvii. 13, 26; xxxii. 15. In xvi. 1, Kern translates by "Balck.'

Bahugiri, rendered by Kern by "hill-districts," but perhaps the name of some particular mountainous country; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Baladināpatana, a city in the southern division; xiv. 16. Below his translation Kern gives the note — "the Balaināpatana of Ptolemy, so that the reading Balaināpatana, preferred by Lassen, is proved to be a false form."

Barbara, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18; misc. ref., v. 42.

Bark, the island of (charmadoypa), in the south-east division, xiv. 9; — weavers of bark (chīra-nīvasana), a people in the northeast division, xiv. 31.

Beryl-mines (cāndḍrīya), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Bhadra, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the eastern division, xiv. 7; and in
the southern division, xiv. 15. In a note to his translation of xiv. 7, Kern explains the name by “the Blessed,” and suggests that the Bhadrās are probably the same with the Bhadrāsas, q. v.

Bhadrāsāya, a people, to be placed in the middle country if identified with the Bhadrās; the king of the Bhadrāsas (Bhadrāsāya-rīpa), misc. ref., ix. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks—“The Bhadrāsas are a mythical people, fabled to live in the remote East, or, according to the phrase of the astronomical Siddhāntas, at 90° E. from Lāṅkā, in the region where Yavakōti, ‘Java Point,’ is situated. (The reading Yavakōti is erroneous; for Yama’s kingdom is in the South, not in the East; and, besides, the compound Yamakōti is devoid of sense.) The origin of the Bhadrāsas living near the Udayagiri may be traced, I think, to Rigveda, i. 115, 2, seq.”

Bhalla, (v. l. Bhilla), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Bharata, a people; misc. ref. xvi. 21.

Bhāratavarsha, xiv. 1. The word occurs in other works as Bharatavarsha. In the latter form, it means ‘the country of Bharata;’ and in the other, ‘the country of the Bhārata or descendants of Bharata.’ And it is a name for the whole of India, the first king of which is held to have been Bharata, son of Dushyanta.

Bharukachcha, the modern Bharuch or Bharāch, i. e. ‘Breach,’ a city in the southern division, xiv. 11; misc. ref., xvi. 6; lxxix. 11; — the rulers of Bharukachcha (Bharukachcha-pāh), v. 40. The name Bharukachcha occurs in inscriptions at Junnar and Nāsik (Arch. Journ. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 96, 100); and perhaps in the Junagadh inscription of Andradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262, where, however, “Maru and Kachcha” is preferred by the editors). Sometimes the Sanskrit or Sanskritised form Bhīrīgukachcha is met with (e. g., Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 189; Vol. XIX. p. 175). By the Greeks it was called Barysasa.

Bhāsāpura (?), a town (?); misc. ref., xvi. 11. The published text has Bhāsāpura, with the various readings of Bhāsāpura, Bhāsāpāra, Bhāsāpārā, and Dāsāpura. In his translation, however, Kern gives “the Bhāsāpuras;” with the note “or Bhāsāpura or Bhāsāvaras. "May be, Bhāsāparas ( = Bhāsāvaras) means "those who live on this side of Mount "Bhāsa.” Utṣaṇa gives no explanation.

Bhāmaratha, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9. The published text has Bhāmarathyūh, which Kern renders by “(the inhabitants of the western half of the district of the Bhāmaratha.” A various reading is Bhāmarathyūh, which gives the name of Bhāmarathyā. A grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnugardhana I. gives the name as Bhāmarathi (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. pp. 304, 310). The river is undoubtedly the modern Bhīma, which rises in the Sahyāḍiri range, and flows into the Kṛṣṇa near Raichūr.

Bhīrgī (?), a people (?); misc. ref., iv. 22. There are the various readings of Bārīgī, Jīṅgī, and Vānīa; and in his translation Kern stamps the word as "very doubtful.”

Bhūgopprastha, a (?) people, in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Bhūgavardhana, a (?) city or country; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12.

Bhūtapura, "the city of spirits," in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Brahmapura, a city, in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

būlls, the island of (prishadūpa), in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

cannibals (purushāda, purnishāda), in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22. In a note to the translation, Kern remarks — “the cannibals, being always placed in the far East, must denote either the inhabitants of the Andamans and Nicobars, or the cannibal tribes of the Indian Archipelago, or both.” See also "kravyāsin.”

castes. The work does not mention the Brāhmaṇa with any topographical reference; but it locates the Kṣatriyas (mentioned by the term rājuna) in the northern division, xiv. 28; the Vaiśyas in the western division, xiv. 21; and the Sūdras in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Chaidya, the people of Chēdi, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 59. See also “Chēdika.”

Champa, a (?) town or country; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Chaṇḍukā (v. l. Champūka), a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18.
Chandrabhāga river, supposed to be the Chenab, one of the five rivers of the Paňjab; misc. ref., xvi. 27.
Chandrāpuras, the inhabitants of the city of Chandrapura, in the eastern division, xiv. 5. A town named Chandāpur is mentioned in the Indor grant of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 71).
Charmadāvīpa, the island of bark, in the south-east division, xiv. 9.
Charmaṇaṅga, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23.
Chārudēvi, a (?) town or country, misc. ref., ix. 13; the word occurs in the plural, as if denoting the inhabitants.
Chēdī, a country, misc. ref., xvi. 3; xxxii. 22; — the ruler of Chēdī (Chēdī-pa), xliii. 8. See also ‘Chaidya and Chēdika.’ The Kalachuris of Central India were kings of Chēdī.
Chēdika (v. l. Chaidika), the people of Chēdī, q. v., in the south-east division, xiv. 8. See also ‘Chaidya.’
Chēryā, a people, evidently of the Chēra country, in the southern division, xiv. 15.
China, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30; misc. ref., v. 77, 78, 80; x. 7, 11; xi. 61; xvi. 1, 38. Kern translates the word by “Chinese”; q. v. 77, 78, 80.
Chirantācana, ‘wearers of bark,’ a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.
Chitrakūta, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., xvi. 17. It is the modern Chitra-kot or Chattrakot hill or district, near Kampta in Bundelkhand. The name occurs in the Sirpur inscription of A. D. 866 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 218).
Chōla, a country, and the people of it, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., v. 40; xi. 61; xvi. 10, 38. In southern inscriptions, the name appears in the forms of Chōla, Chōla, and Chōla; and it is taken back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Ashoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 249).
Cocoa-nuts, the island of (nālīkēra-drēpa), in the south-east division, xiv. 9.
Conch-shells, the places for obtaining, are placed in the southern division, xiv. 14.
Dakshināpatha, ‘the region of the south,’ i. e. Southern India, below the Narmadā, misc. ref., ix. 40; xlvi. 8. See under ‘Āryavarta.’ The term dakshināpatha occurs in the Junagadh inscription of Radradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262); in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13); and apparently in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 110).
Dāmara (v. l. Dāmara), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.
Dāṇḍaka, a country or people, misc. ref., xvi. 11 — the king of Dāṇḍaka (Dāṇḍakādhipati), misc. ref., xi. 56.
Dāṇḍakāvari, in the southern division, xiv. 16. This is, I suppose, another form of the name of Dāṇḍakāraṇya, or Dāṇḍaka forest, which lay between the rivers Narmadā and Gōdāvari.
Dāṇḍapāṇalaka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.
Danturaka, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6. Albērdūl says “Dantura, i. e. people with long teeth.”
Darada, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., v. 42, 79, xii. 9. Albērdūl omits them; or, rather, he gives Abhisārapa, instead of Abhisāra and Darada.
Darudura, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11.
Dāvra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.
Dāsamēya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 23.
Dāsapura, a city in the southern division, xiv. 12. It is the modern Mandasār, or more properly Dāsār, in Mālwa. It is mentioned in inscriptions at Nāsik (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 100, 114), and in inscriptions at Mandasār itself (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 79, note 2, and 84, 86).
Dāsārā, a variant of Dāsārā, q. v.; misc. ref., v. 40; x. 15; xxxii. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks that the Dāsārās are the Deaarene or Deaarene of the Periplus Maris Erythraei.
Dāsārā, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10; misc. ref., xvi. 26. See also ‘Dāsārā.’
Dāsāraka, a variant of Dāsāraka, q. v.; misc. ref., v. 67.
Dasēraka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26. See also 'Dasēraka.'
dead, the kingdom of the (nashta-rūpa), in the north-east, xiv. 29. See under 'Mēraka.'
demons with elf-locks (jaṭ-āsura), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.
Dēvikā, a river; misc. ref., xi. 35.
Dhanushmat, a mountain, in the northern division, xiv. 24. The text distinctly stamps
Dhanushmat as a mountain. But Albērūni says "Dhanushman (!), i.e. the people with
bows."

Dharmapāṭhana, a city in the southern division, xiv. 14. Kern translates the name by
"Yama's city."
Dharmāranyaka, a forest region, in the middle country, xiv. 3.
diamonds are found in the Himavat mountains, in Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Mātāṅga (?), Poṇḍra, and Saurāstra, at Surṣuṭaka (see under
'Apānta' and 'Saṇḍārakā'), and on the banks of the Vēṇā, lxx. 6, 7.
dīrgāhāra, 'people with long necks,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.
dīrgahāsa, 'long-haired people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.
dīrgāḥsya, 'long-faciated people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.
dīvīśikha, "the inhabitants of heaven," dwellers in the sky, a people, in the north-east
division, xiv. 31.
dog-faced people (ēva-mukha), in the northern division, xiv. 25.
Dūmka, the Gipsies; misc. ref., lxxxvii. 33.
Also, in iii. 84 the text has ēvātāc-ūlayaha, 'those who cook (and eat) dogs, and others
like them;' and the commentary says ēvātācā Dūmka, 'the cookers of dogs are the
Dūmka.' The name is doubtless identical with the Dūma that occurs elsewhere; e.g.
in the Anāmagapāṭha inscription of Rudradēva (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 17). And the
Dūmas or Dūma were the Gipsies (id. Vol. XV. p. 15).
Dravida, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; misc. ref., ix. 15, 19; xvi. 11; xxxii. 15; — the rulers of
Dravida, or of the Dravida (Dravid-ākṣipāth) misc. ref., iv. 23; — the eastern half of the
Dravida countries (Dravidānāṁ prāga-ariha), misc. ref., xvi. 2. In his translation of xvi.
11 and xxxii. 16, Kern gives "Dravida (or
Dramiḍa)." In xiv. 19, Albērūni gives "Dravida." See also 'Drāvida.'
Dravida, 'of or belonging to Dravida;' q.v.; misc. ref., lviii. 4, where Kern renders
Drāvīdaiṁ by "(a measure) for Dravīda (barbarians)."
ears; people with ears like a winnowing fan (ēdira-karna), in the eastern division, xiv. 5.
elephants, the gnea of (kuṇjara-dari), in the southern division, xiv. 16.
edhakaraṇa, 'one-footed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31. See also 'ēkapada.'
edhakaraṇa, 'one-footed people in the eastern division, xiv. 7. See also 'ēdhakaraṇa.'
edhakaraṇa, 'one-eyed people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.
elephants; the elephant's cave, or the gnea of
elephants (kuṇjara-dari), in the southern division, xiv. 16.
eyes; one-eyed people (ēka-āvilōcana) in the north-west division, xiv. 23; — three-eyed people (tri-nētra), in the north-east division, xiv. 31.
faces; 'dog-faced people' (ēva-mukha), in the northern division, xiv. 25; — 'horse-faced
people' (āśva-udana) in the eastern division, xiv. 6, and (tuṣṇā ādana) in the northern
division, xiv. 25; misc. ref. (āśva-mukha), xvi. 35; — 'long-faced people' (dīrghāsya),
in the north-west division, xiv. 23; — 'tiger-faced people' (vīḍhira-mukha), in the
eastern division, xiv. 5.
feet; 'one-footed people' (ēka-pada), in the eastern division, xiv. 7; and (ēka-ācharana),
in the north-east division, xiv. 31.
'flesh, eaters of raw' (kravyā-āśin), in the south-west division, xiv. 18. See also 'cannibals.'
The word is, however, rather doubtful; the readings are kravyādūśābhira, and kravyākhyābhira, for which Dr. Kern adopted, by conjecture, kravyā-dūśābhira.
forests; the Dharmāranyaka, in the middle
country, xiv. 3; — the great-forest (mahā-
adavi), in the southern division, xiv. 13; —
the Daṇḍakāvana, in the southern division,
xiv. 16; — the collection of forests (van-
ārgha; v. l. van-auka, 'the inhabitants of
forests'), in the western division, xiv.
20; — the forest of the man-lions (nīsuha-
vana), in the north-west division, xiv.
22.— the forest-territory (vana-rāṣṭra), in the north-east division, xiv. 29;— the forest-
kingdom (vana-rājya), in the north-east divi-
sion, xiv. 30;— the forest of Vasus or
spirits (vasu-vana), in the north-east division,
xiv. 31. The "kings of all the forest
countries (savo-āṭavika-rājya)" were compelled
by Samudragupta to do service to him (Gupta In-
scriptions, p. 13). The same
record mentions also a kingdom named
Mahākāṇṭhāra, which seems to be a great
forest kingdom (ibid.). And the hereditary
territory of the Mahārājā Saukānšāhā
included the "eighteen forest kingdoms"
(aubhāda-āṭavika-rajya; id. p. 116).

Gajāhāra, apparently "(the city) that has the
appellation of the elephant," i.e. Gajapura or
Hasināpurā, the modern Dehli, in the
middle country, xiv. 4.

Gambhirikā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Garpāyā, a kingdom in the southern division,
xiv. 14.

Gāndhāra, a country (the modern Kandahār),
and the people of it, in the northern division,
xiv. 28; misc. ref., iv. 23; v. 77, 78; ix. 21; x. 7; xvi. 26; xvii. 18; lxi. 26. The
name is carried back to the third century
B.C. by one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind.

Gandharva, a class of supernatural beings,
in the north-east division, xiv. 31; misc. ref.,
xiii. 8; lxxxvii. 3.

Gāgā, the river Ganges, described as con-
stituting, with the Jamunā, the necklace of the
earth, xliii. 32;— reference to the region
between the Gāgā and the Jamunā, lxxix.
26;— misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Gānadhā, see Gaurāhā.

Gauḍā, a people in the eastern division, xiv.
7. This is the reading in the text; but in
his translation Kern gives "Ganras," and
adds the note — "i. e. 'the Whites,' supposed
to live in Śvētadvipa, which, according to
Kathārakāmṣāra, 54, 18, 199, lies near the
Cocoa-Island." (see 'islands'). Albērūnī
gives "Gauraka."

Gauaragri, a people in the middle country
xiv. 3.

Gavaya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Ghūṣha, a people in the middle country, xiv.
2; and in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Girinagara, a city in the southern division,
xiv. 11. The name has now passed over to
the mountain Girnār, in Kāthāwād; and the
ancient city is now represented by Junagādh, at the foot of it. The original
name of the Girnār mountain was Uṛjāyant (Gupta
Inscriptions, pp. 64, 65).

Girivrajā, "the inhabitants of the district
of Girivrajā," as rendered by Kern,—in
accordance with the commentary, I presume;
misc. ref., x. 14. H. H. Wilson (Vishnu-
Purāṇa, Translation, Vol. IV, p. 15, note 3),
said that Girivrajā is "in the mountainous
part of Magadh;" and further on (id. p. 180, note 1) he identified it with Rājagriha in Bihār.

Gāddāvāri, the river of that name in Southern
India; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Gōlāṅgūla, a (?) mountain; misc. ref., xvi. 3.
gold, the region of (kanka), in the western
division, xiv. 21, and (suvarna-bhū) in the
north-east division, xiv. 31.

Gōmanta, a mountain; misc. ref., v. 68, xvi. 17.

Gōmatī, a river; misc. ref., perhaps an inter-
polation, xvi. 12. It seems to be the modern
Gōmati or Gomti, which rises in the Shāh-
chāhānpur District and flows into the Ganges
about half-way between Benares and Ghāzi-
pur; at any rate, it is somewhere in that
neighbourhood that we have to locate the
place Gōmatikottaka, which is mentioned in
the Dēś-Barānārā inscription of Jivitagupta
II. (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 217). But there
is also a river Gōmati in the Kāngra District
in the Pāṇjāb.

Gōnārā, a people in the southern division,
xiv. 12; misc. ref., ix. 13; xxxii. 22.

Gūdā, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.
Albērūnī says "Gūdā Tapēsāhr."

Gurāhā, or Gaurāhā, a river in the north-west
division, xiv. 23. There are the various
readings of Gulaḥā, Gulaḥā, and Gurāhā.
Below his translation, Kern remarks —
"Gurāhā (also Gaurāhā) is, to my apprehen-
sion, the Garoquis of the Greeks; the river
district they called Gorgonis. Lassen, in his
Altart. iii. p. 127 and 136, identifies the
Greek name with Gaurī. It need not be
pointed out how exactly both forms coincide
with Gurāhā and Gurāhā."
Haihaya, a people in the western division, xiv. 20. The Kalachuris of Central India were Haihayas (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. pp. 253, 268). And the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya II. (A.D. 733-34 to 746-47) married two Haihaya princesses.

Hair; people with thick matted hair (jaṭā-dhara), in the southern division, xiv. 13; — long-haired people (dīrgha-kēśa) in the north-west division, xiv. 23; — thick-haired people (kēśa-dhara) in the northern division, xiv. 26; — demons with matted hair or elf-locks (jaṭā-usura), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Hala (v. l. Laha), a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6; xiii. 19.

Hārabaura, a king of the Harshas or Hārabauras; misc. ref., xiv. 34.

Hēmagiri, a mountain in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Hēmakundya, a place in the south-east division, xiv. 9. There are the various readings of Hēma-kūṭa, kūtadhyā, kūdya, and kūdā. In his text, Kern gave the name as Hēmakūṭa; but in his translation he preferred Hēmakundya, because Pārāśara exhibits the same form. Albērānī gives “Hēmakūṭa.”

Hēmatāla, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Hermitages (tāpas-ārāma), in the southern division, xiv. 15; — the hermitage of Atri (atri), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Himavat, the Himalaya mountains, in the northern division, xiv. 24; — spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth, the other being the Vindhyā mountain, xliii. 35; — diamonds are obtained there, lxx. 7; — and pearls, lxxi. 2, 5; — misc. ref., xvi. 2 (bahir-anah-sāile-jah, see “Antargiri”); xvi. 17 (Himavat); lxxi. 1 (Hims-kesamādhara).

Horse-faced people (aśe-wadana) in the eastern division, xiv. 6, and (turaq-anana) in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref. (aśe-mukha), xvi. 35.

Hūgas are mentioned in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 56), in the Mandasor inscription of Viṣṇuśarman (id. p. 148), in the Aphsaṣ inscription of Ādiyāsete (id. p. 206), and in many later records; but I do not know of any epigraphic passage which specifies the “White Hūgas.”

Ikshumati, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 4.

Ikshvāku, a (?) people; misc. ref., v. 75; ix. 17; xi. 38. Mādhaviputra-Purushadhita, a hero of the Ikshvāku, is mentioned in one of the early inscriptions at the Jaggayapatē-stēpa (Archeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. I. pp. 110, 111).

Iravati, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

Islands of bulls (vēṣa-dēpā), of coconuts (nāthalēr-dēpā), and of bark (charma-dēpā), in the south-east division, xiv. 9; — “the islands (dēpā),” suggested by Kern, below his translation, to be the Maldives, in the southern division, xiv. 14; — the islands of the great ocean (mahārānava-dēpā), misc. ref., xvi. 6.

Jackal-eaters (gōmāyu-bhakha); misc. ref., xvi. 35.

Jaṭādhara, “people with thick matted hair,” in the southern division, xiv. 13.

Jaṭāsura, “demons with matted hair or elf-locks,” in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Jaṭāhara, or perhaps Jaṭāhara-Āṅga, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8. The text is Vaṅg-Opanvinga-Jaṭāhara-Āṅga; which Kern translates by “Vaṅga, Vaṅga minor, and the Jaṭāhara-Āṅgas.” But the same combination, Jaṭāhara-Āṅga, does not occur anywhere else. Albērānī separates the names, and says “Jaṭāhara, Āṅga.”

Jṛṅga, a people in the western division, xiv. 21.

Kachchha, a country in the southern division, xiv. 16. It is evidently the modern Kachch, vulgo Cutch, to the north of Kāthiāwd.

Kachchhāra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Kakikaya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., iv. 22, v. 67, 74; xvi. 26, xvi. 18; — the lord of the Kaikayas (Kai-kaya-nātha), misc. ref. xi. 60.
Kailāsa, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24. It is peculiarly sacred as being the paradise of the god Śiva. It belongs to the Himalayan range, and constitutes the watershed from which the Indus, Satlej, and Brahmaputra take their rise; but it appears to be really in Tibet (Hunter's *Indian Empire*, pp. 43, 45). It is mentioned in the Gaṅgādhāra inscription of Visvaravarman and the Mandāsār inscription of Bandhuvārman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 78, 86, 86); and in the last passage it is called one of the breasts of the earth, — the other being Sumērū.

Kailāvata, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Kairolaka, the people of Kērala, q.v., in the southern division, xiv. 12. The text gives the reading Kēralaka; but this is a mistake for Kairolaka, or still more correctly Kairālaka, which occurs in the Ālabbhād inscription of Samudragūpta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7, line 19).

Kālājina (q. v. Kālānjana), a people or place in the southern division, xiv. 11. Can it be really intended for 'Kālānjara,' — a city of the Kalachuris of Central India, now represented by the Kālānjār hill fort, — the name of which is sometimes wrongly given in inscriptions as 'Kālānjana'?

Kālaka, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Kālōkōti, a fortress or city in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Kāliūga, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8: — diamonds are found there, lxxx. 7; — other misc. ref., v. 35, 75, 79; ix. 10, 26; x. 16; xvi. 1, 3; xvii. 13, 22; xxxii. 15; — the king of the Kāliūga country (Kāliūga-dēva-nirpati), misc. ref., v. 69; — the lord of Kāliūga (Kāliūga-śēta), misc. ref., xi. 54. See also 'Kaliūga.' The name of the Kaliūga country is carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Asūka (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XX*. p. 247).

Kāliūga, a king or other inhabitant of the Kaliūga country, q. v.; misc. ref. xiv. 32.

Kalmašā, a people; misc. ref., v. 69.

Kāmbōja, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 35, 78, 80; xi. 57; viii. 9; xvi. 1, 16. With the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, who are mentioned in the same verse, the Kāmbōjas must be located far more to the north than is done by Varāhamihira. The name is carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Asūka. And Senart allocs the tribe to the tract of the river Kābūl (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XX*. pp. 239, 240, 247). Kanaka, the region of gold, in the western division, xiv. 21. The text is Jriṅga-Vaiṣyaka-kanaka-Sakāh; which Kern translates by 'the Jriṁgas, Vaiṣyas, (and) Gold-Scythians.' But he adds the note that the commentary explains differently; viz. 'the region of gold, and the Sakas.' Alberuni also separates the words, and gives 'Vaiṣya, Kanaka, Sakas.' See also 'gold.'

Kāṇcheśi, a city, in the southern division, xiv. 15. It is the modern Converanam. Vaiśñugopa of Kāṇcheśi is named among the kings whom Samudragūpta is said to have captured (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13). Burnell held that the Sanskrit 'Kāṇcheśi' is a mis-translation of the Dravidian 'Kāṇji.' (*South-Indian Palaeography*, p. x., note 2).

Kānka, a people in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Kānika, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12.

Kαντακασθαλα, a locality in the south-east division, xiv. 10.

Kαντακαθα, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Kαντικα, a city; misc. ref., xvi. 11.

Kapila, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Kανιπασθαλα, (q. v. Kapishṭhaka), a people or locality in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, compares the Kambiktholoi of the Greeks.

Kαρματπκα, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15. The place whence the name is derived, is mentioned in inscriptions as Kamaṭpaka, Kamaṭya, and Kammapija; and it is the modern Kamrēj in the Baroda territory (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII*. pp. 184 and note 5, and 198).

Kαρπακραντα, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18. There are the various readings of Karṇapradēya and Karṇapradariṇa. The latter form, Karṇapraṇa, which would equally well suit the metre here, occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, *Kishkindhakāṇḍa*, x. 26 (Vīṣṇu-Purāṇa, Translation, Vol. II. p. 161, note 4). Below his trans-
lution Kern remarks “Synonymous with Kāñçaprāvyā is Kāñçaprāvarana. Now, prāvyā is synonymous with prārāṇi, so that prārāṇa either stands for prārāṇa, or prārāṇi and prārāṇa are derived from the same base with prārāṇa. The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, 58; 31, has Kāñçaprādhānya, in which ḍh is misread v."

Kāñca, the Kanarese country, in the southern division, xiv. 13. In the Sāmangaḍ grant of Dantidurga, the Western Chalukya forces are called “the boundless army of the Kāñca” (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 114).

Karvata, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 5; misc. ref., xvi. 13.

Kāśi, a city in the eastern division, better known as Benares, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 72; x. 4, 13; xxxii. 19; —the lord or king of Kāśi (Kāśi-svara, Kāśi-pa, Kāśi-rāja), misc. ref., ix. 19; xi. 69; lxvi. 1; —the country of Kāśi (Kāśi-dāna), misc. ref., xvi. 25. In the plural (Kāsyaḥ), the word is used to denote the people of Kāśi; misc. ref., v. 69. The city of Kāśi is mentioned in the Sarnāth inscription of Prakāśadvitya (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 286).

Kāśmira, a people in the north-east division (the inhabitants of the Kāśmir country), xiv. 29; misc. ref., v. 77, 78; ix. 18; x. 12. Also see ‘Kāśmiraka.’

Kāśmiraka, the people of Kāśmira; misc. ref., v. 70; xi. 57. See also ‘Kāśmira.’

Kauṇkaśa, the people of the Kauṇkaśa, q.v.; misc. ref., xvi. 11.

Kaulinda, a people; misc. ref., iv. 24. There is the various reading Kaulindrā. See also ‘Kauṇinda.’

Kauluita, the people of Kuluita, q.v.; misc. ref., x. 11.

Kauṇinda (v. l. Kaulinda), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30; —a king of the Kauṇindas or Kauṇinda (Kauṇinda), misc. ref., xiv. 33. There are the various readings, Kaulindad (xiv. 30, 33), and Kaulindatra (xiv. 30). See also ‘Kauṇinda.’

Kaurava, a people, probably the inhabitants of Kuru-land (see ‘Kuru’); misc. ref., iv. 25; ix. 30; —the lord of the Kauravas (Kauravādhipati), iv. 24.

Kauśala, the people of Kauśala, q.v.; misc. ref., x. 14. See also ‘Kauśala.’

Kauśalaka, the people of Kauśala, q.v., in the eastern division, xiv. 7 [the text gives here the reading Kauśalaka; but this must be a mistake for Kauśala]. Misc. ref., v. 70; x. 9. See also ‘Kauśala.’ The correct spelling (see also under ‘Kauśa’) appears to be ‘Kauśalaka,’ which occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 7, line 19).

Kauśāmbi, the modern Kosam on the Ganges; misc. ref., xvi. 3. The name occurs in one of the Ashoka edicts (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 309).

Kauśikā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Kāväṛī, the river that still bears this name, in the southern division, xiv. 13 (where the name is given in the plural, Kāväṛīḥ); misc. ref., v. 64.

Kērala, a country; misc. ref., xvi. 11. See also ‘Kauśalaka.’ Mantharaja of Kērala is named among the kings of Southern India, whom Samudragupta is said to have captured (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 13).

Kēśadharma, ‘long-haired or thick-haired people,’ in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Kēsha, the inhabitants of the sky, or roamers in the sky,’ a people in the northern division, xiv. 23.

Kēṣa, ‘dwarfs (?),’ a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Khaśa, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., x. 12; lxix. 26.

Khaśa, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Khaśtha, ‘dwellers in the sky,’ a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

Kīra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., iv. 23; xxxii. 19. In the Chambā grant, the Kīras are mentioned as being conquered by Sahilladēva (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Kīrā, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18, and in the north-east division, xiv. 30; misc. ref., v. 35, 80; ix. 35; xi. 60; xvi. 2; xxxii. 19, 22; —the prince of the Kīrās (Kīrā-bhṛtri, pṛthiva), misc. ref., ix. 17; xi. 54.

Kīra, a people in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Kishkindha, a mountain, in the south-east division, xiv. 10. Monier-Williams defines it as “in Ośra, containing a cave, the residence of the monkey-prince Bāla.”
Albārīnī says, "Kishkindha, the country of the monkeys."

Kōhala, (v. l. Kōśala), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Kollāgu, in the southern division, xiv. 13. It is, in all probability, the modern Kōlāpur (properly Kōlāpur), the chief town of the Native State in the Southern Marāṭhā Country, which is mentioned as Kollāgu in an inscription at Tērdāl (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 23).

Kōkārā, (v. l. Kauṅkārā), a country (usually known as the Seven Kōkāras) in the southern division, xiv. 12. See also 'Kauṅkārā,' Albārīnī says "Kōkārā near the sea."

Kōśala, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — diamonds are found there, lxxx. 6; — other misc. ref., v. 63; ix. 26; x. 4, 13; xvi. 6; xvi. 22. See also 'Kauṅkārā.' The correct spelling (see also under 'Kauṅkārā') appears to be 'Kōśala,' which occurs in one of the Ajaŋṭā inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 127), and in the Rajim grant of Tīvradēva (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 206). Mahāendra of Kōśala is named among the kings whom Samudragupta is said to have captured (id. p. 13).

Kōṭivara, apparently a country; the king of Kōṭivara (Kōṭivara-nṛṣa), misc. ref., ix. 11.

Kruṅcchā, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24. See also under 'Kruṅcchālīpa.'

Kruṅcchālīpa, a country, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., x. 18. Monier-Williams gives the word as equivalent to 'Kruṅcchā,' which, he says, is the name of a mountain, part of the Himālayan range, situated in the eastern part of the chain, on the north of Assam, and is also the name of one of the divāpas or principal divisions of the world, surrounded by the sea of curds.

kravāyātī, 'eaters of raw flesh,' in the south-west division, xiv. 18. See also 'cannibals,' and under 'flesh.'

Krishṇa, a river (the 'Kīstān') in the southern division, xiv. 14. Kern took this word, with the one that follows it in the text, to give the name of a place, — Krishṇāvēlūra. But Vārāhamihira has undoubtedly mentioned the river Krishṇa and the town of Vēlūra (q. v.).

Kṣatriyas, under the term vējanaya, placed in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Kahemadhārata, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Kahadramāna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 24.

Kahurārāṇa, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Kukhika, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Kukura, a people in the middle country, xiv. 4; misc. ref., v. 71; xxxii. 22. Mention is made of the Kukura people or country in one of the Nāṣik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradēva (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 262).

Kūlūta, a country in the north-west division, xiv. 22, and in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., x. 12; xvi. 18. See also 'Kūlūtaka.' Kūlūta is mentioned in the Chāmbā grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Kūlūtaka, the people of Kūlūta, q. v.; misc. ref., iv. 22.

Kunatha (v. l. Kunata, Kunaha, and Kunasa), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30, kuṇjaradī, the elephant's cave, or the ginn of elephants, in the southern division, xiv. 16.

Kuntalā, a country; misc. ref., xvi. 11. It is mentioned in one of the Ajaŋṭā inscriptions, under circumstances which imply, I think, that Ajaŋṭā itself was in Kuntalā (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 126, 127); and it is, I consider, the country of which Nāṣik was the capital (see page 115 above). It is also mentioned in numerous later records. And the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi are constantly described emphatically as "the lords of Kuntalā."

Kuntibhōja, a people; misc. ref., x. 15.

Kuru, a people. The Kurs consisted of two branches, the northern and the southern; and the land of the northern Kurs is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern part of the Himālayan range, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness. Vārāhamihira mentions (1) the Kurs, without any qualification, as a people in the middle country, xiv. 4; and (2) the
northern Kurus (uttarāḥ Kuravāḥ) as a people in the northern division (xiv. 24; here Kern translates by “the Hyperbo-
reans”). It is doubtless in connection with (1) only, that we have to take Albérn’s remark “Kura = Tänāshur,” and Kur’s note on his translation of xvi. 32, in which he specifies Kurukshētra as being “the country about Thānēs (Skr. Ghāvī
tara.)” There are the following miscellaneous references; the Kurus, v. 383; xxxii. 11; — the people of Kur-land (Kurukshē
tara), v. 78; (Kurukshētra) xvi. 32; — the lord of Kur-land (Kurukshētra-āra), xi. 57; — the forest, or wild, or uninhabited,
lands of Kuru (Kuru-jāghata), x. 29. See also “Kaurava.” The land of the northern Kurus is mentioned in the Udayāgiri Jain 
inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 260).

Kusuma, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Laha, v.l. for Hala, q.v.

Lahaḍa, a country in the north-west division, xiv. 22. There are the various readings of
Lahara, Laṭha, and Kalaka. In his transla-
tion, Kern gives “Laṭhaḍa (or Laṭdhara).” And he adds the note — “this seems to be
Lahara, so frequently mentioned in the Rāja-
tavahīyati, e.g. vii. 819, 1373 (Lāhara, “Laha-
riam,” 1173). It is a border-land between
Kashmir and Dardistan; to this identifica-
tion of Lahara and Lahadha, it will not be
objected that our author, committing the
grave blunder of placing Kashmir and
Dardistan in the North-east, should needs
have assigned a wrong situation to Lahada
too.”

Laṅkā, in the southern division, xiv. 11. As Sūmāhala is mentioned in the same passage,
xiv. 15, Laṅkā would seem to denote here,
not the island of Ceylon, but its capital
 city, which it was perhaps thought necessary
to mention separately, because it provides
the Hindu prime meridian. Albérni says
“Laṅkā, i.e. the cupola of the earth.” The
island of Laṅkā is mentioned in the Bodd-
Gayā inscription of Mahānāman (Gupta
Inscriptions, pp. 277, 279).

Lata, a country; misc. ref., lxxix 11. It corre-
sponds to what might now be called central
and southern Gujarāt, — to the country
between the river Mahī and the Koṅkaṇi
(Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 143). It is mentioned
in one of the Mandāsor inscriptions (Gupta
Inscriptions, p. 84), in the Aihoā inscription
of Pulikānī II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII.
p. 244), in one of the Ajantā inscriptions
and in various later records.

Lauhitya (the river Brahmaputra), in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., xvi. 16. In a note to his translation Kern adds that
one MS. of the commentary has Lōhitā
nādap; and another Lauhitya nāda. The
form ‘Lauhitya’ occurs in the Mandāsor
inscription of Yaśōdharman (Gupta Inscrip-
tions, p. 148); and the form ‘Lōhitā’ in the
Aphāśā inscription of Ādityaśeṇa (id.
p. 206).

Lions; the forest of the man-lions (ardha-
hara), in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

Madhyadēsa, the middle country; the tribes, &c., contained in it, xiv. 2, 3, 4; misc. ref.,
v. 78, 90; viii. 46; x. 5; xiv. 1; xvii. 19, 20,
22; xlvii. 4; xlvii. 7. The country is per-
haps mentioned in the Sārnāth inscription of
Prakṛitidiva (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 286).

Mādhyamika, a people in the middle country,
xiv. 2.

Madra, a people in the north-west division.
xiv. 22; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 40; x. 4; xvii.
18; xxxii. 19; — the lord of the Madras
(Madra-śaṇa), misc. ref., xiv. 33. See also
‘Madra.’

Madraka, a people in the northern division,
xiv. 27; — the lord of the Madrakas (Madra-
ka-pati) misc. ref., xi. 59. See also
‘Madra.’ A tribe named Madraka is men-
tioned as subjugated by Sāmudragupta
(Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Magadha, a country, and the people of it, in
the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv.
22, 26; v. 69, 79; x. 14; xvi. 1; xxxii. 11; —
the lord of Magadha (Magadha-śaṇa), misc.
ref., x. 16; — the ruler of Magadha (Magadha-
dhika), misc. ref., xi. 55. See also ‘Magad-
hika.’ In iv. 26, Kern translates Magadhān
(accus. plur.) by “Behar.”

Māgadhika, the people of Magadha, q.v.; misc.
ref., xiv. 32.

Mahānadi, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. It is
mentioned in the Sāmangaṇa grant of Danti-
Much to the north; as they are undoubtedly the people of Malwa, from whom (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 404) the Vikrama era derived its original appellation.

Malaya, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11; misc. ref., xvi. 10; xxvii. 2. It is mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109).

Mālindya, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Malla, a people; unless the word simply denotes ‘wrestlers or boxers’; misc. ref., v. 38, 41. To his translation of v. 38, where he gives “Mallas” as a people, Kern adds the note — “the Scholiast takes mallān here as an appellative noun, bāhuyuddha-jān, ‘boxers.’” In v. 41 he translates malla by ‘boxers,’ and adds the note — “or, ‘the Mallas;’ may be the expression applies both to these and to boxers.”

Mālyavat, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Māśahala, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Māndakini, the river Ganges, or an arm of it, misc. ref., xvi. 10. The name occurs in the Allāq grant of Sālādyā VII. (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184).

Māṇḍavya, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the north-west division, xiv. 22; and in the north, xiv. 27.

Māgimat, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Mārücka, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 10.

Mārun, a region in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 38. It is the modern Mārward. The Junagad inscription of Rūdradāman seems to mention the desert of Mārun (Maru-dhavan; Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 260, line 8, and Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 129).

Māruchipāṭṭana, a city in the southern division, xiv. 15. Below his translation Kern gives the note — “Maruchil, or Murachi, Marichi, seems to be the Mūtris (transposed from Mūritis) of the Greeks.”
Marukuchcha, or Murukuchcha, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23. There are the various readings of ‘Marukuchcha, Murukuchcha, Maruška, Maruḥatrukučha, Bharukuchcha, Nuruč, Marukastha, Purakača, Gurukutas, and Paramučcha;’ also (Parāśara) ‘Marukuchcha,’ which is the form used by Kern in his text. The possibility of Bharukuchcha is excluded, by this being allotted in xiv. 11 to the southern division; nor can Maru and Kachchha be intended; since they are allotted respectively to the middle country, xiv. 2, and the southern division, xiv. 16. In iv. 22, misc. ref., where the various readings are Tarukuchcha, and Marusvachya, Kern gives Maru-Kachchha in the text; but in the translation he rectifies this, and adopts the note — “the Marukuchchas, or Murukuchchas, were a people in the modern Kafiristan, or thereabouts.”

Matañga, a (?) place where diamonds are found, lxxx. 7.

Mathurā, a city; misc. ref., iv. 26; xvi. 17, 21. It is the so-called ‘Mutra’ in the North-West Provinces. See also ‘Māthuraka.’

Mathuraka, the inhabitants of Mathurā, q. v., in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Matrishika (?), a people (?); misc. ref., xvi. 11. In his text Kern gives the reading as sa-Matrishikā; and notes the various readings of sa-Matrishikā, -Matrishikā, -Māṭishikā, -Pāraskā, and -Maṭrashikā. In his translation he gives “Matrishika; and adds the note — “perhaps an error of the copyists, or of the copies of some works consulted by the author, for sa-Aṭray-Rishikā, “with Atri’s hermitage and the Rishikas;” ch. xii. 14 and 15.” I think it very likely that the intended reading was sa-Māṭishikā, which would give another form of the name of the people of Mahisha, q. v.

Matsya, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 37, 38; ix. 18; xvi. 22; xvii. 22; xxxii. 11; — the lord of the Matsyas (Matsy-ādhipati), iv. 24.

Maulika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8; but perhaps the correct reading is Saulika. See also ‘Mālika.’

Māghavat, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Mekala, a mountain, or a people, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 39, 73; xvi. 2.

Mēru, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24; misc. ref., xxvii. 7. In his Sanskrit Dictionary Monier-Williams describes it as a fabulous mountain, regarded as the Olympus of Hindū mythology; and says that, when not looked at from that point of view, it appears to mean the highland of Tartary, north of the Himalayas. It is mentioned in inscriptions as Mēru (Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 77, 163), and as Sumēru (id. pp. 86, 147, 278); and in two of the latter passages it is spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being the mountain Kailāsa), and as the abode of the god Indra.

Mēraka, a people, country, or mountain, in the north-east division, xiv. 29. But there does not seem any other authority for the name. And the text, Mērakasikārāya, suggests to me just the possibility of the original reading being Mēru-Kanishkarāya.

Milky ocean (kṣir-ārda), in the eastern division, xiv. 6.

Mines, the (ākara), a place in the southern division, supposed by Kern to be the modern Khāṇḍēsh, xiv. 12; see ‘Ākara;’ — mines of beryl-stone, (vaidūrya), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Mithila, a country in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., x. 14.

Mēchchha, a people, characterised as ‘lawless,’ or ‘without moral customs’ (nirmanayāda), in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., v. 79; ix. 13; xvi. 11, 35; xvii. 14, 16, 20; — the Yavanas spoken of as Mēchchas (Mēchchā hī Yavanāḥ), i. 15. Kern translates Mēchchha in i. 15, by “foreigners;” and in the other passages by “barbarians.” In xiv. 21 the translation is “all the lawless hordes of barbarians living in the west” (nirmanayāda Mēchchā yē paśchima-dik-ṣṭhītās tē cha). Albérini says, “Mēchchha, i. e. the Arabs.” There is a passage in the Viniśc-Puruṣa (Book IV. chap. III.; Wilson’s Translation, Vol. III. p. 294 ff.), which seems worth quoting here; it tells us that Sagara “made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Sakas he compelled to shave (the upper) half of their heads; the Pāṇadas wore their hair long; and the Pahlavas let their beards grow; in obedience
to his commands. Them, also, and other Kshatriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the Vedas; and, thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brahmanas, these different tribes became Mlecchhas. The Mlecchhas are mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 62).

mountain of sunrise (ulaya-girī), in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., xxviii. 3; — mountain of sunset (usta-girī), in the western division, xiv. 20.

Mulika, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23; but perhaps the correct reading is Sūlika. See also 'Maulika,'

Muṣṭa (v. l. Puṣṭa), a mountain in the north-east division, xiv. 31. Albērūnt gives the name as ' Puṣṭjayi.'

Murukuchcha, a people; see Marukuchcha.

Naṁisha, a people; the king of the Naṁishas (Naṁisha-grīva), misc. ref., xi. 60.

nālikērāṭa-grīva, the island of cocoanuts, in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

nārimukha, a people with the faces of women, in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Namadā, the river 'Nerbudda'; misc. ref., v. 64; xvi. 1, 9. See also 'Revā.' The name Namadā occurs in the Ēra inscription of Budhagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 90).

Nāsikā, a town or country, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. It is the modern Nāsik. The form 'Nāsika' appears to be established by inscriptions at Bēstā and at Nāsik itself (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 89, 98).

caṣṭamagārāja, the kingdom of the dead, in the north-east division, xiv. 29. But see under 'Mṛga.'

scerks; great-necked people (mahā-grīva) in the south-east division, xiv. 9; snake-necked people (vyāla-grīva) in the south-east division, xiv. 9; long-necked people (īrīgha-grīva) in the north-west division, xiv. 23. Also see 'thronta.'

Nēpāla, a country, and the people of it; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 65. It is the modern Nēpāl. The name occurs in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Nīpa, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.
Pañchanada, 'the country of the five rivers,' the Pañjaḥ, in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., x. 6. See also 'Pañchanada.'

Pañchanada, a king or other inhabitant of Pañchanada, q. v.; misc. ref., xi. 60.

Paṇḍu, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3. The Bājja grant allots Indrabala, Nannādeva, and Tīvārāja, to the Paṇḍu-vaśīa or lineage of Paṇḍu (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 298).

Paṇḍya, a country, and the people of it; northern Paṇḍya (uttara-Paṇḍya), misc. ref., xvi. 10; — the Paṇḍya king (Paṇḍya-vaśīa, Paṇḍya-nātha, Paṇḍya-nripa), misc. ref., iv. 10; vi. 8, xi. 56. The Paṇḍyas are carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 249).

Paṇḍyāvaṭa, a place or country where pearls are found, lxxvi. 2, 6.

Pārā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. It may perhaps be the same with the Pārādā of one of the Nāsik inscriptions, which has been identified with the river Pār or Pārṣad in the Surat District (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 100, and note 2).

Parālāka, a place where pearls are found, lxxxi. 2, 4.

Paṇḍava, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 18; — pearls are found there, lxxxi. 2, 5; — misc. ref., lxxi. 15. Alberünī says, "Paṇḍava, i.e. the Persians."

Paṇḍara, a people in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., x. 5, 7; xiii. 9; xvi. 4, 13, 22. The Paṇḍaras may possibly be identical with the Pāradas; see under 'Mlecchhā.'

Pārīyātra, (v.l. Pariśātra), a mountain in the middle country, xiv. 4; misc. ref., v. 63; vi. 10; lxix. 11. The form 'Pariśātra' is deduced from one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109). 'Pārīyātra' occurs in one of the Mandāsoś inscriptions (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 157). See also 'Pārīyātra.'

Pārīyātikā, the people of the Pārīyātra mountain, q. v.; misc. ref., x. 15.

Paṇḍatiya, a people; misc. ref., xvii. 16, 23; xviii. 2.

Pāruṣa, nomads, in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

Paṇḍra, the people of Paṇḍra, q. v., in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 74, 80.

Paṇavya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27, and in the north-east, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xvi. 22; xxxvii. 19.

Paṇḍavā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. In his translation, Kern notes that "another reading, also in Kaśyapa, is Paṇḍavā.

Paṇḍya, a country, and the people of it; Paṇḍya, q. v.; misc. ref., xvi. 10. The rice of Paṇḍya is mentioned in the Himavat mountains, in the northern country (kuśāra), and in the Paṇḍya-vāsīa, Paṇḍava, Sīmāla, Sṛṣṭhā, and Tāmravāra, xxi. 2.

Paṇḍulīka, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

Paṇḍika, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12.

Paṇḍaga (v.l. Paṇḍagā) a mountain in the south-west division, xiv. 18. Monier-Williams says it is near the mouth of the Indus.


Paṇḍyādhipa, the kings of the eastern country; misc. ref., v. 69; — the lords of the eastern and other countries (Paṇḍyādhipa, patayaḥ), misc. ref., lxxvi. 75. See also 'Prāśa.'

Prāgāsā, the kings of the eastern country; misc. ref., iv. 25. See also 'Prācyahipa.'

Prāgjyotisha, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., xvi. 1.

Prāṣasta, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Prasthala, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Prayāga, probably the place of pilgrimage at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnā; misc. ref., xi. 35. The name occurs in the Aphasā inscription of Addyasaśa (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 206).

Pulinda, a people; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 77, 78; ix. 17, 29, 40; xvi. 2, 33; — the Pulinda tribe (Pulinda-gaśa), misc. ref., v. 39. The Pulindas are carried back to the third century A. D. by one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247, 248).

Paṇḍra, a country, and the people of it; Paṇḍra, q. v.; misc. ref., xvi. 10.
diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 7; — other misc. ref., v. 70; ix. 15; x. 14; xvi. 3; — the leader of the Punḍras (Punārābādhipati), misc. ref., xi. 58. See also ‘Punḍra.’

Purika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10.

d. Pūrshāda, pūrshāda, ‘cannibals,’ in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22. See also ‘prasvaśa.’

Pushkalavata, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26. Albérini says, “Pushkalavatā, i. e. Pākala.” Pushkalavatā, whence Pushkalavata is formed, appears to be the Puekvelotis of the Greek writers; and the latter has been identified with the modern Hashpāngar, near Peshāwar (Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 59, and note 3). See also ‘Pushkalavata.’

Pushkalavata, a people, identical with Pushkalavata, q. v.; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Pushkara, “probably the modern Pākhar in Ajmer; misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 31; — the forest of Pushkara (Pushkar-arvānya), misc. ref., xi. 35. The Pushkara (polkharā, = pushkarā) are mentioned in one of the Nāšik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 100).

Raiyavata, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; misc. ref., xvi. 31. Raiyavata is the hill at Junāgadh, opposite to the Girnar mountain. It is mentioned in the Janahāgadh inscription of Skandagupta, and in the Jaunpur inscription of Ṣāvaravarman (Gapta Inscriptions, pp. 64, 230).

ṛṣaṅga, ‘Kahatriya,’ placed in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Ṛmaṇa, a country and the people of it, in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., xvi. 21. Albérini gives “Maṭhara.” See also ‘Ṛmaṇa.’

Ṛmaṇa, the people of Ṛmaṇa, q. v.; misc. ref., x. 5.

Rathāhva, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16. In his translation, Kern notes that it is difficult to decide upon the true form, as some of his manuscripts had Rathasā, Rathahpā, and Rathasād or Rathasā. With Rathāhva, we may compare Gajāhva.

Ṛvā, the river ‘Nerbuḍa;’ misc. ref., xii. 6. See also ‘Narmāda.’ The name Ṛvā occurs in one of the Mandaṣā Inscriptions (Gapta Inscriptions, pp. 156, 157).

Ṛshabha, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15.

Ṛṣikā, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15. Can the name have any connection with the ‘Ṛṣikā’ or ‘Ṛṣiṅka’ of one of the edicts of Aśoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 240, 247, 248).

Ṛshyamāna, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 13.

Ṛmaka, a people or place; misc. ref., xvi. 6. Kern translates by “the Romans.” Albérini, speaking of the determination of longitude by the Hindus, from Lāṅka, says (India, Translation, Vol. I. p. 303) — “Their remarks on the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies show that Yamakoti and Rūm are distant from each other by half a circle. It seems that they assign the countries of the West (i. e. North Africa) to Rūm or the Roman Empire, because the Rūm or Byzantine Greeks occupy the opposite shores of the same sea (the Mediterranean); for the Roman Empire has much northern latitude, and penetrates high into the north. No part of it stretches far southward, and, of course, nowhere does it reach the equator, as the Hindus say with regard to Ṛmaka.”

As regards Yamakoti mentioned here, see ‘under Bhadrāśva.’

Śabara, a people; misc. ref., v. 38; x. 15, 18; xvi. 1, 33; xxxii. 15; — naked Sabaras (agnas-Sabara), and leaf-clad or leaf-eating Sabaras (pārṇa-Sabara), in the south-east division, xiv. 10; — ‘the band of the Sabaras, hunters, and thieves’ (Sabara-ṛṣaḥba-chaurā-sahāga), misc. ref., lxxvii. 10. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks on the word pārṇa-Sabara, “i. e. ‘leaf-savages,’ meaning those that feed upon leaves; they are manifestly the Phyllita of Ptolemy.” The grant of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman mentions a Sabara king named Udayana (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 279).

Śaha, a mountain; misc. ref., lxix. 30. It is the Sāhyadri range, in the Western Ghauts. It is mentioned in one of the Nāšik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109). It is sometimes spoken of as one of
the breasts of the earth, — the other being the Vindhyā range (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184).

Saindhava, the people of the Sindh country; misc. ref., v. 71. See also ‘Sindhu.’

Sairindha, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

Saka, a people in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., v. 38, 75, 79; ix. 21; xiii. 9; xvi. 1; xvi. 26; xvii. 6. In each instance, Kern gives “Scythians” in his translation. See also under ‘kanaka’ and ‘Mlečchha.’ The Sakas, as a people, are mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109); and individual Sakas, including Ushavadā, son-in-law of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna, are mentioned in the same series of records (id. pp. 101, 104, 114). The Sakas are also mentioned among the tribes subjugged by Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Sāketa, the modern Audh, or ‘Oude’ or ‘Oudh,’ in the middle country, xiv. 4. See also ‘Ayodhaka.’

Sālva, (r. l. Salva and Sālva), a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 76; xvi. 21; xvii. 13, 18.

Sāmaññata, in the eastern division, xiv. 6. The name means ‘the country of which the rivers have flat and level banks, of equal height on both sides,’ and it denotes Lower Bengal. It occurs in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Sānkhāyāta, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Sāntikā, a people in the western division, xiv. 20.

Saradhāna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Sārāsvātī, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., xvi. 22. They seem to be the people dwelling on the banks of the Sārāsvatī, q. v.

Sarassvatī, a river; misc. ref. to the region where it disappears, xvi. 31. See also ‘Sārāsvatī.’

Sārayu, a river; misc. ref., v. 65; xvi. 15.

Sātadrū, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 21.

Sānulika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8; but perhaps the correct reading is Maulika. See also ‘Sānilika.’

Saurāśṭra, a country, the modern Kāthiawād, and the people of it; diamonds are obtained there, lxxix. 6, and pearls, lxxxi. 2, 4; misc. ref., v. 68; ix. 19; xvi. 17, 31. See also ‘Saurāśṭra, and Saurāśtra.’

Saurāśṭra, the people of Saurāśtra, q. v. misc. ref., xxxii. 11.

Sauri, a people in the southern division, xiv. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern suggests that the Sauris are the Sura of Ptolemy.

Saurāparaka, ‘of or belonging to Saurāparaka,’ where, it is said, black diamonds are found, lxxix. 6. Saurāparaka is the modern Sāhpā, in the Thāpa District, Bombay Presidency. For a long note on it, giving all the varieties of the name and epigraphical and literary references, see Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XV. p. 273. See also under ‘Aparāntaka.’

Sauvira, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 21. See also ‘Sauvīraka, and Sindhū-Sauvīraka.’ The Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman mentions the Sauvira people or country (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262).

Sauvīraka, a people; misc. ref. iv. 23. See also ‘Sauvīraka, and Sindhū-Sauvīraka.’

Sībi, a people; misc. ref., iv. 24; v. 67; xi. 57; xvi. 26; xvii. 19. See also ‘Sībīka.’

Sībīka, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12. See also ‘Sībi.’

Sībīra, (r. l. Savara), a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 6.

Sīmhala, Ceylon, in the southern division, xiv. 15; — the ruler of Sīmhala (Sīhālā-ādhipa), misc. ref., xi. 60; — pearls are obtained there, lxxxi. 2, 4. See also ‘Laṅkā.’ The Sīmhalaṅkas, or people of Sīmhala, are mentioned in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14).

Simhapūraka, a people; misc. ref., v. 42.

Sindhu, either the river Indus, or the Sind country, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; — the Sindhu river (Sindhu-nāda), misc. ref., xvi. 16, 21; — the (river) Sindhu, misc. ref., xvi. 10; — the banks of the Sindhu (Sindhu-taṭa), misc. ref., v. 66, 80; — the Sindhu country (Sindhu-viśaya), misc. ref., lxix. 11; — other misc. ref. to either the river, or the country, or the people of it, iv. 23; xviii. 6. The Sindhu country is mentioned in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262).
And the seven months of the river Sindhu are mentioned in the Mēharaulī inscription of the emperor Chandra (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141). See also ‘Saindhava.’

Sindhu-Sainvira, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., xvi. 6; xiv. 34; also Sindhu-Sainvira, misc. ref., xix. 19. Alberufü says, “Sainvira, i.e. Multān and Jahārvār.”

Sīprā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Sīta, a white people, misc. ref., xvi. 61. See also ‘śvetā,’ and under ‘Hūṇa.’

Sītaka (v. l. Sātaka), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

sky; dwellers in the sky (khaṣṣṭha), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; roammers in the sky (khaṭha), in the northern division, xiv. 28; dwellers in the sky (diviṣṭha), in the north-east division, xiv. 31. On xiv. 22, Alberufü says “Khaṣṭha, i.e. people who are born from the trees, hanging on them by the navel-strings.”

Sīmārādhara, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Sīga, a river; misc. ref., v. 65; xvi. 1, 9.

spirits, the city of (bhūta-pura), in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Sīkharavata, a mountain; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Sūgráha, a town or country, misc. ref., xvi. 21. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified it with the Su-tu-śi-śna of Huiuen Tsiang, and the modern Sugh near Thāṃsār (Anc. Geogr. of India, p. 345).

stī-ṛāṣṭya, the kingdom of women, i.e. the amazons, in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6. See under ‘amazons.’

Sādṛas, placed in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Sūma, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 5; misc. ref., v. 37; xvi. 1.

Sukti, a place or people; the Sukti lord (Sukti-adhiṣṇa), misc. ref., iv. 24.

Sūlika, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23; misc. ref., ix. 15, 21; x. 7; xvi. 35; but perhaps the correct reading is Mūlika. In his text of ix. 15, Kern gives Sūlika, with the palatal aspirate; but in his translation he gives Sūlika, with the dental aspirate, and adds the note that “this seems to be the preferable spelling.” See also ‘Saulika.’

sunrise, the mountain of (udaya-aṇī), in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

sunset, the mountain of (asta-aṇī), in the western division, xiv. 20.

supernatural people and places; the city of spirits (bhūta-pura), in the northern division, xiv. 27; — demons with metted hair (jātāṣuśu), in the north-east division, xiv. 30; — the grove of spirits (vasu-vana), in the north-east division, xiv. 31; — Gandharvas, or the heavenly choristers, in the north-east division, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xiii. 8; — dwellers in the sky (khaṣṭha), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; — dwellers in the sky (diviṣṭha), in the north-east division, xiv. 31; — roammers in the sky (khaṭha), in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Sūrāsēna (v. l. Sūrāsēna), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3; misc. ref., v. 35, 69; ix. 17; xii. 13, 22; lxxix. 26; — the lord of the Sūrāsēnas (Sūrāsēna-pati), misc. ref., xi. 54. See also ‘Sūrāsēnakā,’ An inscription of the Sūrāsēnas has been published in Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 34; the name occurs as Sūrāsēna there, and also (as a proper name) in one of the Nēpāl inscriptions (Gupta Inscriptions, Introd. p. 180).

Sūrāsēnakā, a people; the king of the Sūrāsēnakas (Sūrāsēnakā-vṛṣapa), misc. ref., ix. 11. See also ‘Sūrāsēna.’

Sūrāshtra, a country, the modern Kāthiāwād, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; pearls are obtained there, lxxxi. 2, 4; other misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 79; x. 6; lxix. 11. See also ‘Sārāshtra.’ The base ‘Sūrāshtra’ occurs in one of the Nāṣik inscriptions (Archeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109); in the Junāghād inscription of Radhākāma (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 262); and in line 9 of the Junāghād inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 59); but line 8 of the latter record shows that the customary expression was Sūrāshṭrā (nom. pl.), ‘the Sūrāshtra countries.’

Sūrpa, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 14.

svamraka-bhā, the region of gold, in the north-east division, xiv. 31. Below his translation, Kern gives the note — “in all likelihood a mythical land; with Ptolemy it is called Chrysē (cf. Lassen, Altert. iii. 242), which is not to be confounded with the real
island and peninsula Chryse. The latter is held to be Malakka; the Golden Island, however, the existence of which is denied by Lassen (Altert. iii. 247), but sufficiently attested not only by the Greeks, but also in the Kathásaritaságara (x. 54, 99; 56, 62; 57, 72; xviii. 123, 110), cannot be but Sumatra, including, perhaps, Java. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, 40, 30 (ed. Bombay)."

Suvaśātu, a place or country, misc. ref., xxi. 19. Can it denote the Swāt territory?

Suvarā, a people; misc. ref., v. 79. See also "Satvā, Satvākra, and Sindhu-Satvāéra.

īsā-nukha, a dog-faced people, in the northern division, xiv. 25.

īśā, a white people; misc. ref., xvi. 33. See also "śīta," and under "Hūṇa."

swamps or marshes (pulōla), in the northeast division, xiv. 30.

Syāmakā, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Takshaśīla, the inhabitants of Takshaśīla, q. v., in the northern division, xiv. 26; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Takshaśīla, a city; misc. ref., x. 8. See also "Takshaśīla." The place is the well-known Taxila of the Greek writers. And it was one of the principal seats of Aśokā's power (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 247). Albērūṇī says "Takshaśīla, i. e. Mārkīkāla." Mārkīkāla seems to be the same with Mārīgala, in connection with which he speaks of "the country between Bardari and Mārīgala," and of "the country Nirahara, behind Mārīgala" (India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8).

Tāla, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22. Albērūṇī gives "Tālahala," — not "Tālas and Halas," as given by Kern, from the commentary, I suppose. There was an ancient town named Tālapura or Tālapura in the neighbourhood of Nirmand in the Paṇjab (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 290).

Talikāta (q. i. Tāpitāta), in the southern division, xiv. 11. Tālikāt in the Bijāpūr District suggests itself; but it is hardly possible that the place can be so ancient.

Tāmālipt, a city; misc. ref., x. 14. It seems to be the Tan-mo-li-ti of Huien Tsang, which has been identified with Tamluk on the Sela, just above its junction with the

Hughli (Budd. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 200; note 38). See also "Tāmaliptika."

Tāmaliptika, (q. v. Tāmalipti and Tāmaliptaka), the inhabitants of Tāmalipti, q. v., in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Tāmrarpanṭ, in the southern division, xiv. 16; pearls are obtained there, ixxxii. 2, 3. It is not clear whether the reference is to a river, said to be noted for its pearls, rising in Malaya, or to Ceylon, which was known as Tāmrarpanṭ (whence "Taprobane") in the days of Ašokā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 230, 240, 249).

Taṇḍa (q. i. Tānḍa, q. v.), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., ix. 17; x. 12; xvi. 6; ixxxii. 15.

Tānḍika, a country in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., xvi. 25. A country named Tānḍika is mentioned in the Daśāvatāra sāve inscription at Ellora (Cave-Temple Inscriptions, p. 94, text line 10). See also "Taṇḍa."

Tāpi, the river Tapī; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. The name occurs in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Arch. Soz. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 100). The q. i. for Tānḍika, q. v., would give a reference to the banks of the Tāpi.

Tārakhita, a (?) country, in the western division, xiv. 21.

Tātātha, a people; misc. ref.; xvi. 7; xvi. 16. Also Tārigarta, misc. ref., xvi. 24.

Tātātha, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., ix. 19. See also "Tārigarta." Tātātha is mentioned in the Chambā grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

tridhatra, 'three-eyed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Trigarta, the people of Trigarta, q. v.; misc. ref., x. 11; xvi. 22; xvi. 16. Also Tārigartaka, misc. ref., xvi. 24.

Trigarta, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., ix. 19. See also "Trigarta." Trigarta is mentioned in the Chambā grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Triṇḍra, 'three-eyed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Tripura, a city; misc. ref., x. 39. See also "Tripuri."

Tripuri, a city in the south-east division, xiv. 9. See also "Tripura." There can be little doubt, if any, that it is the Tripuri, — the modern Tēwar near Jabalpur, — of the Kalachuris of Central India.
Tukhāra, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6. In the latter passage, Kern translates the word by “Tocharians.”

Tumbavana, a forest in the southern division, xiv. 15.

turagānana, ‘horse-faced people,’ in the northern division, xiv. 25. See also ‘asva-mukha, and asuvadana.’

udayagiri, ‘the mountain of sunrise,’ in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Uddēhika, (v. l. Audēhika and Audēhika), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3. Albērūni says, “Uddēhika, near Bazāna.” Bazāna, which name is marked by the translator, in the index, with a query, is said by Albērūni (India, Translation, Vol. I. p. 202) to be twenty-eight farasakha (one farasakha = four miles, id. p. 200) in a south-westerly direction from Kanauj. He also says that Bazāna is the capital of Gujarāt, and “is called Nārāyan by our people.” And he places Aghilwād sixty farasakha to the south-west of Bazāna (id. p. 205).

Udichya, the people of the north; misc. ref., xvi. 21. Compare udrchēpaptha as a name of Northern India, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 312.

Udā (v. l., perhaps, Ōdā or Andā), a country, the modern Orissa, and the people of it, in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., v. 38; xvi. 1; xvi. 25. Also see ‘Andā, and Ōdā.’

Udumbara, a people; misc. ref., v. 40; xvi. 3. See also ‘Andumbara.’

Ujjayanī, the modern Ujjain; misc. ref., x. 15; xii. 14; ixix. 30. See also ‘Aujjayanika, and Avanti.’ In the Prākṛit form of Ujjainī, the name appears in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 101), and is also carried back to the third century B.C. by one of the edicts of Asoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. pp. 85, 96).

Ujjihāna, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2. Upajyātiṣa, (v. l. Aupajyantisha), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Upavaṃga, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8. Korn translates the name by “Vaṅga minor.”

śādvaṅkaraṇa, ‘high-throated people,’ in the south-east division, xiv. 8.

Uṣānara, a people; misc. ref., iv. 22; xvi. 26. See also ‘Auśinara.’

Utkala, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Utkala is always explained as denoting Orissa. utoṛapatha, a customary name for Northern India, misc. ref., ix. 41. See also ‘Ārāvarta,’ and contrast ‘dakṣīṇapatha.’ Occasionally uddhēpaptha occurs in place of the more customary and technical uttarapatha. The Western Chalukya records speak of Harshavarhana of Kanauj as “the lord of all the uttarapatha or region of the north” (v. g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 87).

Vādavāmukha, in the south-west division, xiv. 17. The name means ‘the mare’s mouth,’ which is the entrance to the lower regions at the south pole, where the submarine fire is. Below his translation Kern remarks — “in the astronomical Siddhāntas Vādavāmukha is the supposed abode of the dead at the South Pole,”

Vāhlika, Vāhlika, a country, and an inhabitant of it; misc. ref., v. 80; x. 19. See also ‘Bāhlika, Bāhlika.’ The name of Bakh shows to be derived from this word. But the statement, in the Māharuśin inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141), that the emperor Chandra crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and then conquered the Vāhlikas, tends to locate the tribe, for that period, far to the south of Bakh.

Vaidarba, the people of Vaidarbha, q. v.; misc. ref., ix. 27.

Vaidē, the people of Vaidē, q. v.; misc. ref., xxxii. 22.

Vaidēhaka, the people of Vaidēhaka, q. v.; misc. ref., ix. 13, 21; xvi. 16.

Vaidērya, the place or places where beryl-stones are found, in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Vaiśyas, placed in the western division, xiv. 21. Vanavāsi, in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., x. 15; xvi. 6. It is the modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District, above the Ghouts. Albērūni says “Vana\vasī on the coast.” And Rashīf-d Din (Eliot’s History of Indiā, Vol. I. p. 58) says “Banawas on the shore of the sea.” It seems to be some similar wrong information that led the Greek writers to speak of Buzantion,—which appears to represent Vaişyant, another ancient name of Banawāsi,—as a sea-side mart.
vanavgha, the collection of forests, in the western division, xiv. 20.

Vaiṅga, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., v. 72, 73, 79; ix. 10; x. 14; xvi. 1; xvi. 18, 22; xxxii. 15. See also 'Väṅga, and Upaväṅga. The Vaiṅga countries (Vaiṅgāhu; loc. plur.) are mentioned in the Méharau inscription of the emperor Chandra (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141).

Vaiṅga, a variant of Vaiṅga, g. c.; misc. ref., xi. 60.

Vaidhamāna, a city or country, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., xvi. 3; lxxix. 21; xiv. 2. It is the modern Bardwān in Bengāl.

Vaiṣātī (v. l. Vaiṣātī), in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., xvii. 19.

Vasumat, a mountain, in the northern division, xiv. 24.

vasuvana, 'the forest of Vasus or spirits,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Vatadhāna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26; misc. ref., xvi. 22. The text of xvi. 22 shows that the name is Vatadhāna. But on xiv. 26 Albērūnī gives 'Dasāra; Kavātadhāna,' instead of 'Dasāraka and Vatadhāna.' Monier-Williams says that, in addition to being the name of a degraded tribe, the word means 'the descendant of an outcaste Brahman by a Brahman female.'

Vatsa, a people in the middle division, xiv. 2; and in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — misc. ref., x. 5; xvii. 18, 22.

Vēdasmrīti, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 32.

Vellūra, a town in the southern division, xiv. 14. It is, undoubtedly, the well-known Verāl, Yeraḷ, Elūrā, or Ellūrā, in the Nizām's Dominions, where the cave-temples are. The place is also mentioned, as Vellūra (for Vellūra), in the inscription at the Buddhist vihāra, known as the Ghatōtkacha cave, near Gwārdā in the neighbourhood of Ajanta (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 139, 140); and as Valūraka, or probably more correctly Vallūraka (for Vellūraka), in three Buddhist inscriptions at Kārāl (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 101, 108, 113: as regards the first of these records, I differ from the published translation, and take the record to mean that the village of Karaiika was granted to some members of the community of ascetics "whose permanent abode was in the cave-temples at Vallūraka," and who had come to pass the rainy season at Kārāl; the other two records, however, seem to mean that a branch of the sanātka from Vallūraka ultimately settled at Kārāl, and gave its name to one or more of the caves there: there seems no foundation for the suggestion, ibid. p. 101, note 1, that Vallūraka was the ancient name of Kārāl itself. Under the Sanskritised name of Elāpura, the place is also mentioned in connection with the Rāṣṭrapūta king Kriṣṇa I., for whom the "Kailāsa temple" was constructed there (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 228).

Vēnā, a river in the southern division, xiv. 12; — diamonds are obtained there, lxxix. 6; misc. ref. iv. 26; xvi. 9.

Vēnumatī, a river in the north-west division, xiv. 23. Albērūnī says, "Vēnumatī (?), i.e. Tirmidh."

Vētravatī, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Vidarbhā, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8. See also 'Vaidarbha.' Vidarbhā is mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109).

Vidēha, a country, and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 41, 71; xvi. 11. See also 'Vaidēha, and Vaidēhaka.'

Vidiśā; misc. ref., xvi. 32. Monier-Williams gives the word as denoting (1) the capital of the district of Dasārā, and (2) a river in Mālāvā.

Vidyādhara, a class of supernatural beings; misc. ref., ix. 27. Kern translates by "the inhabitants of Fairy-land;" and identifies them with the Teutonic "elves."

Vindhyā mountains; "the inhabitants of the recesses of the Vindhyas," or the people dwelling near the boundaries or at the end of the Vindhyas (Vindhy-ānta-vāsinah), in the south-east division, xiv. 9; — the forests of the Vindhyas (Vindhy-āvatī), xvi. 3; — the range spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth, the other being the Himavat mountains, xlii. 35; — misc. ref., xii. 6; xvi. 10, 12 (perhaps an interpolation); lxxix. 30. The Vindhyā mountains are mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109). In other epigraphic passages, they are mentioned as one of
the breasts of the earth, the other being the Sahyārange (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184); as constituting both the breasts (id. p. 185); and as extending up to, and including, the Nāgārjuni Hill in the Gayā District (id. pp. 227, 228).

Vipāsā, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 21.

Virāja, a country; misc. ref. (perhaps an interpolation), xvi. 12. Virātakoṭ, 'the fort of Virāja,' was a name of Hāngal in the Dhār-wār District.

Viṭāka, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 2. In his translation Kern adds the note, which perhaps includes the Mēkalas and the Kirātas, — 'These are the same tribes who by a synonymous term are called Lampākas and Utsavasanketas; they are said to scorn the institution of marriage, and to form only temporal engagements, lasting for the time of a festival.'

Vīshā, the river Jhēlam; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

Vokkāra, a people in the western division, xiv. 20; misc. ref., xvi. 35.

Vṛishabhadhvajya, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Vṛīsadhvīpa, 'the island of bulls,' in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Vṛīṣātāpa, 'a tiger-faced people,' in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Vṛīḍāgrīva, 'a people with serpents' necks,' in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

whales, eaters of (timiṅgil-dāsana), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

white people (gauḍaka) in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref. to white people (svēta) or to White Hūgas (svēta-Hūga), xvi. 38, — but see under 'Hūga.'

women; the kingdom of women, i.e. the country of the amazons (stīr-rājya), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; — a people with the faces of women (nāri-mukha), in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Yamunā, the river Jamnā; misc. ref., v. 37; xvi. 2; — mentioned as the daughter of the sun (dvākara-sūta), xliii. 32; — the region between the Gaṅga and the Yamunā (Gaṅga-Yamunā-antarāda), misc. ref., lxix. 26. See also 'Yāmunā.'

Yāmuna, the people living near the Yamunā, q.v., in the middle country, xiv. 2, and in the northern division, xiv. 25. In xiv. 2, Kern translates 'those who dwell along the banks of the Jamnā,' and in xiv. 25, 'those who live near the sources of the Jamnā.' On xiv. 2, Albērūni says 'the valley of the Yamunā;' but on xiv. 25, 'Yāmuna, i.e. a kind of Greeks,' — evidently confusing Yāmuna with Yavana.

Yaśōvati, a city in the northern division, xiv. 28. Below his translation, Kern notes that it is 'a mythical city of the Elves.'

Yauḍhēya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 23; misc. refs., iv. 25; v. 40, 67, 75; x. 22; xvii. 19. See also 'Yauḍhēya.' The Yauḍhēyas are mentioned in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 292), and in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14); and there is a fragmentary inscription of some leader of the tribe at Bijayagadh (id. p. 251).

Yauḍhēyaka, another form of Yauḍhēya, q.v.; misc. refs., xi. 59; — the king of the Yauḍhēyas (Yauḍhēyaka-nīrīpa), misc. ref., ix. 11.

Yavana, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18; misc. refs., iv. 22; v. 78, 80; ix. 21, 35; x. 6, 15, 18; xiii. 9; xvi. 1; xviii. 6; — the Yanivas spoken of as Mēchchhas (Mēchchhas hi Yavanaḥ), ii. 15 (see also under 'Mēchchhas'). In ii. 15 and xvi. 1, Kern translates the word Yavana by 'the Greeks;,' and the first of these two passages mentions the flourishing state of astronomy among the Yavanas. On xiv. 18, Albērūni says 'Yavana, i.e. the Greeks.' And McCrindle gives the following note (Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 122, note 1), to explain the derivation of the word: — 'The name of Ion, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians, had originally the digamma, and hence was written as Ivōn. The Hebrew transcription of this digrammat form is Jōwan, the name by which Greece is designated in the Bible. The Sanskrit transcription is Yavana, the name applied in Indian works to Ionians or Greeks and foreigners generally.' The thirteenth rock edict of Ashoka speaks of the Yōnas, i.e. Yavanas (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247); and it describes Antiochus II. of Syria, as a Yōna, i.e. Yavana, king (ibid. pp. 239, 240, 241, 242). The
Yavanas, as a tribe, are mentioned in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 109); and several individual Yavanas are mentioned in the same series of records (ibid. pp. 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 115). And the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman speaks of a Yvana prince or king named Tushaspha, apparently as a contemporary of Asoka (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 260, text line 8; from an inspection of the original stone, I take the reading to be \( \text{Asoka} \rightarrow \text{Mauryasa-\text{dādē} Yavana-rājina Tushaspha-n-dāhishṭhāya etc.} \)). Like the Kāmbējas and the Pahlavas, the Yavanas are located by Varahamihira too much towards the south; unless the reference is simply to some large settlement of them in the neighbourhood of Nāsik.

Yugañdhara, a people; misc. ref. xxxii. 19.

MISSCENNAEA.

FOLK-ETYMOLOGY OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE SANDOWAY DISTRICT, BURMA.

Extract from a diary kept by the Mgyaṅg of Sandoway shewing the popular etymology of place names in the Pādē Circle of the Sandoway townships. In all four cases it can be shown that the etymology is false:

In ancient times there lived near the source of the Pādē River a puṅga,\(^1\) who had a daughter. The girl was amusing herself by fishing in the stream, when she was suddenly swept down by a torrent, such as commonly rushes down the hill sides in the rains. There was no one to help, and so she was drowned. Her last words were ante leś,\(^2\) and hence the streamlet is thereabouts named Mēwa, whence also a neighbouring village took its name.

Lower down are two villages, Yetbā and Palaingū. These took their names from the yetbā\(^3\) and palaingū\(^4\), with which the girl had been fishing, and which were found on the banks at these spots.

B. HOUGHTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ORDEAL IN MODERN INDIAN LIFE.

Lately a pair of boots belonging to me disappeared in a suspicious manner. The servants had been quarrelling, and it was pretty evident that one of them had made away with the boots in order to spite the man in charge. They decided to take an oath among themselves to find out the culprit. The servants implicated were the coachman, the cook, the bhist, the khdnāmdaṅa, the bearer, a khidmatgār, and a chuprāst, all Musalmāns; a chuprāst, a sañj, two panakhāvālās, all Hindus; and a mehtar.

I watched the proceedings. Firstly, real holy water (gangādā) from Hardwār was produced in a medicine bottle (!) and uncorked. This the Hindus in turn solemnly held in both hands, while they repeated, each in his own fashion, an oath which ran somewhat thus:—"May my eyes go blind, and my body break out, etc., if I stole those boots!" The bottle was then lifted above the head by both hands in the usual form of salutation. There was no doubt as to the holy water. It belonged to one of the panakhāvālās, who was by caste a Thākur from Faizābād in Oudh, and had brought it himself in the medicine bottle from Hardwār.

The mehtar then essayed to take up the holy water, but was not permitted to touch the bottle; so he produced his three children,—a son, a daughter and a child in arms. He successively touched their heads and swore to the above effect.

All the Musalmāns then swore on the Qur'ān that none of them were guilty.

In the end the khdnāmdaṅa came to me, and said they had all sworn to innocence. There was no gainsaying that, but one of them was, in their own opinion, guilty nevertheless, and so they had decided to divide the cost of the boots amongst themselves, as a general punishment for failing to detect the culprit between them! In this every one acquiesced, and that ended the matter to every one's satisfaction, except the master's, who lost a comfortable pair of boots.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Rangoon, March 1893.

\(^1\) Township officer.
\(^2\) Merchant, wealthy man.
\(^3\) "My mother!" common expression of astonishment and trouble.

\(^4\) A fishing instrument.
\(^5\) A basket.
BOOK NOTICE.


Any fresh collection of Indian folktales is welcome, and in particular one made among primitive isolated tribes like the Santals, who may be expected to be in a great measure unaffected by Hindu influence, and among whom we know that some really original folklore undoubtedly exists. There is, for instance, the remarkable legend of their creation from a goose which is probably of a totemistic character.¹

I must admit, however, that Dr. Campbell’s collection is somewhat disappointing. Nor has he, I venture to think, gone quite in the proper way of collecting. Many of these tales display, as may be easily shown, undoubted traces of foreign influence; and this being the case, before we can satisfactorily classify them, it is absolutely necessary to know by whom and under what circumstances they were told and recorded. It would then be, perhaps, possible to trace the source by which so many undoubtedly foreign folklore has come to be included among them. But on this point Dr. Campbell vouches absolutely no information whatever. It would again not have been a difficult task to suggest some of the analogies and parallels to other collections which appear throughout this collection.

The first story, “The Magic Lamp,” is an undoubted variant of our old friend Aladdin of the “Arabian Nights,” which is not part of the original recension, and has probably reached India in quite recent years from Western sources. In the second tale, “Jhoree and Jhoree,” we have several of the familiar drolls known in Northern India as “The Wiles of Shëkh Chilli.” Many of these, according to Mr. Jacobs, form the basis of our Joe Miller. In the third tale, “The Boy and his Stepmother,” we have the familiar type of the cruel stepmother and her stepson, which in India often takes the form of the malicious kasu or co-wife, who appears later on in “Sit and Bosont.” In this third tale it is mixed up with the “Faithful Animal” cycle, which, in this case, is represented by the protecting cow—a legitimate descendant of the Kâmadhûnu of Hindu mythology. Here, too, we have a well-known incident of the lover who finds the golden hair of the princess floating down the stream. The common Northern India version of this is given by Mr. Mark Thornhill in the “Princess with the Golden Hair” and in Major Temple’s “Wonderful Ring.”²

In the fifth tale, “Kara and Guja,” we have another well-known incident popular all over Northern India of the demon who chews grains of iron and is killed by the hero, while the rascally Dhû or Dhôbî takes all the credit. Next follows “The King and His Inquisitive Queen,” which corresponds perfectly with the well-known story in the Introduction of the “Arabian Nights,” where the deus ex machina, who warns the merchant, that he is a fool not to thrust his wife, is a cook: here it is a he-goat. Then comes “The Story of Bitarán.” Bitá, Dr. Campbell may be glad to know, is good Hindi, as well as Santál for a span, and the story of Bitardâm, who is known as Bitan all over Northern India, is the Oriental representative of one of the most delightful of Grimm’s Household Tales (No. 37), “Thumbling.” The only difference is that the Santál Hop-o’-my-Thumb is more of an imp than the touching creation of the German fancy, in which, too, we find the charming parental tenderness for the dear little creature which we miss in the Eastern form of the tale. “The Story of the Tiger” is our old friend the fox, who acts as arbitrator and induces the tiger to go back to his cage to show how he managed to come out. In “Lipí and Lapra” we have the well-known idea of the clever youngest son who gets the better of his brothers, and “Gunda the Hero” is of the Munchausen type. In Upper India it appears in the form of the “Wrestler of the East and the West.”

Perhaps the most original and characteristic of these stories are those about animals. A good one describes the dilemma of the man who had to arbitrate daily between the tiger and the lizard; and here, too, we come across the stupid old tiger who allows his tail to be fried, who takes people about on his back, and is played tricks on by the crane who takes one year the root crop and in the next the leaves, of which we have a German version in Grimm. In the “Seven Brothers and their Sister” we have the old superstition of human sacrifice at the foundation of buildings, on which Dr. Campbell might have given an interesting note.

It will thus be seen that, to the student of comparative folklore, there is much of interest in this collection. We can only express the hope that in another series Dr. Campbell will give us more of the really indigenous folktales, and ruthlessly discard those which are obviously of foreign origin: and he would do more justice to his work if he would send it out equipped with analysis, notes and illustrations of parallel plots and incidents, without which any collection of folklore, intended for serious students, is of comparatively little value.

W. CROKE.

¹ Dalton Descriptive Ethnology, p. 269 ff. ² Indian Fairy Tales, p. 86. ³ Widawanke Stories, p. 201.
NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.
BY G. A. GRIESEN, I. C. S.

(Continued from p. 129.)

It may be useful to give a somewhat fuller account of these works than has been given in the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustán.

(1) Rām Lālā Nahachāṭ. Twenty verses of four lines each in Sōhar-ekhānd, consisting of 16 syllables and 22 mātras. A short poem, celebrating the ceremonial touching of Rāma's nails before his investiture with the sacred thread. This ceremony will be found described in Bihār Peasant Life, § 1314. A good commentary by Paṇḍit Bandan Pāṭhak, which has been printed at the Khād Biās Press, Bānkīpur.

The two opening verses may be taken as a sample of the style and metre—

Adī Sāradā, Gana-pati, Gauri manāīa hō 1
Rāma-Lālā kara nahachāṭ gāi sunāia hō 11
Je ḍī sidhi hōi parama-nidhi pāia hō 11
Kōtī javanā bātā kara pātna dāri so jāia hō 11 11
Kōśīnhā bājāna bājāhnā Dasarathā kē nyāra hō 1
Dēva-lōka sabu dēkhāhīn ānādā ati hā hō 11
Nyāra sohāwana lāgata barani na jātaī hō 11
Kauśāya kē harakha na hriyāya samātaī hō 1 2 11

First revere I Sāradā, Gaṇeśa and Gaurī, and then sing I the nail-touching of the sweet child Rāma. He who singeth it gaineth perfect knowledge and the supreme treasure, and the sins accumulated through countless transmigrations leave him for ever (1).

Myriads of musical instruments sound in Daśarathā's house. The Gods look upon rejoicing in their hearts. The city of Oudh seemeth so beautiful that tongue cannot describe it; and the bliss of Kauśāya cannot be contained in her heart (2).

(2) Vairāgya-Sandipani (usually spelled "dīpiṣṭ") or 'the Kindling of Continence,' or 'of Devotion' (as contrasted with the common expression kāmāgni-s), the kindling the fire of love, exciting sexual desire). In three prakāṣa or lectures, with an introductory invocation. In verse 7, the poet himself calls the work Bīrāya-Sandipani. A good Commentary by Bandar Pāṭhak, with gloss by Mahādev Par'sād, Khād Biās Press, Bānkīpur. The contents are described by the names of the various lectures, as follows:—

Invocation I., 1—7.
Prakāṣa I., Saut-Swabhāva-baranā, an account of the true nature of a holy man. I., 7—33. Metre Dēhā, Sōraṭā and Chaupāī.
Prakāṣa II., Saut-mahimā-baranā, an account of the true greatness of a holy man. II., 1—9. Metre, as above.
Prakāṣa III., Sauti-baranā, an account of the true Peace. III., 1—20. Metre, as above.

The work is principally composed of short sententious verses. The following may be taken as examples of the language:

I, 5. Tulasī, yaña tana kheṣa hait,
Mana vachā karam kisāna 1
Pāpā punya dwai bāja hain,
Bāwai so lwai nidaṃa 11

III, 1. Rainhī ko bhūkhana indu hait,
Divasa ko bhūkhana bhāna 1

1 Lālā = lālī, a darling.
Dīsa ko bhūkhana bhakti hai,
Bhakti ko bhūkhana jñāna II 1 II
Jñāna ko bhūkhana dhyāna hai,
Dhyāna ko bhūkhana tyāga I
Tyāga ko bhūkhana sānti-pada,
Tulasi, amala adāya II 2 II

I have noted two verses of the Vairāgya Sandśi, which are repeated in other works of
the poet:—viz., Bai. I. IV. This occurs in Dīhābali (1) and Satśat (I, 2). Bai. I. 10 = Dīhābali
(38) and Satśat I, 107.

The poem being a short one, and containing much of interest to the student of comparative
religion, I here give a translation of the whole.

I.—Invocation.

Dēhā.—On the left of Rāma, sitteth Sītā and on his right Laksmana: meditation on him
thus is ever propitious; and is, O Tulṣī, to thee thy wish-tree (1). Tulṣī, the darkness of
the delusions of this world is not wiped away by the virtue of ten million holy deeds: for
the lottas of thy heart will ne'er expand, till the sun of the Lord (himself descended from the sun)
shineth upon it (2). He heareth without ears, and seeth without eyes. Without a tongue doth
he taste. No nose hath he, and yet he smelleth; and no body hath he, yet he feelleth (3).
Sūtraḥ.—Unborn is he. He alone existeth; his form cannot be comprehended. Utterly free
is he of quality, of Māyā (illusion) is he the Lord, and for the sake of his servants did he take
unto himself the form of man (4). Dēhā.—Tulṣī, this body of thine suffereth. It ever
suffereth the threefold woe. It obtainedst not peace, till, by the Lord's might, it reacheth the
stage of peace (5). Thy body is a field, thy mind, thy words, thine actions, are the husbandmen.
Two seeds are there, Śīn and Holiness. As thou sowest, so wilt thou reap (6). This book, the
'Kindling of Devotion' containeth the marrow of all knowledge. It giveth the teaching of the
Vēdas and Purāṇas, and the wisdom of all holy books (7).

II.—The Nature of the Holy.

Dēhā.—Simple are his syllables, simple his language. But, though simple, know thou
that they are full of meaning. Tulṣī, simple is the Holy, and thus mayst thou recognize
him (8). Chaupā,—Unimpassioned is he, but giving happiness to all. Just and self-restrained
ever singing the praises of the Lord. Ever enlightening the souls of the ignorant, and ever for
this purpose wandering from place to place (9). Dēhā.—Such men are only here and there.
Blessed is the land where many Holy dwell. Ever devoted to helping others, ever devoted to
the supreme goal, in love working out their lives (10). Whether he shutteth the door of his
mouth, or whether he speaketh the truth, in this world is the Holy man ever discreet (11).
When he speaketh, it is with discretion, and full of his own sweet nature: nor ever placeth he
his foot on the way which leadeth to pain or angry words (12). He showeth enmity to no
man, to no man showeth he over-friendship. Tulṣī! this is the religion of the Holy, ever to
speak with even justice (13). Chaupā,—Very true is he to the One, ever keeping his
members in subjection. His thoughts dwell on no one but the Lord. For he knoweth in
his heart that this world is but a mirage. Tulṣī, by these marks dost thou know him (14),

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2 Rāma is, throughout Tulṣī Dīsa's philosophy, the equivalent of the Īsvara of Rāmānuja's Vēdantic system,
I hence translate the word for the future as 'the Lord.' Vide post, the remarks on the Satśat.
3 Here the poet adopts the language of Śākara Ṇhārya.
4 Woe is of three kinds, those from within the body (as disease, &c.), those from God (as a lightning stroke, &c.),
and external (as from wild beasts, or serpents). Cf. Śākara Ṇhārya, Kārikā, I.
5 I take the reading prati not yāti. * Jāthā artha equal to yathārtha.
6 e. g., even when speaking the truth, he speaks kindly.
Dóhá. — One trust, one strength, one hope, one faith. As the chádik-bird longeth for a rain-cloud in the season of Swáti, so longeth he for the Lord (15). He hath no anger nor fault, and is a ship wherein to cross the ocean of existence. He hath abandoned desire, and hath betaken himself to humility and content (16). He betaketh himself to humility; he endureth all things; with heart and mouth, he ever calleth on the name of the Lord. So dwelleth the Holy man, and so dooth he (17). Those who dwell by him, he maketh like unto himself; while the wicked man giveth his soul twofold sorrow. Saith Tulśi, the Holy man is like Mount Malaya, but without its fault (18). Gentle are the words of the Holy man, falling like nectar on the ear. When the hard heart heareth them, it becometh wax (19). They beget the happiness of comprehending the Supreme; they lift and carry away the errors of this world, and in the heart they are (sharp arrows) piercing sin (20). Cooling are they like unto the beams of the moon. Ten million fevers do they cure in the soul of him on whose ears they fall (21). Chámpú, — They destroy every thorn of sin and sorrow. Like the sun do they clear away the darkness of error. O Tulśi, so excellent is the pious man that the Scriptures declare that the ocean of his virtue is fathomless (22). Dóhá. — Not by deed, not by thought, not by word doth he ever give pain to any one. Yea, he is such because the Lord dwelleth in him on this earth (23). When thou seest the face of a Holy man, thy sin abandoneth thee. When thou touchest him thy deeds depart. When thou hearest his words the error of thine heart is swept away, and bringest thee to Him from whom thou camest (24). Very gentle is he, and pure even in his desires. In his soul there is no defilement. On his Master alone is his heart ever stayed (25). Him, from whose heart hath departed every worldly longing, doth Tulśi praise with thought, and word, and deed (26). To him gold is the same as a piece of glass: women are but as wood or stone. Such an Holy man, is a portion of the supreme Deity upon earth (27).

Chámpú. — Gold looketh he upon as clay, woman as but wood or stone. Of these things the flavour hath he forgotten. That man hath the Lord manifest in his flesh (28).

Dóhá. — Free of worldly possessions, his members in subjection, ever devoted to the Lord alone, such an Holy man is rare in this world (29). He hath no egoism, nor maketh any difference between 'I' and 'thou,' (but knoweth that all are but parts of the Lord). No evil thought is ever his. Sorrow doth not make him sorrowful, nor doth happiness make him happy (30). Equal counteth he gold and glass. Equal counteth he friend and foe. Such an one is counted in this world an Holy man (31). Few, few wilt thou meet in this world, Holy men who have freed themselves from all illusion: for in this iron age men's natures are ever lustful and crooked, like the peacock and the crow (32). He who hath wiped out 'I' and 'thou,' and the darkness of error, and in whom hath risen the sun of 'know thyself': know him as Holy, for by this mark, saith Tulśi, is he known (33).

III. — The Greatness of the Holy.

Strátha. — Who, O Tulśi, can tell with a single mouth, the greatness of the Holy man? For the thousand tongued serpent of eternity, and Siva himself with his fivefold mouth cannot describe his spotless discernment (34). Dóhá. — Were the whole earth the tablet, the ocean the ink, all the trees turned into pens, and Ganésa himself the learned recorder, that greatness could

8 Comm. dák man ká cháh'úd, bharádhi bhuddhi ká, bissiá chhátt ká, bai abháyá ká.
9 Or, if we read duékha, for dıkha, he hath neither love nor hatred.
10 Sorrow for the wicked man's unhappy state, and sorrow caused by the persecution of the wicked.
11 Mt. Malaya is famous for its sandal trees which give their scent to all who approach it, good and bad alike. Its fault is its origin. It was originally a pile of ordure.
12 Comm. mayá purá ká bráhama-súkha.
13 Lit., he is Hima's form upon the earth. The corresponding idea in English is that given above.
14 The consequences of thy good and bad actions. Every action binding the soul to earth and separating it from the Lord.
15 The peacock, fair without and mean within. The crow, black without and within.
not all be written (35). Blessed, twice blessed, are his mother and his father. Blessed are they that he is their son, who is a true worshipper of the Lord, whatever he be in form or shape (36). Blessed would be the skin of my body, if it but form the sole of the shoe of him from whose mouth cometh the name of the Lord, even though it be by mistake (37). The lowest of the low is blessed, if he worship the Lord day and night; but what availeth the highest caste, if the Lord's name is not heard therein (38). Behold, how on very high mountains are the dwelling places of snakes, but on the lowest the gods grow sweet sugarcane and corn and betel (39).

Chauṇḍa. — Tulsi saith, I have seen the good men of all nations, but none is equal unto him, who is the single-hearted servant of the Lord, and who night and day at every breath reiterateth his name (40). Let the Holy man be ever so vile by birth or station, still no high-born man is equal unto him. For the one day and night uttereth the Name, while the other ever burneth in the fire of pride (41). Dōhā. — The Servant of the Lord is ever devoted but to the one Name. He careth not for bliss or in this world or hereafter. Ever remaining apart from the world, he is not scorched by the fire of its pains (42).

IV. — Perfect Peace.

Dōhā. — The adornment of the night is the moon, the adornment of the day is the sun. The adornment of the servant of the Lord is Faith, and the adornment of that faith is Perfect Knowledge (43). The adornment of this knowledge is Meditation, the adornment of meditation is total Self-surrender to the Lord, and the adornment of self-surrender is pure and spotless Peace (44).

Chauṇḍa. — This Peace is altogether pure and spotless, and destroyeth all the troubles mankind endureth. He who can maintain such peace within his heart ever remaineth in an ocean of rapture (45). The sorrows which are born of the threefold sins,19 the intolerable hoard of grief begotten of faults committed, — all these are wiped away. Him, who remaineth rapt in Perfect Peace, doth no woe e'er approach to pierce (46). O Tulsi, so cool17 is the Holy Man, that ever he remaineth free of earthly cares. The wicked are like serpents, but what can they do unto him, for his every limb hath become a sure medicine against their bite (47).

Dōhā. — Very cool is he, and very pure, free from all taint of earthly desire. Count him as free, his whole existence rapt in Peace (48).

Chauṇḍa. — In this world, call thou him cool, who never uttereth words of anger from his mouth, and who, when pierced in front by sharp arrows of words, never feeleth one trace of wrath (49). Dōhā.— Search ye the seven regions,10 the nine continents,11 the three worlds,11 and ye will find no bliss equal to Peace (50). Chauṇḍa. — Where Peace hath been imparted by the True Teacher, there the root of anger is consumed, as if by fire. Earthly lusts and desires fade away, and this is the mark of Peace (51). Peace is a bliss-giving ocean, whose shining actions holy sages have sung. Him, whose body and soul are rapt in it, no fire of self can burn (52).

Dōhā. — In the fire of self, burneth the whole universe, and only the Holy escape, only because that they have Peace (53). Peace is like unto a mighty water, which when a man toucheth he becometh peaceful, and the fire of self consumeth him not, though (the wicked) try with countless efforts (54). His virtues22 become glorious as the sun, which when the world seeth it marvelleth; but he who hath once become as water, becometh again not as fire (55).

18 Sin is of three kinds, and it is committed by thought (mānaśa), by word (vṛddhaka), or by deed (kṣaya).
19 The expression "cool" has a peculiar significance in a hot climate like India. The poet describes what constitutes "coolness" in the following verses.
20 The goral, equal to "eagle," is said to be a stone on smelling which a person bitten by a snake recovers.
21 The vijaya dāla, Kambu and the others.
22 The nava kṣaya, Bharata and the others, named from the nine sons of Rishabhadeva.
23 Earth, heaven and the world of the departed.
24 Virtues in the sense of "qualities," not "good qualities."
Albeit it is cool, and gentle, pleasure giving, and preserving life, still count not Peace as water, for as fire also are its virtues (56).

Chaupāi,—Those mortals ne'er have Peace even in a dream, whose way is that they blaze, they burn, they are angry, they make angry, they spend their lives in love and hate alternately (57). Dōḥā,—He is learned, he is skilled, he is wise and holy, he is a hero, he is alert, he is a true warrior (58); he is full of wisdom, he is virtuous, he is generous and full of meditation, whose soul is free from passion and from hate (59).

Chaupāi,—The fire of Passion and Hate is extinguished. Lust, anger, desire are destroyed. O Tulśi, when Peace hath taken up its abode within thee, from thy heart of hearts ariseth a loud cry for mercy (60). Dōḥā,—There ariseth a loud cry to the Lord for mercy. Lust and its crew are fled, even as the darkness fleeth ashamed before the arising sun (61).

Good man, hear thou with attention this 'Kindling of Devotion,' and where thou meetest an unfit word, correct it (and forgive the poet) (62).


After three introductory verses in praise of Śītā's beauty, the poem follows the story of the Rāmāyan, in an extremely condensed and often enigmatic form. Thus, the whole narrative of the Kishkināhyā-kāṇḍ is given in two verses, and of the Laṅkā-kāṇḍ in one verse; as follows:

Kishkināhyā-kāṇḍ.

Syāma gaurā dou mātṛati Lachikāmana Rāma i
Ina tē bhāi sita kiraṭi ati akhīrāma || 1 ||
Kuṣāna-pala guṇa-barajita akula anātha i
Kahānu kripā-nilīkā rāvra kasa guṇa-gāthā || 2 ||

(Hanumān points them out to Sugrīva and says): ‘These two forms, one dark and the other fair, are Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. They have won (lit. from them is sprung up) a spotless glory, very charming (to him who hears the tale).’ (When Rāma had killed Bālī, and set Sugrīva on the throne. The latter approached him and said), ‘Tell me, Abode-of-mercy, how I can sing thy virtues. I am but a lord of ku-jaynas (monkeys), without a single virtue of my own, of mean birth, and with no protector (except thee).’

Laṅkā-kāṇḍ.

Bihīdhā vāhanī vilasanta sahitā ananta i
Jala-dhi sarisa ko kahai Rāmā bhagawanta ||

(On hearing about Śītā from Hanumān), the holy Rāma (started for Laṅkā) glorious with an army (vāhanī for wars) of many kinds (of animals), accompanied by the Serpent of Eternity (i.e. Lakṣmaṇa who was its incarnation). Who dare say that (the army) was like the sea? (For the sea is destructive, but Rāma's army was for the benefit of mankind, as with it he conquered Laṅkā—

23 This requires explanation. The poet has in the last few verses compared Peace with water and contrasted it with fire. But, he says, the comparison must not be carried too far, for water, though it assuages thirst, &c., has but temporary effects, and thirst returns, while the effects of Peace are permanent. On the other hand, fire, though a burning destroyer, is also an universal purifier, and as such resembles Peace.
(4) **Pārbatī-mangal.** The marriage song of Pārvatī. Sixteen stanzas. Each composed of sixteen or twenty-four lines in Aruṇāchhand, followed by four lines in Harigūḍi-chhand, a total of 360 lines or charans.

The poem describes the marriage of Umā, or Pārvatī, to Śiva,—well known to readers of the **Kumārī-Saṁhava.** It is a favourite subject with Tulsi Dās, (cf. Rām. Rā, 75 and ff.), who makes skillful use of the contrast between the snowy purity and grace of the daughter of the Himalaya, and the terrifying horrors of Śiva’s appearance. The tale may well be described as telling the legend of the marriage of pure Aryan Nature-worship to the degrading demon-worship of the aborigines of India. The following example describes the approach of Śiva’s gruesome marriage procession to Umā’s home:—

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Bibudha boli Hari kahen nikāta puru den 
Āpyaνa āpucā sūjā sabahāh bilaḥ hue 
Pranathānāthā kē śati Pranathā-gana nūjāhāh 
Bibudha bhātī mukha bāhānā bēkha bīrōjāhāh 
Kanatū khaṇa pāthī khaṇa nūṣāna bājācāhīh
Nara-kapāla jata bharī bhari pākāhī pācāhīh
Bara avaharata barāta bani Hari hānii kīhā
Suni hia kahānta Māhesu kēlī kautokā maka
Bāḍa būnti na magā mōdu na kachhī kāhī āvata
Jāi nagara niyarāna barāta bājāvata
Pura kharākharu ura harākharu Achalα Akhaṇḍalα
Parabα udalhi smagejan jana lahī bidhā-vaṇḍalα
Pramūliṭa gē ayaṇaṇu bōλikī barātāh
Bhāharī bānti na rahāta na banai parātai
Chalē bhātī gaja bējī phirahī nāhī phērata
Bālaka bhabharī bholāna phirahī ghora hērata
Dīna jāit janavāsā sadé kē sabhā
Ghara ghara bālaka bāta kahana lāgō taba
Prēta bālāta barśi bhāta bhāyānaka
Barada chāttē bāra bāxnāra sabah bābānaka
Kusula karāi kurāṭā bāhahī nāma sāνchāhī
Dēkhabā kētī būntā jata jau bāchhīa
Sāmichāra suni sēchē bhae mana Mainahīh
Nārāṇī kē upādēśa kawana ghara gai nāhī
Ghara-yāda-yāda kalaka-priya kahiṭa prama paramārthī
Taisi bādā bīntka pumī pumī sāna suḍārathā sārathī
Ura lāi Umānī anākī bidhi jalapatī jānani dukha mānī
Himāvanī kahen Isānu-mahimā ayaṇa nīhā na jānū
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(Siva, with his retinue of ghosts and goblins attended by all the other gods, approaches the bride’s house. The gods, headed by Vayu, can hardly conceal their laughter at his strange array). Hari addressed the gods and said, ‘The city is now near. Let us each march separately, each with his own retinue.’ Goblins will look best in attendance on their lord.’ (So Siva’s

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24 **Arūṇāchhand.** 29 maṭrē, with pause at the 11th. The last two syllables must be one maṭrē each. The metre is not mentioned by Kellogg, or by Colebrooke in his essay on Sanskrit and Prākrit Poetry. It is described in the **Gana-Proṣṭrovaka-Proṣṭa** of Rām Dās Uḍīl, which gives the first two lines of the **Pārbatī-mangal** as an example. **Harigūḍi-chhand**, also called **Mahaḥbārata-chhand** is well known. Described by Kellogg on p. 29 of his proseody, not mentioned by Colebrooke. It has seven feet in each line (4 x 5) + 6 = 28 maṭrēs. Pause at the 10th instant, secondary pause at the 9th. The last syllable of each charan must be long. This is the standard of the metre. But there are many varieties, which, while having 28 maṭrēs, with the last syllable of each charan long, do not follow the orthodox divisions. This is the case in the **Pārbatī-mangal**.

25 This is simply a piece of mischief on Hari’s part, to make Śiva’s retinue more ghastly by contrast.
retinue assembled), conspicuous with many kinds of faces, vehicles and dresses. They played on kettle drums made of skin stretched over tortoise-shells or skulls, and filling human skulls with water they drink from them, and give each other to drink. Hari laughing cried, 'Like bridegroom, like procession;' and Mahéśa, as he heard his words, also laughed in his heart at the outlandish contortions of his followers. Sporting mightily they went along the road. No tongue could describe their diversions, as, when the procession neared the city, the music began. When the stir rose in the city, the Unscathed Mountain rejoiced in heart, as the ocean swells when it sees the face of the Moon at its change. The heralds joyfully went forward to meet the God, but when they saw his procession, in terror they could neither stand still nor run away. The elephants and horses fled in dismay and the latter refused to answer to their reins, while the children ran for their lives in terror straight back home. (The procession) was led to its lodging place, where all arrangements for their comfort were made, while in every house the children began to tell (their elders) about their adventures. The bridegroom’s people are demons, goblins, and frightful ghosts. The bridegroom is a maniac riding on a bull and of terrible exterior. We declare of a truth, that if God saves us, and we do not die of fright, we shall see countless weddings.' When Mainá heard the news, grief filled her soul. 'What house hath Nárada’s counsel not destroyed?'

Okhand.—A desolater of homes is he, a lover of strife, though he calls himself a seeker after supreme bliss. So also the seven sages, companions of their own selfish ends, have arranged this marriage. Full of sorrow the mother lamenting took Umá to her breast, but Himálaya said: 'Not even do the Scriptures know the full extent of Síva’s greatness.'

(5) Janaki-mangal. The marriage song of Sítá. Twenty-four stanzas, with the same metre as in the Párbati-mangal. Total 480 lines. The poem describes the journey of Ráma with Víśvámitra from Oudh to Mithilá, the breaking of Síva’s bow, and Ráma’s marriage to Sítá. The following specimen describes the journey of the young princes, with the saint through the forest:

Giri tara béli sarita sara bipula bimbahít [11
Dhávahiti bála-subháva bhaya mrija rókahít [11
Sakuchahiti munihi sañchita bahuri phihi divahiti [1
Tári phála phála kisalaya mála báváhuhit [11
Dékhi bimóla pramóla préma Kausika uta [1
Karañá jahiti ghana cháháha samana bárakhahit súra [11
Báukhi Tádékhi Ráma jáná saba bhyuk [1
Bidyá mantra rakhayo diei muni-náyaka [11
Magá-loganuka kó karata supalaha mana kóchana [1
Gae Kausika áramahiti bipra bhaya-móchana [11
Mári nádchara-nikara jyjha karuvedu [1
Abhaya kie muni-brínda jyajha jasu gaeu [11
Bipra-sádhu-sura-kújya mahámuni mana dhari [1
Rámañá chalé livedi dhanuha-makha misu kari [11
Gautama mári udhári pāthi patti-dhámahít [1
Janaka-nagara lai gaeu mahámuni Rámañá [11
Oxhand, [1 Lai gaeu Rámañá Gádhí-suana bólki pura harákhé kie [1
Muni-ráu ápé lena deu sanchiva guru bhásura lie [11
Nrija gáte pánaya aṣē paí mána ádara aṭi kie [1
Abalók Rámañá anubhauota jana Brahmá sukha sau gunawi [11

26 So I translate chchalu akhandana, in the sense of Umá’s father, the Himálaya. It may also be translated 'the firm, the unbroken one,' i.e., Síva.
27 Nárada was a great stirrer up of dimension and was the author of the ruin of many families.
The princes looked about them at the mountains, trees, creepers, rivers and large lakes, and in their boyish way ran after the birds and deer to try to catch them. Then remembering in awe the saint, they would turn back to him in fear; and, plucking fruit, flowers and tender twigs, would weave them into garlands. Love filled Viśvāmitra’s heart as he watched their playful sport. The clouds cast shade, the gods dropped flowers on them. When Rāma had slain Tājanī, the mighty saint knew that he was all-fitted for his task, and impared to him the mystic charm of knowledge. Satisfying the hearts and eyes of the people on the way, driving away the fears of the holy men, they arrived at Kauśika’s hermitage. There the boy prince attacked and defeated the demon army, and gave the hermits security for their sacrifices, while the whole world sang his glory. Then the great saint, intent upon the needs of Brāhmaṇas, saints, and gods, induced Rāma to accompany him (to Mithilā) on the pretext of the sacrifice of the bow. On the way the prince wrought salvation for Ahalyā, Gantama’s wife, sending her to her husband’s abode, and then, the great saint conducted Rāma to Mithilā, the city of Janaka.

Chhand. The son of Gāḍhī (Viśvāmitra) conducted Rāma, and gazed upon the city with his heart full-filled with joy. Hearing of his arrival, the king (Janaka) with ministers of state and honorable Brāhmaṇas came forth to meet the lord of saints. The king himself clasped his feet and earned his blessing, showing him hospitable reverence: and then, as his eyes fell upon Rāma, he felt as if the Almighty had multiplied his happiness a thousand times.

(6). Śrī Rāmāyana, or Śrī Rāmāgya, or Rām-Sagunāball. The Commands of the Holy Rāma, or The Collections of Rāma-omens. Metro Dōhā. In seven adhyāyas or lectures, of seven sapakas or septads, each containing seven pairs of dōhās. Each adhyāya forms a sort of running commentary or summary of the corresponding kānda of the Rāmāyana. Each verse or pair of dōhās is used as a means of foretelling the success or otherwise of anything undertaken. It is a kind of Sortes Virgilianae. The inquirer takes three handfuls of lotus seed. He counts the first handful out by sevens, and whatever number remains over, is called the number of the adhyāya. Again he counts out the second handful in the same way, and whatever is over is the number of the sapaka; and similarly, whatever number is over from the third handful is the number of the dōhā. Thus if there are 53 seeds in the first heap, the number of the adhyāya is 4 (i.e. 49 (= 7 x 7) + 4. If there are 108 in the second heap, the number of the sapaka is 3 (15 x 7 + 3 = 108), and if there are 15 in the third heap, the number of the dōhā is one. In this case the verse which is to be accepted as an omen is the first verse of the third septad of the fourth lecture. If the number of any handful is exactly divisible by seven, then the remainder is considered to be seven. There are other ways of finding out the verse based on the same principle, which need not be detailed here. The following is a specimen of this work. It is the third septad of the third lecture:

Māyā-mṛgī puḥchāṇi Prabhū chaṅg Śīya-ruchi jānī
Baṅkāhā hāra prapaṇe-kṛṣita sāguna kahāba ṭilāhāni
Śīya karana-abhāraga sāguna bhaya sansaya santāva
Nāri-kāja hita ṛipa gata pragaṇa parahāva pāpa
Gīthā-ṛaja Rāvana sāmara ghāyala bīru bīrāja
Sāra sājvan saṅgrāma mahi maranā susāhī bāja
Rāma Lakkhanu bana bana bīkula pṛahāra Śīya-sudhi tēta
Sīchāta sāguna bīkāda bāda asubha arihaṭā aṭhēta
Raghu-bāka bīkula bīsāgu laikhi sō bitōki dou bīra
Śīya-sudhi kahi Śīya Rāma kahi tāji dēha mati-dhra
Dāsara bīta dās-guna bhagati sahita tāsu kari kajo
Sīchāta bandhu samēta Prabhū kripā-sindhu Raghu-rāja
Tulāsī sahita samēta nīta sunirahu Sīlā Rāma
Sāguna sāmāgala subha sidd ādi madhya parināma

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Though he saw through (Mārtha's disguise as) the false deer, the Lord, knowing Sitā's longing, went forth. This must be called a disastrous omen of a deceiving thief, produced by illusion.

The omen of the opportunity for the rape of Sitā is one of fear, and doubt, and anguish. Especially in reference to a woman's actions, doth it portend defeat and sin.

The Vulture-king fought with Rāvaṇa, and, wounded, shone forth as a hero. In the contest (this is the omen) of the glory of the valiant—that is death in cause of the Good Master.

Rāma and Lakshmana wander distraught through the forest, seeking for news of Sitā. They point to an omen of great sorrow, of unlucky, senseless misfortune.

When Rāma saw the bird (Jaṭāyu, the vulture-king) distraught, and he saw the two heroes, he gave them news of Sitā, and, crying 'Sitā Rāma,' with steadfast soul gave up the ghost. (This is an omen of salvation after death.)

The Lord Rāma, the Ocean of pity, performs the funeral ceremonies of that (vulture), whose faith was ten times that of Daśaratha, and with his brother, grieves for the loss of his friend. (This is a good omen for those who believe.)

O Tulśī, ever meditate with love on Sitā and Rāma,—an omen ever fortunate and lucky, at the beginning, at the middle, at the end.

The following interesting legend about the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa has been communicated to me by Bābū Rām Dīn Singh. At that time the Rājā of Kāśi Rāj Ghat in Banaras was a Gahawār Kahatriya (to whose family the Rājās of Māhrā and Kāntī now belong). His son went out on a hunting expedition with the army, and one of his people was killed by a tiger. This gave rise to a rumour, which reached the king, that it was the prince who had suffered, and full of anxiety he sent to Pahlād Ghat to summon a well-known astrologer named Gangā Rām Jyotishī. On the astrologer's arrival he asked him to prophesy the exact time at which the prince should return from his hunting expedition. If his prophesy turned out true he would be rewarded with a lakh of rupees, but, if false, his head would be cut off. Dismayed at this peremptory order, Gangā Rām asked for time till tomorrow morning to calculate out his answer, and under this pretext obtained permission to return to his house at Pahlād Ghat, where he spent some very bad quarters of an hour.

His dearest friend was Tulśī Dās, who was living close by in the suburb of Asī, and the two holy men were in the habit of meeting constantly and at the time of evening prayer taking the air in a boat on the river Ganges; accordingly, on this evening, Tulśī Dās came in his boat to Pahlād Ghat, and called out for Gangā Rām who, however, was too much occupied with his own unhappy thoughts to notice the cry, though it was repeated again and again. At length Tulśī sent a boatman to see what was the matter, who returned with a message that the Jyotishī was just then unwell and would not go out that evening. On hearing this, the poet landed and went to his friend's house, and seeing him in tribulation asked him what was the matter. On being told the cause, Tulśī Dās smiled and said, 'Come along. What case for tribulation is this? I will show you a means of extricating yourself, and of giving a correct reply.' Consoling by these words, and trusting fully to Tulśī Dās's almost divine knowledge, Gangā Rām went out with him and, as usual, offered his evening prayer. On their returning together to Pahlād Ghat, after nightfall, Tulśī Dās asked for writing materials, but no pen or inkstand, only some paper could be found. So the poet took some catechu out of his betel box for ink, and began to write with a piece of ordinary reed (not a reed pen). He wrote on for six hours without stopping, and named what he had written, Rāmāyaṇa. He gave the manuscript to Gangā Rām, and showing him how to use it for purposes of divination (as previously, explained) went home to Asī. Gangā Rām then consulted the oracle, and found that the prince would return all well next evening. Early in the morning he went to Tulśī Dās, and told him what he had divined from the manuscript. The poet directed him to go and tell the
Rājā accordingly. He therefore went to Rāj Ghat, and declared to the Rājā that the prince would return all well that evening. The Rājā asked at what hour, and the astrologer replied 'one ghari before sunset.' Thereupon the Rājā ordered Gangā Rām to be kept in confinement till further orders. Sure enough, at the very time predicted by the astrologer the prince returned, and the Rājā, overcome with joy at his arrival, forgot altogether about the former, and his promised reward. Five or six gharis after nightfall, Gangā Rām sent word to him that the prince had returned, and asked why he was still in prison. Then the Rājā remembered and hurriedly calling for him, offered him with much respect the promised lākh of rupees. Gangā Rām at first replied, 'Mahārāj, neither will I take this money, nor will I ever practice prophecy again. It is too dangerous. A moment's inadvertence may cost me my head.' The Rājā, full of shame, replied, 'What I said, I said when I was not responsible for my words. Show favour to me by forgetting them, forgiving your humble slave, and accepting this money.' The astrologer at first consented to take a small sum, but the Rājā would hear no excuse, and insisted on sending him and the whole lākh, to his home in charge of a guard of soldiers. Gangā Rām, took the money direct to Tulāsī Dās at Asī, and laid the whole amount at his feet. The poet asked him why he had brought it. 'Because,' replied the astrologer, 'the money is yours, not mine. Why should I not bring it to you? My life has been saved and the money earned by your grace alone. It is for this reason that I am come to you. It is more than enough for me that my life has been saved.' 'Brother,' said the poet, 'the grace was not mine. All grace cometh from the Holy Lord Rāma and his blessed spouse Sītā. You and I are friends. Without Rāma's grace, who can save whom, and who can destroy whom? Take now away this money to your home, where it will be useful. What need have I of this world's goods?' But Gangā Rām refused to be persuaded, and these two good and holy men spent the whole night arguing as to who was the rightful owner of the money. At dawn, Tulāsī Dās was persuaded to keep ten thousand rupees, and helped the astrologer to convey the remaining ninety thousand to the latter's house. With the ten thousand rupees, he built ten temples in honour of Hanumān, with an image of the God in each. These ten temples exist to the present day, and may be known by the fact that they all face south.

Tulāsī Dās is believed to have composed other works to assist divination, but the one which is admitted on all hands to be authentic is the Rāmāyān, of which the copy written by his own hand, with the reed-pen, and the catechu ink, was in existence at Pahārād Ghat; up to about thirty years ago. As stated above, a large number of verses of the Rāmāyān are repeated in the Dēhābālī.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(Continued from p. 139.)

Evam Laṅkādipī sāsanāpatīṭhānātō chasu vassasatēsu kīeci aparipūṇṇo yēva, Laṅkādipī bhikkhū tākhā bhinnātī : tayō nikāyā jātā. Tēsā Mahāvīravāsamikāyō vāccanataparīśuddhā dhammadvādi ; sāsā dvē nikāyā aparipūṇṇā adhammadvādīno. Tōtō paṭṭhāya Laṅkādipī anukkāmēna dhammadvādīno appatarā dubbalā ; adhammadvādīno pana bhikkhū bahutarā balavantā. Te vīvidhā aṇṭāpattiyō uppaṭṭapattiyō va paṭṭapajjanti. Tēsā sāsanāṃ samanāṃ sakṣapakānī s'abuddaṁ jātām.

Laṅkādipī sāsanāpatīṭhānātō dvēsattādikacaturatadikē vassasahassē, Satthuparipānibbānātō pana aṭṭh 'uttarassattasatadikē vassasahassē vitivattē, Sirisanghabōdhīnī.

28 Paśupī Sudhākar Drīvīdā justly points out that this sentence marks the whole story as apocryphal. The Rāmāyān cannot be used for such divination as this. It only discloses good or bad omens for commencing a new work. See dēhābālī 1-3 of the last septad, where this is clearly stated.

29 The Bāhū tale is one.

Tatto paṭṭhaya Laokadipō accantaprīyadhaṁ sammāpattipatipatipannasā dharmavādaṁ Mahāvihāraśīvaṁ bhikkhūsanghaṁ pavōṇibhūtō ōkaniyabhūtō bhikkhūsangha yāv ajantaṁ pavattati.


Sihljādipagamanajā ca bhante, tumhākaṁ mahapphalaṁ bhavissati, mahānāsasam. Sihljadipān paṭṭā hi bhante, tumhē tatha Siridākhūdhātaṁ ca, Dakkhināsakādayo Bōdhirukkhe ca, Ratanacittiyaddī ni cittiyaṁ ca, Šamantakūṭapabbatamatthāke ḍhami Bhagavato Padavalaṁcittiyaddī ni ca, vandituṁ ca pūjitaṁ ca lačchēyitaṁ. Tēna bhante, tumhākaṁ anappakappūnābhissandō vaḍbhissati. Tassā Sihljadipagamanajā tumhākaṁ santike varam ṣisamāti.”

Atha tē therā Sīsamutdvedhiḥētutattā: “Mahāraja, dhampikā tē varisāsa. Sihljādipagamanajā ca no accetam evānappako pūnābhissandō vaḍbhissati. Tasmā varaṁ tē damma, Sihljādipān gacchissamāti” vattvā paṭṭham adnaṁasā.

Atha rāja therānaṁ paṭṭisasanaṁ labhētvā: paṇñāsaphala-saṁvānaṁ saṁvaṇitāṁ thūpikoparipattithāpitaṁ mahāgyh’ inda-nilā-manipamāṁ ekāṁ sālappatāṁ ca; thūpikopa-saṁvaṇabhisahkhataṁ sādhibhakapuddha-pattānaṁ ca; tināsaphala-saṁvānapārakataṁ saṁvaṇpābbhūtaṁ ca; tināsaphala-saṁvaṇa-saṁjñitaṁ dvādasakāṇa-tahūla-pājakaṁ ca; tāṭīnāsaphala-saṁvaṇabhisahkhataṁ cettiya-saṅthānaṁ saṁvaṇamayadhātumandiraṁ ca; phalikamayaṁ dhātumandiraṁ ca; māsāragalasadīsakāmānas-parisaṁkhotāṁ dhātumandiraṁ ca; saṁvaṇmalaṁ cāti; ——— etthakaṁ Siridāthādhitupūjāsakkāraṁ abhisākari paṭisajji.
Ratanacettiyādi-cettiya-Pādanaṇja-bavissa-Bodhirakkha-puṇamatthāya ca: nāṇāvapāṇi pāṇaṃvittitānān ca; suṇaṇalimptō madhusithhamasē puṇināsamudāpi ca; suṇaṇalimptē madhusithhamasē puṇināsādīpi cābhisaṅkharī.

Sihaḷadīpavāsānaṃ mahāṭhērānaṃ attīthāya: sukhumānaṃ kappāsaddussānaṃ cattāllumaiṇaṃ jūse ca; Kosseyamayānaṃ ca kappāsavāmyānaṃ ca rattāvaya-patīvasa-cittavāya-dhāvalaṃvasaṇa naṇivāpaṇānaṃ visasīpavāruṇaṃ ca; cittavāraṇānaṃ Haribhuṇađēsīyaṃ-visita-śāntamattuḷpati-kānaṃ ca; catassā sēlayakupujīkāya ca; aṭṭha Ciṇadēsīyaṃ cittavāpikāya ca; vissati Ciṇadēsīyaṃ bijaniyo ca paṭissajja.

Api ca Rāmadēsissāraṃ dhahalagapajapatibhūthō Rāmadhipatirājā Sihaḷadīpavāsānān ayyānān mahāṭhērānān satkaccam abhiyuddēvā, sandēsapaṇaṃ idaṃ nivedēti: "Siṃḍhāṭhā dhātāpimpanajathaṭhayā bhante, mayā paḥitaḥ pūjaṃsakārehi Siṃḍhāṭhāḥ tādāyō pujōntum byāpānum kaerūyaṭhā. Sāsibhi bāvisatīyaḥ thērehi saddhiṃ pēsitā Citradūṭa-Rāmadūṭabhādhīnānaṃ saparaṇaḥ Sitriḍhāṭhāhāntuṃ pāsitum vā, vandīntum vā, pujōntum vā, yathā labbissanti; tathā ayyā, vāyāṃnaṃ karontu. Sitriḍhāṭhāhā-dasaṇnabhāvīvadāpūrṇaṃ labbissantī ca, sāsibhi bāvisatī thēre Mahāvīrāvāsivāpakābhubhīkahusanghātā garahaparupavādattvairasihantaṃ ganaṃ ucciniti, Bhagavatāvahānāparibhūhīgēna paribhūhāya Kalyāṅīgaṇīyā sajįṭhīyām udakikkhepasīmyaṃ upasampadaṃ yathā labbissanti; tathā ayyā, vāyāṃnaṃ karontīti." Evaṃ Sihaḷadīpavāsānaṃ mahāṭhērānaṃ pāhētābbaṃsandēsapaṇaṃ abhiśaṅkhaṃ.

Sihaḷajassaraṃ pāna Bhūvanikabhubhurājassa: dvīṣatphala-raṇīty agghaniko dvē nīlamapayō ca; tiṃḍhīkacatusphalaggahani kē dvē lēṭhānaṃkamapayō ca; dighakānaṃkamathāya katiṃ givakkhaḥacītirnattambadāṭhahhanū sūparisañkhatacittakāṇi mahaggāhaṃ cattāṃ Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; dhāvala-nilavāṇaṃ bhaṃs’anbhāni purimāpupphikāni tiṃḍ ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; dhāvala-nilavāṇaṃ bhāmonbhāni maṭṭhāni dvē ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; dhāvalaṅvaṃ mahābhāmi ēkaṃ ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; harivaṃ ha-nilavāṇaṃ vāyāṃpaṇaṃ purimāpupphikāni dvē ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; harivaṃ ha-nilavāṇaṃ maṭṭhāmi ēkaṃ ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; mēcahaṇaṇaṃ maṭṭhāni dvē Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; pitāvaṇayāmāpupphikāmi ēkaṃ ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; rattaṇavāya-vāyāmapupphikākāmi ēkaṃ ha-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; dhāvala-nilavāṇaṃ bhāmonbhāni vāyāmapupphikākāmi pēla-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; dhāvala-nilavāṇaṃ bhāmonbhāni vāyāmapupphikākāmi pēla-Ciṇapatīnaṃ ca; vissati Ciṇapatīnaṃ, Pavyāṭṭhāhānabhīyāṇi visiṭṭhīcīrakārīśēyyavattthāni ca; camma-kāsāvārāhītānaṃ tatārīkānaṃ dvēphalasaṅtī ca;—eṭṭhakānaṃ pahiiqānaṃ paṭissahākhi. Sihaḷajassaraṃ Bhūvanikabhubhurājassa Sihaḷajassarikatamahāṭhērānaṃ pāhīte sandēsapaṇaṃ vuttavacanasaddhēna sandēsavacanēna viracitēna suṇaṇapattāca paṭissahākhi.

Evaṃ rājā yaṃ yattakaṃ paṭissahākhi sabotage ca sahaṃ paṭissahākhītvā, bāvisatīthānaṃ ticivarathāya, sukhumakappāsaddussaṃ cattacattāllumaiṇaṃ jūse ca; Marammedēsīyaṃ uṇpamayānaṃ bāvisatīpavāraṇaṃ ca; bāvisatīcitraexamkaṇhaṇaṃ ca; Haribhuṇađēsīyaṃ sapidhānāni bāvisatīcitraexamatiḷpācākāna ca dētvā; maggantaraparibbayaṭhāya ca, bhāṣaṭṭhāya ca, bahnū dēyāddhammaṃ dētvā; tēṣaṃ issabūhanānaṃ pē bāvisatībhikkhumānaṃ bāvisatī-Katiputtābhubhānavatthāni ca: Marammedēsīyaṃ ghanapupphāni bāvisatīpavāraṇaṃ ca dētvā; sissihī saddhēn ca bāvisatīthēru-Citradūṭa-Rāmadūṭabhādhanēnaṃ dvinnām dēṭtānam appētvā yathāyuttānaṃ dēṭṭhapuṇasakānaṃ ca; Sihaḷajayaṃ mahāṭhērānaṃ pāhētābdēyādyadhammaṃ ca, sandēsapaṇaṃ ca, Bhūvanekabhubh-Sihaḷajassaraṃ paṭennānaṃ ca, sandēsasuṇaṇapattā ca dēṭtānam hatthē adāsi. Bāvisatīgūnānaṃ ca thērānam dvabhikkhādyantarīyē sati, catapaceyyam upṭānam katvā dēṭtānu, suṇaṇajatākānaṃ dvēphalasaṅtī dēṭtānam adāsi. Tatō sissihī Mōggaḷanathārādayo ekādasathērō Rāmadūṭēna saddhīمكنām ēkanēnam abhirūhpēast. Sissihī Mahāsāḷavailārādayo ekādasatbūrō Citradūṭēna saddhīمكنām ēkanēnam abhirūhpēast.

REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

Aṭṭha Rāmadūṭabhūrūhā nāvā muni-sīkha-nāga-sakkārāyē māghāmaṇasaśa kālapak-khē ekādasanīyō adiccarē Yōgabhikkhunānadiḥmukhē nikkhamitvā, samuddaṃ

1 Cha in MS. (B).
pakkhamā. Citradūtāvibhīrīha pana nāvā māghamāsāsa kājapakkhā dūdasamayam
caṇḍavāro Yagabhūthānandimahāhātīḥ nikkhamiṭṭvā, samudānā pahikkhamiṭṭvā, chikkā niyā
māna, phagganamisasāsā kājapakkhā aṭṭhamiṣṭvā Kālandutāthānuḥ pattā.

Tatō Bhūvanākabalu-Sihāḷavāya tathā pavattīti satvā, phagganamāsāsā kājapakkhā uposā
thadavā, tēsam ēkisamātanā thāriyāna Citradūtāsa ca pacchāmīgamāna mārāpētva, Rāmādhī
patimahārajāna dhamalakṣājapāmadappanā samamānāna atidhāvalatasmānakumākumā-
da-saradā-candikā-samāna-gajapati-bhūtāṃ saddhāyankagunagamanāmrīm pahitasandase-
apadabhūthāya Citradūṭe'ni anitāni svā DatePicker tī viñāpētva, ativyā pithosanassajato. Tathāhē
ca Citradūṭe'na ca samumālaṇyaṅ kathānā śaṅkupiyam vítisācētva, sayam eva uṭṭhālattīva, kappu-
rūna saddhiṃ tambulālāmaṃ kathā, thārāṇānām niyāsamathāmaṃ ca pinḍapātāpapacēnaṃ ca dāpētva,
Citradūtāsa ca niyāsamathāmaṃ ca paribbayaṃ ca dāpēti.

Punadivasā Citradūto Rāmādhīpatimalaḥājena pahitadāyudhammāna Saddhā-śāya
yānaṃ mahāthārāmaṃ sandhapsaṇṇam adāv. Atha tō mahāthērē: "yathā Rāmādhīpatimalahā-
jāsa ruceṭti, tathā karisamātē" pahiyām akāsānu.

Tatō Citradūṭaṃvābhīrīha ēkāsasaiṭṭhē, Rāmādūṭaṃvābhīrīlānānā thārāṇānān
āsappatattē: "yāvē eva sampiṇṇuṣsanti, tāvā mayaṃ Sihāḷarāṇīyo aṭṭhatēva" (idhē'va laṅkāli-
pavasāsanā cintētva tathēva Sihāḷarāṇīyo aṭṭhatēva, tēsānā Rāmādūṭaṃvābhīrīlānānā
thārāṇānān āgananāna āgamantrī yasanuṇisaṃ.

Atha Rāmādūṭābhīrīhā nāvē? Anurādhapuraṃgāmanāngāsēta cāviti, gamaṇakīlo
pahīmaṃvālāngaṭṭatē kichēna kāsinaṃ gantvā, citramāsasāsā sukkaṭaṃkē navamiṃyam
ādicoavārē Vārīgūmaṃ sampattē.

Tasmiṃ pana Vālīgūma Garavi nāma Sihāḷiyāmacē rāṇī do marikakakamānānā katvā
pātiṣastī. Tassa nāvīya sampattakākē pana, Sihāḷarāṇīyo kanitaḥhabhūta navābhīrīhīyo yodhā-
bhirūhīhi bhuanāvahī Saddhiṃ, tōna dāmarikakacēnā Saddhiṃ yujjhanathīyabhiyasi. Tatō so
amaecē bhūto pahiyaṃjhiṭṭuṃ asakkoṭī, tēhāmā nāma nikkhamitvā pahiyātva, vanaṃ pūvisi.
Tatō rāṇīō kanitaḥhabhūta Vāligūmaṃ labhitvā pātivasati. Dāmarikakasa paṇacakakasa
sēkārayoṭṭhānāna ca Jayavāḍhāmanagārasa c'antarē tasmiṃ thānu nīlītya, 'gatagatānām
janānam antarāyañavattā, thārē ca Rāmādūṭa ca Jayavāḍhāmanagāran gantuṃ iheńtōsē pi, rāṇī
canitaḥhabhūta tōsa okāsēnadāsā. Tasmiṃ pana nīga-sikhi-
nīga-sakhāraja-bhūto vāsacēvasa duśāsasahabhu pahīmaśalāhāsasā kājapakkē dūtiyām
thitiṣam evō okāsām labhitvā, thērē ca Rāmādūṭa ca Vāligūmaṃ nikkhamitvā, magga
antaragamanāna pahīdāvavānā vinimāṣetvā, aṭṭhamiṣṭvā Jayavāḍhāman-
agāranān sampattē.

Tatō Bhūvanākabalu Sihāḷamanunjīdo thārāṇāna Rāmādūtāsa c'ūgamanaṃpavattīnuṃ svāti,
pacchāmīganāna mārāpētva, Rāmādūṭe'na samāntāna Rāmādhīpatimalahājasa svāṅgappītnā
vācēpētva, pamoṇitiha {{autograph|yōtvanayēn}} eva kattabhapathisathārānaṃ katvā, thārāṇāna Rāmā-
dūṭa ca pinḍapātāna ca paribbayaṃ ca dāpēti, niyāsamathāmaṃ adāsi.

Punadivasā Rāmādūṭo Hāmasvatipurāḍhipāna rauṇā pahītaṃ dōyadhamaṇī ca sandēs-
apaṇā ca Sihāḷadeśiyāṇānaṃ mahāthārāmaṃ adāsi. Te sabō pi mahāthērē Citradūtāsa viya
Rāmādūṭassāpi pahiyām adāsiṃ.

Tatō param ēkāmāśo vitivattē, Citradūṭatāvābhīrīha Anurādhapuraṃgata thērē Ratanaće-
tīyaṃ ca, Maricivattīcētiyaṃ ca, Thīpārāmaćētiyaṃ ca, Abhayagirīcētiyaṃ ca, Sīlācētiyaṃ ca,
Jetavanācētiyaṃ ca, Dakkhīnasākhaṃ Mahāboḍhīrūkkaṃ ca vanditvā, Lōhāpāsāna ca pāsitvā,
tēso tēsa cētiyaṃpāsa kattabhāmī ṭipalatāvānanāpārāparanāpacēcaṃ sāmatthiṣya nūrubatō
katvā, pūṭsakāraṇāppaṃkā vattāpāṣipattīnā pūrētva, paccegantvā, Jayavāḍhāmanagāran
sampattē.

2 Lacuna supplied from MS. (A).

Tatō Sihaladeśiyēna mēmahāthērēnaṃ pubbē parādasētē āgātatēnaṃ būhhēnuṃ upasampadādaṃkalō yathācānānārūpānaṃ te catucāṭṭālīsa Rāmaṇābhikhe būhībhīvē patiṭhētpētvā, puna Vanaratanamahāthērē kāsīṣādaṇā saṃyagamanadēna vēsaṃ pabbājētpēvē sāmanērābhūmiyēna piṭṭhētpēsē.

Tatō paramā buddhāvērassa rattiyaṃ, Mōggalānāthērē ca, Kumārakaṇappathērē ca, Mahāsīvalīthērē ca, Sūriputtaṭhērē ca, Nāgāsāgarathērē ca, pañcē thūṛa catuvistariparimāṇaṃ gūnāsaṃ sāntiō Dhammakittimahāthērēna upājiḥyēnaṃ, Panca-parīvēṇavāśī, Maṅgalathērē sarīcariyaṃ, katvā, upasampānaṃ. Dvādasaṃyēnaṃ gūnaṃ gurvāvē rattiyaṃ, Sumahāthērē ca, Kāsapathērē ca, Nandathērē ca, Bāhulathērē ca, Buddhavān- sathērē ca, Suṣtauṭāthērē ca, Ṛkṣutarathērē ca, Gunaśāgarathērē ca, Dhammarakkhiṭṭhērē ca, dasathērē ca Vanaratanamahāthērēna upājiḥyēnaṃ, Panca-parīvēṇavāśī, Maṅgalathērē sarīcariyaṃ, katvā, upasampānaṃ. Tatō paramā tērasamayēna sukkaṭṭāvērassa divākalō, Cūḷasumaṭalathērē ca, Jāvanapāṇāṭhērē ca, Cūḷakas-pathērē ca, Cūḷasīvalīthērē ca, Maṇisārathērē ca, Dhammarājñikathērē ca, Cāndanasāra-thērē ca: sattā pi thūṛa Vanaratanamahāthērēna upājiḥyēnaṃ, Panca-parīvēṇavāśī, Maṅ-galathērēna sēvācariyaṃ, katvā, upasampānaṃ. Tatō paramā cuddasaṃyēna sannirvārē, tēsai sēsā būhīsaiṭhadaharabhikhe Panca-parīvēṇavāśī, Maṅgalathērēna upājiḥyēnaṃ, Sihalarjuyavārājācāryarājādikēna sarīcariyaṃ, katvā, upasampānaṃ.

Tatō Sihalajaśa upasampāna būvāvati Rāmaṇāthērē ni nīmarētvē, bhojētpēvē; būhājanāsvēna ekē ekāsa ticēvārē ca, Gocarītādēsiyē ekē ekā na sāpiṇē ca, vittāna ca, sihārasēna lekhītēmē ekē ekānī citraccamakhaṃpanē ca, chēkēnā cuṇḍakārēnabhiṣēkaḥ kahēna nāthhīdantumayē ekē ekā tālaṃyaṭṭhiṃaṇē ca, ekē ekānī tambūlāpētakhaṇē ca, datvē, pun' āha: "Jambudīpanā bhantē, tumbē gantvē, Hamsavātipurē sēsāna ujjētyassētha. Aūdhīyēdhammadēnēna mē bhantē, kēti na hōti: satī kāraṇē khērapē eva nassanādhammatā. Tēsām idānāmaṃ tūṃhākaṃ nāmāpāccattēdānaṃ dēdēyēna. Īvēm bhantē, tūṃhākaṃ yāvētayēkañē sā thēssēttē" vētvē; Rāmaṇātanāvābhirūhēnaṃ: Mōggalānāthērē-Kumārakaṇappathērē-Nāgāsāgarathērē-Buddhavānāṭhērē-Nandathērē-Bāhulathērē-Sumaṭalathērē Dhammarakē hī tathērē-Cūḷasumaṭalathērē-Kāsapathērē-Maṇisārathērē saukkētēnē ekādasaṃyēna thērē-

Athā kē Rāmadhipatiyā Rāmadūtanāvābdhirulūnaṃ thérānaṃ Yubābhidhānannādikumkhanāsūapphire-pattā-pavattiṃ sutvā: "nākkāpon ētaṃ bratirāpanaṃ, yānaṃ yānaṃ ajñāsītaṃ Sīhalaḍipaṃ gantuṇaṇauṣpadaṃ pavattiṃ sutvā, upasamapadalaṃ adhiṣṭhāpanānaṃ nāvā bhaddamāssasakālapakkahudutiyān guruvārē, pacēcāgaṭā." Kē yēva Tīgumpānagaranaṃ gantuṇaṇaṃ, tēsahasatālāparimapamukānciṇuṣaṭpajjanaṃ mahālāgnaṃ jāvamānaka-Sammmārambhikā-kādiṭṭhānaccētiyanaṃ asaṅgaṇaṃ mantayaṃ māhāpārānaṃ pūrṇayaṃ, tatātā nivattēvē thérānaṃ pacēcāgaṭānaṃ kūryavā ṭiṣṭhāvītīva: "yēva Tīgumpānagaranaṃ pārīṇaṃ, tāva bhaddavā Tīgumpānagaranaṃ guruvārē vasaṃuttīva" sandeṣapanaṃ dattāvē, thérānaṃ vasaṃuttīva ca, simpudāva ca, pāṭhikāhāpēva, samuddagāminīyā jāgūnāvāyāvē durlāpēva, nādikumkhanīyō nāvāyāvē bhūbhūhāpēva, Tīgumpānagaranaṃ vasaṃuttīva.

Citradūtanāvābdhirulū ēva ēkāsadasērū "Sēgaṣaṣapattase bhantō, Rāmadhipatiyārājā" nārē tēsahasatālāparimaṃ, saha mātaṃ pīṇa-Sammtādābhāvaṃpadalamkārējaya, niccaṃvaṇjita-satapala-parimapamaṃ pūrvaṃ jāvaṣaṃśaṃpadalamkārējaya, Sīrādthishādhabhāvaṃpadalamkārējaya, dhammakappānīkāraṃ pihānuṇaṃ dūtaṃ pēcēsam uchāhīva; yēva tassā dūtaṃ nāvā nīṭhitaparimapamukānāna mātvatīva, thūhākānaṃ nāvāya Saddhiṃ ekato gantuṇaṃ labhissati, tāvē āgamanēti. Sīhalaḍipicēva vuttaṭta niṣaṃcintanānūrūpa Rāmadhipatiyāpimkaraṇaya yuttakkāke gantagantunā nālābhās intensive. Tatātā Citradūtēna Saddhiṃ ēkāsadasēraṃ thérīsē Sīhalaḍipicēva dūtaṃ āgamaṇētēva yēva Kalambuthitthō pāśinōvālambaṇaṃ katvā, ṭhupītaṇa janakāyābhūnuḥ jāgūmaṃvāvinaṃ paśūbhūbhiddhīinānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānānå
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

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OBVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Nāga-sikhī-nāga-parimāṇē yēva pada sakkārajī, Rāmūḍhipatimahārājja mahāgaṇṭū Kōsadiṭṭhēṭīyaśa punaṭṭaṇāya assayujamāsasā sukkapakkaḥ āṭṭhamiṃ yān guruvārō nīvaṇāmaṇḍiparipatsiṃkhaṭtuvānvaṭṭagārahbhirulō bahubhi indavimānābhīḍhamāna-dissuppanmatvānāmābhī nīvaṇā parakkhatō kameṇa gacchanto, yēna Tīgumpanagaran tad avasaṃ. Tīgumpanagaran samattakakēle pada assayujamāsasā sukkapakkaḥ tērasāyām angāravē, Rāmaḍūṭaṇavābhīrulō kāḍhamāṭhē nimantōtvā, nānaḥ aggaraśabhaṃjāṃ samastapēṭvā sampavāvēṭvā, tīvramattaṃ yē ṯēkē ṭēkaśa dēvē dēvē dussayē datvā, kattupāṭipasāntāmī ca, kāvaś, nīvaṇānātthānaṃ eva patīṇāpetī.

Tātā Rāmūḍhipatimahārājja tiqi divasāni mahāsansājan kāraṇētvā, mahāpavaraṇadīvaṃ guruvē tān mahāhaṇṭū Kōsadiṭṭhēṭīyaśa punaṭṭaṇāya cētiyagānaṃ āropāpetī. Pāṭipadaṭṭvaṃ sukkavē pada, Tīgumpanaśāṁ ca bhikkhumānā dānaṃ datvā, kapanī’ddhikavaniṃbhikā, ca dūtīpare dēyadhammaṃ dāpētvā, kalapakkaḥ tathiyām adīcevārē kāḍanaṃvyāyā kusakkaṃ alaṇākāriṇēvā, pacchenaṃ gacchanto aṭṭhamiṃ yān samātikam appē. Evo Kōmālapaṭṭanā jātthē saccamanaṃvadunāṃ sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran apakkaṃvā, kamaṇa gacchanto aṭṭhamiṃ yān sukkavē Kusmaṇgamanā paranām, nīvaṇāvādhaṃ ca, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, avēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran pāṭipadyo, samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpanagaran samātikam appē, evēva Rāmaḍūṭaṇavē cētiyagānuṇā sājātīva, catuttihāya candavē pātōva, Tīgumpana...
FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 18.—The Sleeping Nasib.

Once upon a time there lived two brothers, one of whom was possessed of ample means, while the other was utterly destitute, but the rich brother would not so much as give a handful of barley to save his brother and his poor family from starvation. One day the rich brother had occasion to give a large feast in honour of the nuptials of his children, and although he had invited a large number of his friends to it, he had not so much as sent a servant to ask his brother and his family to join them.

Now the poor brother, who had been long out of work, had exhausted all his resources, so that on the day of the feast he and his family had not a morsel of anything to eat, and
this had been their state for two or three days past. Towards evening therefore he said to his wife: "Go, wife, and see if you can bring us some of the leavings of the feast. There must be some bones and crumbs left in the pots and dishes; so make haste and do bring us something." The poor woman accordingly went round to the back of her rich relative's house. But she saw at a glance that she was too late, as the pots and pans had already been scrubbed clean, and that there was, therefore, no chance of her getting anything. Just then she saw some white fluid in a large tub, and knew that it was the water in which the rice for the feast had been washed. So she begged of the servants to let her have some of it; but the mistress of the house, who happened to come up at the time, forbade them to give her anything at all. "Even this water has its uses," said she, "and it must not be wasted," and she relentlessly turned her back on her poor relative, who had to walk home to her unfortunate little ones empty-handed.

When she told her husband how she had been treated by his brother's wife, he was beside himself with rage and disappointment, and swore that he would go that very night to the rich barley fields of his brother and bring away some sheaves of barley, in spite of him, to make bread with for his starving little ones. So he took a scythe, and under cover of night stole noiselessly out of his house, and walked up to his brother's barley fields. But just as he was entering one, his further progress was arrested by somebody, who looked like a watch-man, loudly asking him what he wanted.

"I am come here to take some barley from this field of my brother, since he is determined not to give me anything, although my children are actually dying for want of food. But who are you, to put yourself thus in my way?"

"I am your brother's nasib (luck), placed here to guard his possessions, and I cannot let you have anything that belongs to him!" was the stern reply.

"My brother's nasib indeed!" exclaimed the poor man in surprise; "then, where on earth has my nasib stowed himself away that he would not help me to procure the means of subsistence for my starving wife and children?"

"Thy nasib!" said the other mockingly; "why, he lies sleeping beyond the seven seas: go thither if thou wouldst find and wake him!"

So the poor fellow had to trudge back home just as he had come. The words of his brother's nasib, however, jarred on his memory, and he could not rest till he had told his wife of his interview with that strange being. She, in her turn, urged him to go and find out his nasib, and see if he could wake him from his slumbers, as they had suffered long enough from his lethargy.

The husband agreed to this, and the wife borrowed, or rather begged, some barley of her neighbours, ground it, and made it into bread, over which the poor starving children and the unfortunate parents broke their four days' fast. The poor father then took leave of his family, and set out on his journey.

He had proceeded about twelve kils, or so, when he again felt the pangs of hunger, and sat down under the spreading shade of a tree to eat a loaf or two of the bread that his wife had reserved for his journey. Just then, a little mango dropped at his feet from the tree, and on looking up, he saw that he was under a mango-tree filled to luxuriance with a crop of young mangoes. He eagerly picked up the fruit and gnawed at it, but to his great disappointment found that it was quite bitter! So he flung it away from his lips, and cursing his fate for not letting him enjoy even so much as a mango, again looked up at the tree and sighed. But the tree echoed back his sighs and said: "Brother, who art thou? and whither dost thou wend thy way? Have mercy upon me!"

"Oh! do not ask me that question," said the poor man in distress, "I do not like to dwell upon it."
FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA. 215

On the tree, however, pressing him further, he replied: "As you are so very anxious to know my history, I shall tell it to you. Learn then first of all that — I am going in search of my nāsīb, which I am told lies asleep beyond the seven seas! He then unfolded to the sympathising tree the whole doleful tale of his poverty, his brother's brutal treatment of him, and his interview with his brother's nāsīb.

When the tree had heard all, it said: "I feel very much for you, and hope you will succeed in finding out your nāsīb. And if ever you meet him, will you not do me the favour to ask him, if he can tell why it should be my lot to produce such bitter mangoes? Not a traveller that passes under me fails to take up one of my fruit, only to fling it from him in disgust on finding it taste so bitter and unwholesome, and curse me into the bargain."

"I will, with pleasure," was our hero's reply, as he listlessly rose and again proceeded on his weary journey. He had not gone many miles, however, when he saw a very strange sight. A large fish was rolling most restlessly on the sandy banks of a river — it would toss itself to and fro, and curse itself at every turn for being so miserable.

Our hero felt much grieved to see the plight the poor creature was in, when the fish, happening to look at him, asked him who he was, and where he was going.

On being told that he was going in search of his nāsīb, the fish said: "If you succeed in finding your nāsīb, will you ask him in my name, why it is that a poor creature like myself should be so ill used as to be made to leave its native element and to be tortured to death on these hot sands?"

"Very well," replied our hero, and went his way again.

Some days after this, he arrived at a large city, the towers of which seemed to touch the skies, so grand and beautiful was it. As he proceeded farther into it, admiring its lofty edifices and beautifully built palaces, he was told that the Rājā of that place was just then engaged in having a new tower built, which in spite of all the skill the best architects bestowed on it, tumbled down as soon as it was finished, without any apparent cause whatever. The poor traveller, therefore, out of mere curiosity, went near the tower, when the Rājā, who was sitting by, with a disconsolate look, watching the operations of the workmen, was struck with his foreign look and manners, and asked him who he was, and where he was going. Our hero, thereupon, fell at the Rājā's feet, related to him his strange story, and told him the nature of his errand. The Rājā heard him through, and then desired him to inquire of his nāsīb why it was that the tower he was on building collapsed as soon as it reached completion.

The poor man made his obeisance to the Rājā, and promising to do his bidding, soon took leave of him.

He had not gone very far, however, on what now seemed to be his interminable journey, when he encountered a fine horse beautifully caparisoned and ready bridled, pasturing in a meadow.

On seeing him the steed looked sorrowfully at him and said: "Good Sir, you look as if you were laden with as much care as I am; tell me, therefore, where you are going, and what is the object of your journey?"

Our hero told him every thing, and the horse, too, in his turn, charged him with a message to his nāsīb. He was to ask that personage, why it was that the gallant steed, so powerful and so handsome, was destined to his utter grief and despair to idle away his life in the manner he did, instead of being made to gallop and prance about under the control of a rider, although he was all-anxious to serve a master and go to the battle field to share his fortunes, whenever he might wish to take him.

"Very well, my friend," replied our hero, "I shall do as you desire." So saying he patted the noble animal on its back and trudged along as before.
But as he proceeded further and further without so much as getting a glimpse of even one of the seven seas he had been told of, our hero felt utterly disheartened, and tired out both in body and mind by the hardships and privations he was going through. So he threw himself under the shade of a large tree and soon fell fast asleep. But in a short time his slumbers were suddenly disturbed by the cries and yells of some eagles that had their nest in the top-most branches of the tree. No sooner, however, did he open his eyes than he saw a huge serpent creeping up the tree to get at the young eagles in the nest. He immediately drew his sword and divided the hideous crawling reptile into three pieces! The poor little eagles in the branches joined each other in a chorus of delight at this, and our hero, covering up the remains of their tormentor with his plaid, sheathed his sword, and soon fell fast asleep again.

When the old birds that had gone out in search of food came back and saw the traveller sleeping under the tree, they were at once seized with the idea that he was the enemy that had so long and so successfully been destroying their progeny; for many times before had that serpent succeeded in climbing the top of the tree and devouring either the birds' eggs or their little ones. So the enraged couple determined to be revenged upon him, and the male bird proposed that he would go and perch himself upon one of the topmost branches, and then fling himself down upon the sleeper with such violence as to crush him to death! The female bird, however, was for breaking the bones of the supposed enemy with one swoop of her powerful wing! At this stage, fortunately for our hero, the young birds interfered, and declared how the man had proved himself their friend by destroying their real enemy, the serpent, the carcass of which they pointed out to them covered up with the plaid! The old birds immediately tore the cloth open, and were convinced beyond doubt of the innocence of the sleeping man. So the old female bird, changing her anger into love, placed herself by his side, and began to fan him with her large wings, while the male flew away to a neighbouring city and pouncing upon a tray full of sweetmeats, temptingly displayed at a pastry cook's bore it away with him, and placed it at the feet of the still slumbering traveller.

When our hero awoke from his slumbers he saw the situation at a glance, and was deeply gratified at the attentions bestowed upon him. So without much hesitation he made a hearty meal of the sweet things he saw before him. It was, in fact, the first hearty meal he had made for many and many a day, and, feeling very much refreshed in body and buoyant in spirits, he told the birds all his story, how he had left his starving children to set out in search of his naibly, how he had travelled to such a distance amidst great hardships and privations, and how he had hitherto met with no success. The birds felt deeply grieved for him, and told him that it was hopeless for him to try to cross the seven seas without their help, and that they would, therefore, as a small return for what he had done for them, give him one of their numerous brood that would carry him on its back and deposit him dry-shod and safe beyond the seven seas.

Our hero was profuse in his thanks to the birds, and soon mounted the back of one of the young eagles, and bidding a hearty farewell to his feathered friends resumed his journey, this time not over hard and rough roads and mountains, or through deep dark jungles, but through the fresh balmy air and the cool transcendent brightness of the skies.

All the seven seas were crossed one after another in quick succession, when from his lofty position in the air he one day perceived a human figure stretched at full length on a bleak and desolate beach. This he was led to believe must be his naibly, so he asked the good eagle to place him down near it.

The bird obeyed, and our hero, eagerly went up to the recumbent figure and drew away from his head the sheet in which it was enveloped. Finding, however, that it would not wake, he twisted one of the sluggard's great toes with such violence that he started up at once, and began to rub his eyes, and press his brows to ascertain where he was, and who had so rudely awakened him.
"You lazy idiot," cried our hero, half in delight at his success and half in anger, "do you know how much pain and misery you have caused me by thus slumbering peacefully on for years together? How can a man come by his share of the good things of this world while his nasib neglects him so much as to go and throw himself into such a deep slumber in so unapproachable a corner of the earth? Get up at once, and promise never to relapse again into slumber after I depart."

"No, no, I cannot sleep again, now that you have waked me," replied the nasib; "I was sleeping only because you had not hitherto taken the trouble to rouse me. Now that I have been awakened I shall attend you wherever you go, and will not let you want for anything."

"Very well, then," cried our hero, perfectly satisfied, "now look sharp and give me plain and true answers to a few questions I have been commissioned to ask you."

He then delivered to him all the different messages given to him by the mango-tree, the fish, the Râjâ, and the horse. The nasib listened with great attention, and then replied as follows:—

"The mango tree will bear bitter mangoes so long as it does not give up the treasure that lies buried under it.

The fish has a large solid slab of gold hidden in its stomach, which must be squeezed out of its body to relieve it of its sufferings.

As for the Râjâ—tell him to give up building towers for the present and turn his attention to his household, and he will find that, although his eldest daughter has long since passed her twelfth year, she has not yet been provided with a husband, which circumstance draws many a sigh from her heart, and as each sigh pierces the air, the lofty structure shakes under its spell and gives way. If the Râjâ therefore, first sees his daughter married, he will not have any more cause to complain."

Coming then to speak of the horse, the nasib patted our hero on his back, and continued:—

"The rider destined to gladden the heart of that noble animal is none but yourself. Go, therefore and mount him, and he will take you home to your family."

This terminated our hero's interview with his nasib, and after again admonishing him not to relapse into slumber, he mounted his aerial charger once more, and joyously turned his face homewards.

When the seven seas had again been crossed, the faithful bird took him to where he had found the horse, and laid him down safe beside him. The traveller then took leave of the eagle with many expressions of gratitude and going up to the steed stroked him gently and said: "Here I am sent to be your rider! I was predestined to ride you, but as my nasib was lying asleep up to this time, I could not see my way to do so!"

"Bi'smîllâh," exclaimed the horse, "I am quite at your service." Our hero, thereupon, mounted the steed and the noble animal soon galloped away with him, and both horse and rider being infused with a sense of happiness did not feel the hardships and fatigues of the journey so much as they would have done under other circumstances.

While passing by the river on the banks of which he had perceived the fish writhing in agony, our hero saw that it was still there in the same sad plight. So he at once went up to it, and catching hold of it, squeezed the slab of gold out of its body, restored the poor creature to its element, and putting the gold into his wallet, made his way to the city where he had encountered the Râjâ.

When he arrived there he put up at a saraf, and purchased with the gold acquired from the fish, rich clothes, jewellery, and weapons befitting a young nobleman, and, attiring himself in them, presented himself before the Râjâ.
The Rājā was surprised to see him, so much changed did he look from his former self, and welcoming him most cordially, gave him a seat of honour in the midst of his nobles. He then inquired of him whether his nāṣūḥ had given him any solution of the vexed question of the collapse of the tower, and was delighted to hear in reply that so simple a matter was the cause of all the annoyance he had suffered, and all the expense he had been put to. With a view, therefore, to put an end to the difficulty at once, he ordered his daughter to be brought before him, and putting her hand into that of our hero, proclaimed him then and there his son-in-law!

After this the tower stood as erect and firm as the Rājā wished it, and the whole kingdom resounded with the praises of the Traveller who had been the means of contributing to its stability, and no one grudged him the hand of the fair princess as a reward for his services.

After a few days spent in feasting and merry-making, our hero took leave of his father-in-law, and set out on his homeward journey with a large retinue. When he reached the mango tree that produced bitter fruit, and sat down under its branches, surrounded by all the evidences of wealth and honour, he could not help contrasting his former state with his present altered circumstances, and poured forth his thanks to the good Allah, who had hitherto befriended him. He then ordered his men to dig at the roots of the tree, and their labours were soon rewarded by the discovery of a large copper vessel, so heavy as to require the united strength of a number of men to haul it up. When the treasure trove was opened, it was found to be full of gold and jewels of great value, and our hero got the whole laden upon camels, and joyfully resumed his journey home.

When he entered his native place with his bright cavalcade and his lovely wife, quite a crowd of eager spectators gathered round him, and his brother and other relatives who were of the number, although they recognized him, were too awe-struck to address him. So he ordered his tents to be pitched in a prominent part of the town, and put up there with his bride. In due course he caused inquiries to be made regarding his first wife and his children, and soon had the satisfaction of embracing them once more. He was grieved to find them in the same half-starved, ill-clad condition he had left them in, but was nevertheless thankful that their life had been spared so long. His next step was to take his new bride to his first, and therefore more rightful wife, place her hand in hers, and bid her look upon her as a younger sister. This the old lady promised gladly to do.

All his friends and neighbours then called upon him to offer him their congratulations, and even his hard-hearted brother and his wife failed not to visit him, and wish him joy of his good fortune. Seeing now that he was a much richer man than themselves, they tried their best to ingratiate themselves into his favour, and the wife even went so far as to invite his two wives to a grand feast, which she said she was going to give in honour of his happy return and reunion with his family.

Our hero consented to let his wives go to the feast, and the next day the two ladies, attiring themselves in their best clothes and jewels, went to their brother-in-law’s house, where a large party, consisting of ladies of the best families, had assembled to do them honour. After some time spent in the interchange of civilities, the whole company sat down to a sumptuous banquet. As the meal proceeded however, what was the surprise of the guests to see, that instead of putting the rich viands into her mouth, the old wife of our hero placed a tiny morsel each time on each of the different articles of her jewellery and on the deep gold embroidered borders of her sāfī. For some time no one dared to question her as to the reason of her strange behaviour, but at last, one old woman, bolder than the rest, and who was, moreover, possessed of a sharp tongue, cried out in a loud voice: “Bid, what are you about? You don’t seem to have come here to feed yourself, for up to now you have been doing nothing but feed your jewellery and your clothes!”
"You are right, old lady," replied our hero's wife, "you are quite right when you say that I have been feeding my jewellery and clothes; for has not this repast been provided, and all this distinguished company brought together, in honour of our rich clothes and jewellery? There was a time, when neither my husband nor myself was thought fit to partake of our hostess's hospitality; nay, at one time, even so much as a bucketful of water in which rice had been washed for a feast, was refused to me, although my husband, my children and myself were starving! And all that because then we were not possessed of these fine clothes, and this jewellery!"

With these words she took her co-wife by the hand, and the two turning their backs on their hostess, walked majestically out to their palanquins and returned home!

The chagrin, disappointment, and rage of the hostess knew no bounds at this, especially as all her guests, instead of taking her part, began to laugh at her, and told her she had been well served for her ill-mannered pride and her hard-heartedness to her relatives when in distress. Nay, to shew their contempt for her, they all left the feast unfinished, and went away to their homes in rapid succession.

Our hero passed the rest of his life with his two wives and their children very happily ever afterwards, and had never again any cause to complain against his nātīb.

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**THE DATE OF SUNDARA-PANDYA-JATAVARMAN.**

Dr. Hultzsch has published materials for calculating the date of Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Jatāvarman, *ante*, Vol. XXI. pp. 121-2 and 343-4. He has given parts containing dates of two inscriptions of Sundara-Pāṇḍya. One belongs to the 9th and the other to the 10th year of his reign. The details of the date of the 9th year inscription are (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 343) — Tribhuvanachakravṛt(rj)tigal śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādvarkku yā[ŋ]du 9avādu Ishava-nāja[r]cru pārvva-pakṣhattu pācham[i]pi[ṃ]nu Śe[ng]vā-vjāy-κκi[k]lijāmiryāṃ pṛṣa Pūnar-pāṣattu nāl. — "In the 9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādeva, on the day of (the nakasṛatra) Punarvasu, which corresponded to Tuesday, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabhah." And the details of the date of the 10th year inscription are (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 121) — Kṛ-Čchedaśa[p]manmar-aṇa Tribhuvanachakravarītigal emmaṇḍalamamun-kon-ajūla śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādvā[ṛk]ku yā[ŋ]du 10avādu pāṭavādu Rishabhā-nājaṛcu aparā[p]kṣhattu Budaṇ-κκi[k]lijāmiryāṃ prathamaiyāṃ pṛṣa A[ŋ]/jatu nāl. "In the 10th — tenth — year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyādeva, who was pleased to conquer every country, — on the day of (the nakasṛatra) Anurādhā, which corresponded to Wednesday, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabhah."

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In his 10th year inscription Sundara-Pāṇḍya tells us that he conquered Kanda-Gopaḷa and Ganaḍapati. Dr. Hultzsch gives a date of Ganaḍapati in the Saka year 1172, and tells us from other sources that he died in Saka-Saṅvat 1180. He also gives three dates of Kanda-Gopaḷa, which are as follows:

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**No. I.**

*On the south wall of the so-called "rock" (malai) in the Aruḍā-Purumāl temple.*

Svasti śri Śakara-yāṇḍu 1157 pṛṣa Tribhuvanachakravṛt([rj]tigal śri-vijaya-Kanda-Gopaḷa-devarkku yāṇḍu 15avādu Miṇa-nājaṛcu aparā-pakṣhattu trayādaśi-yum Śaṇi-κκi[k]lijāmiryāṃ pṛṣa Bōṣiṇi-nāl. "Hail! Prosperity! In the 15th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious and victorious Kanda-Gopaḷalēva, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (the nakasṛatra) Rōhinī, which corresponded to Saturday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

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**No. II.**

*On the north wall of the second prādara of the Ekamandakāha temple.*

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of etc., which corresponded to the Šaka year 1187, — on the day of (the nakshatra) Uttarashādha, which corresponded to Saturday, the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Sinha."

NO. III.

On the same wall as No. I.


"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of etc., which corresponded to the Šaka year 118[7], — on the day of (the nakshatra) Uttarā-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to Saturday, the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Sinha."

The details of these three dates are correct for the Šaka years quoted with them; except that the nakshatra of No. II. should be Uttarā-Bhadrapadā instead of Uttarashādha.

The English equivalents of these three dates are: — No. I. Saturday, the 13th June A.D. 1285; and Nos. II. and III. Saturday, the 1st August A.D. 1285. The Šaka years in these three dates are expired, while that in the date of Gaṇapati is current.

From these data Dr. Hultsch has already pointed out that the year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya should be sought for between the Šaka years 1179 and 1190.

The 10th year inscription in which Sundara-Pāṇḍya alludes to his victory over Kaṇḍa-Gopaḷa, is dated in the solar month of Viṣṇubha. We see from the date No. I. of Kaṇḍa-Gopaḷa that his accession must have taken place not before the commencement of the month Mithuna of Šaka-Śaṃvat 1172 expired. The first available month Viṣṇubha after this is that of S.-S. 1173 expired. The Šaka year, therefore, for Sundara-Pāṇḍya’s 10th year inscription does not fall before S.-S. 1173 expired. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should seek for the Šaka year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, between the years 1173 and 1190 expired, both inclusive. Consequently, the Šaka year for his 9th year inscription should be sought between the years 1172 and 1189 expired, both inclusive. Taking, however, one year more on each side, I find that the Šaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years corresponding respectively to the details of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pāṇḍya. I may say here, once for all, that the Šaka years in my calculation are all taken as expired years.

Tuesday, and the Pumarvaṇa nakshatra falling on a tuṅka pañcamaṇi in the solar month of Viṣṇubha, are the requirements of the 9th year inscription; and Wednesday, and the nakshatra Anurādhā falling on a krīṣṇa pratipada in the solar month Viṣṇubha, are required for the 10th year inscription. In both the inscriptions the solar month is Viṣṇubha. Parts of two lunar months, Viśākha and Jyesṭha, fall in the solar month Viṣṇubha. First I searched for the years, in which the given week days fell on the given tithis of Viśākha and Jyesṭha. I need not give here all these years. I calculated afterwards in which of these years the given week days, the nakshatras, and the solar month fell together; and found that the three required things for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions, respectively, fell together, actually or nearly, in the Šaka years 1181 and 1182, and again in 1184 and 1185. Also, taking each inscription separately, there is no other year for either of them.

Of the above two pairs of years, first I take the latter. According to the present Sūrya-Siddhānta, in Šaka-Śaṃvat 1180, the omānta Viśākha tuṅka pañcamaṇi ended and the krīṣṇa pratipada commenced on Wednesday, the 25th April, A. D. 1263, at 4 ghaṭas 25 palas; and the nakshatra Viśākha ended and Anurādhā commenced at 23 gh. 23 pa., Ujjain mean time (i.e. at so many ghaṭas and palas after mean sunrise at Ujjain). So, two of the three requirements fell together after 23 gh. 23 pa., from mean sunrise on the Wednesday. But the Viṣṇubha-saṅkrāṇti took place on the same day at 44 gh. 7 pa. (Ujjain mean time), which was 45 gh. 16 pa. of the apparent time on that day at Trichinopoly, the place of the 10th year inscription. In finding the apparent time, I have taken for Trichinopoly latitude 10° 47′ and longitude 78° 43′ east of Greenwich, and 3° 0′ east of Ujjain (see Johnston’s Atlas). There seem to be two systems at present of commencing a solar month civilly (see South-Indian Chronological Tables, p. 7 f.). According to one, when a saṅkrāṇti takes place before sunset, the month is made to begin on the same day; while, if it takes place after sunset the month begins on the next day. According to the other system, when the sun enters a sign within three of the five parts into which the daytime is divided, the month begins on the same day; otherwise, it begins on the next day. In the present instance, the solar month Viṣṇubha did not begin on the Wednesday by either of the two systems. Even if we take the actual time of
the saṅkṛniti, the month began at about midnight; but no religious ceremony is likely to take place after midnight. According to the first Arya-Siddhánta, which is the authority in the Tamil country, the solar month in question actually commences about 4 ghāta earlier; that is at about 40 gh. (Ujjain mean time); but that hour also is too late. So, Saka-Saṃvat 1185 is not the year of the 10th year inscription.

Now as regards the 9th year inscription. According to Prof. K. L. Chhatrè's Tables, in Saka-Saṃvat 1184, Vaiśākha śukla pañcami ended on Tuesday, 25th April, A. D. 1282, at 19 gh. 40 pa. (Ujjain mean time); and up to about 33 gh. from sunrise there was the nakṣatra Punarvasu. But here again, the Vṛṣabha-saṅkṛniti took place, according to the present Sārva-Siddhánta, on the same day at 28 gh. 36 pa. (Ujjain mean time). So, only after this time on that day the three requirements, the week day, the nakṣatra, and the solar month, came together. Moreover, the tithi, pañcami, was not current with them, though it was current at sunrise and up to 18 gh.

Taking the 9th year inscription alone, this year might be taken fitting, though not satisfactorily, to the details of its date. But taking both the inscriptions together, there remains no doubt that Saka-Saṃvat 1184 is not the year of the 9th year inscription. So Saka-Saṃvat 1184 and 1185 are not the years of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions respectively.

The other pair of years Saka-Saṃvat 1181 and 1182 is, however, quite satisfactory. In S. S. 1181, Vaiśākha śukla pañcami ended, according to Prof. Chhatrè's Tables, on Tuesday, 29th April, A. D. 1259, at 16 gh. 10 pa. (Ujjain mean time); from sunrise to the end of the tithi there was the nakṣatra Punarvasu; and the solar month was Vṛṣabha, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered that sign at night on Friday, 26th April. So, the three required things, the week day, the nakṣatra, and the solar month, did exist together in S. S. 1181. In S. S. 1182, according to the present Sārva-Siddhánta, Vaiśākha krishṇa pratipadd ended on Wednesday, 28th April, A. D. 1260, at 0 gh. 16 pa. (Ujjain mean time), and at 1 gh. 27 pa. Trichinopoly apparent time. A practical work, based on the first Arya-Siddhánta,—the chief authority for the Tamil solar calendar,—must have been in use at Trichinopoly and other Tamil provinces at the time of the inscription in question. I do not know the actual work; but it must be similar to the Karana-prakāśa, a work composed in Śaka-Saṃvat 1014, and based on the first Arya-Siddhánta with a bija correction. And by the Karana-prakāśa I find that the tithi ended at Trichinopoly at 2 gh. 35 pa., apparent time. This tithi ended rather soon after sunrise, and therefore I calculated it from different authorities, to find whether it might end on the previous day, Tuesday, by any authority; but now I am sure that by no authority, likely to be in use in the Tamil country at the time of the inscriptions in question, could it end on the Tuesday. On the above Vaiśākha krishṇa pratipadd, Wednesday, the nakṣatra was Anuradha, which ended at 7 gh. 34 pa., Ujjain mean time, and at 8 gh. 45 pa., Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the Sūrya-Siddhánta, and at 9 gh. 46 pa., Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the Karana-prakāśa; and the solar month was Vṛṣabha, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered the sign Vṛṣabha on the night of Saturday, 24th April, A. D. 1260. So the three required things fell together in the Saka year 1182.

I may state here that the Saka years 1170 and 1171, and again 1191 and 1192, are other pairs of years, in which the three required things fall together, actually or nearly. But the first of these two is more unsatisfactory than the pair of years 1184 and 1185 above described. The second pair is a little less satisfactory than the pair of years 1181 and 1182. But these two pairs are out of our limit, which has, as I have stated above, 1 Saka-Saṃvat 1172 and 1173 on one side and 1169 and 1190 on the other.

So, the Saka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years respectively for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pândya- Jaṭāvarman. His accession must have taken place on some day from the fifth day in the solar month of Vṛṣabha of Saka-Saṃvat 1172 up to the fourth day in the same solar month of S. S. 1173; or from Vaiśākha krishṇa āditi of S. S. 1172, to Vaiśākha śukla pañcami of S. S. 1173. There being about ten or eleven months of the year 1172 and only one or two of 1173, we should, in the absence of other definite proof, prefer the Saka year 1172, expired, for the accession of Sundara-Pândya- Jaṭāvarman.

There is not a single year from Śaka-Saṃvat 1170 to 1192, both inclusive, that satisfactorily fits the details of the date No. 2, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 344, of the 9th year inscription of Sundara-Pândya-Mañjava- varman. In the Saka years 1174

1 In the other calculations, also, in this note, I have secured as much accuracy as is required in each individual case.
and 1177, there is only a near approach of the three requirements. In these two years, Chaitra
kriṣṇa dōtaḥ ended and śrīyā ended in the same manner. A Friday, at respectively 16 gha. 55 pa. and 46 gha.
41 pa. (Ujjain mean time), according to Prof.
Chhatre’s Tables, and after that time only, the
required things,—kriṣṇa śrīyā coupled with a
Friday, the nakṣatra Viśākhā, and the solar
month Mēśa—fell together. If the Sundara-
Pândyā-Māravarman of this inscription of the
9th year were the same as Sundara-Pândyā-
Jatāvarman, the details of its date should fit
Śaka-Saṃvat 1181; but they do not. It is certain,
therefore, that Sundara-Pândyā-Māravarman is
different from Sundara-Pândyā-Jatāvarman.

SHANKAR B. DIESHIT.
Dhulia, 10th May 1893.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SRAHE.

Śrāhe is a puzzling word, which appears in the
dates of a few inscriptions in the Kanarese
country (see ante, Vol. XIX. p. 163).

I have just found another, rather different,
instance of the use of it. An inscription of the
time of the Western Chālukya king Sūmēśvara I.,
dated in A. D. 1050, at Sūli in the Rābg. Tālukā,
Dhārwār District, mentions, among the grants,—
tad-varsham-modal-āpiṣṇa śrāheya sādvāya
yam-olag-āgi. This shows that there were two
śrāhe-days in the year; and that certain fixed
duties or taxes were paid on them. It also
proves that the word is śrāhe; and not aśrāhe, as
is equally possible in the other passages in which
the word has been met with. But the meaning
of the word still remains unexplained.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICE.

PāṇINI, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der indischen
Literatur und Grammatik. Von Bruno Liebich,
Dr. Phil., Leipzig. Hassel, 1891.

It is an observation as trite as it is true, that
an epoch-making work, besides having an importance
of its own, renders possible the production of
other good books, and thereby opens up paths
of investigation, which but for them would have
remained closed to the most adventurous pioneers
by an impassable barrier. As Gumāni of Paṭnā
puts it:

पृष्ठशिल्पितत्वादि । ग्रन्थम्
पाणिनाः महाज्ञानी।
समस्ता रूढः राजा का विपक्षार्थ ॥

Dr. Kielhorn’s Edition of the Mahābhāṣya is a
case in point. A monument of accurate and solid
learning in itself, it has incited Dr. Liebich, and
made it possible for him, to write the excellent
eSSay which forms the subject of this review.

The work may be described as having the same
object as Goldstücker’s well-known essay—to
determine the place of Pāṇini in Sanskrit
Literature—and it may be at once stated that
the author has made a great advance in this
interesting investigation. He had at his
command materials not available to former
authors, and he has employed new methods,
which they had hitherto not been able to adopt.
Dr. Liebich’s first chapter is devoted to a review
of the attempts of former authors to fix the date
of Pāṇini, from Goldstücker’s suggestion of
not later than 700 B. C., to that of Dr. Fischel,
which puts him 1,100 years later. The author’s
own opinion on this point is that we have not yet
sufficient ground to come to a definite conclusion,
but that in all probability he came after the
Buddha and before the commencement of the
Christian Era; and that he was nearer the
earlier than the later limit. In the second
chapter the author continues the inquiry, by seek-
ing to establish the dates of Pāṇini’s commentators.
The author of the Kāśika Vṛtti, died about 660
A. D. He was preceded by Chandragumā, who
appears to have lived in the 4th or early in the 5th
century A. D. Before him came Paṭaṇjali, the
author of the Mahābhāṣya, who probably lived in
the second century B. C. Kātyāyana, the
author of the Vṛtti, lived some generations
before Paṭaṇjali, and Pāṇini was at least one
generation before Kātyāyana.

Dr. Liebich in his third chapter opens the
most original and interesting portion of the work.
He compares the Sanskrit language as laid down
in Pāṇini’s Grammar with the actual Grammar
exhibited by four stages of Sanskrit literature,
between the first and last of which he must
certainly have lived. For this purpose he takes a
thousand verbal forms in each of the following—
(a) the Aiṭārēya Brāhmaṇa, (b) the Brihādāraṇyaka
Upanīthad, (c) the Śāvāvyana and Paṭāraka
Grīhyasūtras, and (d) the Bhāgavāda Gīta.
The first represents the language of the older Brāhmaṇas,
the second that of the later Brāhmaṇas, the third
that of the śātras and the fourth that of Epic poetry.
Every form is compared with what Pāṇini says it
ought to have been, and each departure from his grammar is recorded and classified. Omitting irregularities which are noticed by Pāṇini himself, as belonging to the Chhandas or older (i.e. before him) language, the following is the number of forms found to be grammatically false according to his rules, out of the thousand examined in each work.—(a) 6, (b) 27, (c) 41, (d) 37. From these statistics, and from a consideration of the nature of the irregularities in each case, he comes to the following conclusions:

1. That Pāṇini is nearest in time to the Grihyasūtras.

2. That both the Ātārīya Brahmaṇa and the Brāhadāraṇyaka Upanishad certainly belong to a time earlier than his.

3. That the Bhagavadgītā certainly belongs to a time later than his.

In his fourth chapter the author deals with the Pāṇini's relation to the language of India; without a clear comprehension of which it is impossible to solve the problem of the extent to which Sanskrit was a living speech. The author first gives a brief résumé of the various propositions on this point which have hitherto been advanced, in which I may notice that he omits to mention Senart's arguments, contained in his essays on the Inscriptions of Piyasri. His own opinion is that Pāṇini taught the language spoken in India at his time, that the Sanskrit which he taught was, syntactically, practically identical with that of the Brahmāṇas and of the Sūtras, and that in grammar, it only differed from the Brahmāṇas by the absence of a few ancient forms, most of which were specially noted by him as Vedic peculiarities, and from the Sūtras by the omission to notice certain loosely used forms, such as those which exist in every language beside the stricter ones enjoined by grammar.

In suggesting that Pāṇini taught in his grammar the Aryan language, in the form in which it was at the time generally spoken even by the educated in India, I think Dr. Liebich goes too far. That Pāṇini, in his grammar, illustrated a language which was spoken at the time by some persons, and probably by himself, is possible, and may be allowed; but I, for one, cannot admit that that language was in Pāṇini's time the general spoken language of India, or even of North-Western India. One fact alone makes the thing seem to me impossible. Pāṇini probably lived somewhere about 300 B.C., but sup-

posing him to have lived a hundred years earlier or a hundred years later, in the matter of the growth of a language really makes very little difference. Now we know that the Vedic hymns, which, in their original forms, were in the vernacular language of the people who first sang them, existed certainly some centuries before Pāṇini. The older Brahmāṇas, equally certainly were composed some centuries before Pāṇini's time, and finally, the Sūtras were composed about his time. On the other hand, the Asoka Inscriptions, which were in the vernacular language of the Court of Magadha, were fifty, or at most a hundred and fifty, years later than Pāṇini. Now, taking Pāṇini's own time as the standpoint and looking backwards and forward, what do we see? Looking backward, through a long vista of centuries we see the hymns of the Vedaś, the searchings of the Brahmāṇas and the teachings of the Sūtras, all couched in what is practically one and the same language. The oldest hymns of the Rig Veda have ancient forms, and it may be argued that we should exclude them,—be it so. Between the oldest, Brahmāṇas and Pāṇini at least one century must have elapsed, and the language of the Brahmāṇas and the language of Pāṇini are identical. Between Pāṇini and Asoka, certainly not more than a century and a half elapsed, and the language of Asoka is as different from that treated by Pāṇini, as Italian is from Latin. Nay, this was the case, although the people of Asoka's time had Pāṇini's Grammar before them as a guide, and though the Asoka Inscriptions show plain signs of a striving after style more in accordance with the teachings of the Sanskrit schools than the existing vernacular of the day. Asoka, it is true, lived in Eastern Hindustan, and Pāṇini in the North-west, but that can be of little weight. It is impossible to suppose that, while language developed along its natural lines in the east, that development remained arrested in the west.

Those, therefore, who maintain that Pāṇini wrote a grammar of the language generally spoken at his time must account for two things. Before his time, for at least a hundred years the vernacular language remained, fixed, unchanged, in a state of arrested development. After his time, during at most a century and a half, and possibly during only half a century, the same vernacular language underwent a course of decay or development, as great as the development of Latin into Italian. This, too, during a time when it had before it Pāṇini's great Grammar to keep it straight, in the right way, and to

Pāṇini. I am only stating the case in the most favourable way I can for the other side.

1 Of course I do not for a moment suggest that the oldest Brahmāṇas were only a hundred years older than
arrest its development, as suddenly and fixedly as the development of Sanskrit was arrested. The assumption of such two conditions of existence in two periods of a language's history, one of which immediately succeeds the other, is too violent to be credible.

But I have admitted that it is possible that at the time of Pāṇini, Sanskrit was a spoken language. If it was not spoken by the common people, by whom was it spoken? The answer is, by the schools.

From the earliest times the Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the language of their sacred books, and no doubt they used it amongst themselves, in the schools, as a medium of disputation, and, perhaps, even, of ordinary intercourse. In later times we find, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Hanumān considering whether he should address Sītā in Sanskrit or in Prākrit, and no doubt this illustrated the state of affairs in Pāṇini's time as well. Brāhmaṇas could address each other in the holy language, which they so carefully studied and kept up in its integrity, but in communication with the outer world beyond the boundaries of their schools, they had to use that vernacular language of the people, which, descended from the dialects in which the Vedic Hymns were first composed, passed, regularly and inevitably, in the course of centuries, into (amongst others) the language of Asāk, and thence into that of Hāla and of Tulasi Dās. Call that Vernacular language what you will, so long as it is not called Sanskrit. Many things add proof to the existence of this vernacular language at the time when Sanskrit was fixed,—nay, Sanskrit itself bears witness to it itself, on its very face, in the way in which it has borrowed some of these vernacular words, in their vernacular forms, and then retransferring them, by a process of reversed etymology into what it imagined to be their original Vedic forms. Its mistakes in this process of reversion betray the secret. No doubt in speaking Sanskrit in the schools many things were referred to, of which the original Vedic name was forgotten, and of which the vernacular form had perforce to be used in a form dressed up for the occasion. In short, Sanskrit was used in the schools in Pāṇini's time much as Latin was used in the schools in the Middle Ages. It was habitually used and spoken as a scholastic language, and in the course of time had even branched out into scholastic dialects, as Dr. Liebich's statistics of the Śūtras show.

I think, therefore, that Dr. Liebich goes too far, if I understand him aright, when he says that Pāṇini's Sanskrit was 'the spoken, the living speech of the learned men of his time.' Unless he means by this that it was merely a school language of the learned, entirely distinct from the general language of Hindūstān, also spoken by, and actually the vernacular even of, these learned men, I cannot but consider him, and the many who agree with him, as labouring under a false impression.

In concluding this subject, Dr. Liebich's classification of the various stages of the Sanskrit language may be given here. He divides them as follows:—

I. Ante-classical
   - The Saṃhītas of the four Vīdas.

III. Post-classical
   - Literature not governed by Pāṇini: The Epic poems.
   - Literature arisen under the influence of Pāṇini: the language of Kālidāsa, &c.

In the fifth chapter Dr. Liebich combats Prof. Whitney's attacks on the Sanskrit grammatical school in general, and in the sixth he applies the statistics already given to deciding whether any portions of the Brihadrāndyaka Upanishad and of the Aiśvāraya Brāhmaṇa are older or more modern than other portions; but I must refer the reader to both these essays directly; as the demands of space do not allow me to describe their contents. Suffice it to say that with regards to the Kānya Recension of the former, he considers the whole of it (with a reservation regarding the 5th book) to be earlier than Pāṇini. So also the Aiśvārya Brāhmaṇa with the exception of the 31st Adhhyāya.

This excellent and most interesting book concludes with two useful appendices, in which the author explains the Paniniian teaching on the genus (pāda) of the Verb, and on the formation of the Feminine of nouns.

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1 An example is the Sanskrit nāgāra, sugarcane sprouts, which I have referred to (ante, p. 166) in reviewing Dr. Macdonell's Sanskrit Dictionary. This word is manufactured from the old Prākrit agga/a. Sanskrit took agga/a, and by a mistaken etymology assumed that it was derived from nāgāra, and therefore it declared that nāgāra was the Sanskrit word for sugarcane sprout. Really, the word is derived from agra with pleonastic da (quasi drī). There are many examples of this sort.

2 Just as Father Tom said to the Pope in their immortal conversation: 'Dumidum cysti viro apud metropolitanos Hibernicas dicitur dandae (a dandy!)}
NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, L.C.S.

(Continued from p. 296.)

(7.) Dohaball. See above. Five hundred and seventy-three miscellaneous dohā and sūkṭhā verses.

The following may be taken as a specimen. They are extracts from other works of the poet:

Taba lagā kusāla na jīva kahū sapanēkha mana bisārāma 1
Jahī lagā kahajata na Rāma kahū saka-thāma tajī kāma ni 131 11
Bīnī sata-sanga na Hari-kathā tehi bīnu rokha na bhāya
Mōka gāe bīnī Rāme-pūda ho na druḍha anurāga ni 132 11
Bīnī bīnākha bhagete nahi tehi bīnu drukhā na Rāma
Rāma-prīya bīnu sapanēkha jīva na lāha bisārāma ni 133 11

131. No happiness will be in life, no rest to the soul even in dreams, till a man, abandoning desire, that home of sorrow, worships Rāma.

132. Without fellowships of the faithful, there can be no converse about God, and without that converse illusion does not disappear. Unless illusion disappear, there is no firm love for Rāma's feet.

133. Without trust there is no faith, and without faith Rāma is not compassionate. Without Rāma's mercy there is no rest for life, even in one's dreams.

(7a.) The Sat'sal, or Seven Centuries. I have already discussed at considerable length the question of the authenticity of this work. Whether written by Tul'si Dās or not, it certainly contains, and is the only work attributed to him which does contain, a systematic exposition of his religious opinions. It therefore deserves more than a passing notice.

Although nominally in seven sargas or parts, each consisting of a century of verses, this is not quite an accurate description, for, as will be seen, each part contains a few more or less than a hundred. This lends countenance to the theory that verses have been interpolated here and there. The object of the work is purely religious, and though each dohā is capable of being quoted independently by itself, the book is not a mere collection of disjointed gnomic verses. A clear connecting leading idea runs through the whole of each part.

The verses may be considered as falling into three classes, viz., gnomic, parenetic, and purely devotional. The majority belong to the second class.

The following are the names of the various parts:

Sarga I., Prāma-bhakti-nirdēśa, Explanation of Faith as Affection. One hundred and ten dohās.

Sarga II., Upāsanā-parabhakti-nirdēśa, the Explanation of Faith in its Highest Form as Adoration. One hundred and three dohās.

1 Kākā Rūm, pupil of Jānakī Śarmā, the son of Śhāh Datt Śarmā, is the author of the following verse, comparing the various Sargas to different portions of Śhā's body. Metre Ohappai:

Kākā āpā āyā āyā, jīva dākā pārā hāi
Yakṣhā hāi uḍara Rāma run amīya bherd hāi
Hṛdaya ānā-gāhā, karmei-bhaktanta gāh hāi
Ānāma jāwa-siddhanta jahā hāi brahma bhaṅka hāi
Rāyā-nāti hāi śīva sīga, ehi vidhī Tul'si Dāsa hīga
Ādi ātu Viśvākṣa śāstra śāstra tattva śīga

The sarga on Faith as Affection is Śhā's feet, that on Faith in its Highest Form greatly to be cherished is her waist, that on the Essence of the Lord described in Enigmas, filled with nectar, is her womb, that on Self-knowledge is her heart, that on the Doctrine of karma is her neck, that on the Doctrine of knowledge, by which Brahman may certainly (be found), is her face, and that on the Duties of kings is her head. Thus did Tul'si Dāsa determine in his heart that from beginning to end the Sat'sal should be a representation of Śhā.

2 Cf. Śīpāliya, 1, 2, śīpa bhakti-śāstra, śīpa prāma-sūkta, now there is a wish to know faith. In its highest form it is an affection fixed on God (Cowell).
Sarga III., Sāṅkēta-vākākti-rāma-rama-vara-varana, the Description of the Essence of the Lord by means of symbolic Enigmas. One hundred and one dōhās.

Sarga IV., Ātma-bodha-nirdēsa, the Path of Self-knowledge. One hundred and four dōhās.


Sarga VI., Jñāna-siddhānta-yogya, the Determination of the Doctrine of Knowledge. One hundred and one dōhās. Subject,—the necessity of a spiritual guide for a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the Perfect Name.

Sarga VII., Rāja-niti-prastāva-varṇana, On the Duties of Kings (and their subjects).

As stated above, a large number of the verses in the Sat'sai are repeated in the Dōhābali. Sat. I., 2, also occurs in the Bairagya Sandipani (I, 1) and Sat. I., 107, in Bat., I., 15. Both these verses are also repeated in the Dōhābali (I, 38).

The part of the Sat'sai which is best known is the third sarga, in which various devotional exhortations are disguised in symbolic enigmas, in the style long afterwards made popular by Bihāri in his Sat'sai. As already explained, the authenticity of this part is more than doubtful. Each dōhā is a riddle, in which the true meaning is hidden to any one not possessed of the key. Two examples will suffice.

Bīja dhanañjaya rābi sahitā Tulasī tathā mayanka 1
Pragata tādhā nāhīn tama tamā sama chita rahata asanka 11 5 11

Literally this means:

The seed of Dhanamjaya with the sun, and, O Tulasi, also the moon. Where they are manifest, the night of darkness is not, and the soul remains at peace and secure." This is, as it stands, nonsense. But bīja is a technical term for the esoteric meaning of the letters of the alphabet, and the word dhanañjaya means also 'fire.' Therefore the bīja of dhanañjaya means that letter, the esoteric meaning of which is 'fire,' i.e., ra. So also the bīja of ravi, the sun, is a, and of mayanka, the moon, ma. These three together make up the word Rāma, and hence the poet means to say that when the name of Rāma is manifest, the night of ignorance vanishes, and leaves the soul at peace.

Again,—

Bhajau hari dālihn bātikā bhari tā rājīna aṃta 1
Kara tā pada bīvināha bhava sarita pāri tārata 11 22 11

Worship, after taking away the first syllable of (ā-rāma, a synonym of) bātikā, a garden, and adding tā to the last syllable of (sa-śi, a synonym of) rājīna, the moon (i.e., worship Rāma and Śitā). Place trust in their feet, and at once destroy thou pass over the sea of existence.

The fifth sarga is a good example of the author's didactic style, and the following free translation of it may be acceptable, as it contains Tulsi Dās's doctrine of karmas or works.

It will be advantageous, however, first to warn the reader as to the ground on which we are treading. Tulsi Dās's system of philosophy was mainly that of the Vēdānta,—not how—

8 Tulūl Dās's use of the word kārma, may be gathered from 96th dōhā of this sarga, where he gives in illustration a goldsmith as the karīt or agent, the gold on which he works as the kārma or object acted on (i.e., the material cause), and the finished ornament as the kārtya or effect. Kārtya and kārma are to him almost equivalent terms (e.g., dī. 39). Just as there cannot be an earthen pot without presupposing the existence of a potter, so without a karīt or agent, there cannot be a kārma. It is only by knowing the karīt that the true nature of the kārma can be recognized (97). Kārma can never be wiped out, only the Lord is free from its law (11). Each individual is a 'store' of kārma (9), and hence never loses his identity. As a seed always produces its own kind and not another plant, so an individual always remains the same, even when he is absorbed in the Lord (10). Just as water is absorbed by the sun, and yet is never destroyed, so the individual is absorbed in the Supreme God, and yet is never reduced to nothing (9).
ever of the school more usually known, that of Śankara Āchārya,—but partly based on the lesser known school of Rāmānuja, as developed in the Śrī Bhāṣya.* Fifth (5) in descent from Rāmānuja (11th-12th century), in the line of religious teachers came Rāmānand, the founder of the Rāmāwat Sect, to which Tulāsī Dās belonged. The philosophical system of the Rāmāṇujas is much the same as that of the Rāmāwats. It is in matters of detail of doctrine that they differ. The main difference is the somewhat illiberal views of Rāmānuja. He wrote for the Brahmans and in Sanskrit, and his system of ceremonial purity was strict in the extreme. Rāmānand was converted to broader notions by his expulsion from that brotherhood for an imaginary impurity, and this insult was the direct cause of one of the greatest religious revolutions which India has seen. A revolution, like the Buddha’s, from intolerance to tolerance, from spiritual pride to spiritual humility, and from a religion which teaches that the highest good is self-salvation, to one which teaches love to God and a man’s duty to his neighbour. That Perfect Faith in God consists in Perfect Love to God is the first text of the sermon which Rāmānand’s disciples preached, and the second was the Universal Brotherhood of Man, for ‘we are all His children.’ Rāmānand called his followers Avadhūta, for they had ‘shaken off’ the bonds of narrow-mindedness. To the happy accident of the insult, we owe the noble catholicity of Rāmānand’s disciple (greater than his master) Kabir, and this teaching reached its final development, and — what is more, — reached its acceptance by the masses of Hindūs, at the hands of Tulāsī Dās.

We are, however, now more concerned with the scheme of philosophy on which this system was based. The main points of difference between the Vēdānta doctrines of Śankara Āchārya and of Rāmānuja, are given by Dr. Thibaut, in the introduction to his translation of the Vēdānta Śūtras, and a very brief sketch, based on his remarks, such as is necessary for understanding Tulāsī Dās’s language, will suffice here. I shall translate throughout the personal name ‘Rāma’ by ‘The Lord.’ As Dr. Thibaut says of Rāmānuja ‘The only “sectarian” feature of the Śrī Bhāṣya is, that it identifies Brahmā with Vishnu or Nārāyaṇa; but . . . Nārāyaṇa is in fact nothing but another name of Brahmā.’ So also Tulāsī Dās identifies Brahmā or Īśvara with the Rāma incarnation of Vishnu.

The key note of Rāmānuja’s system is a personal Supreme Being, whether called Brahmā (neuter), Nārāyaṇa, or Rāma, ṣeṇḍā₃ hōṁyāṅm Loss qf. According to Śankara, on the contrary, Brahmā, the Supreme being, the highest Self, is pure Intelligence or Thought, or which comes to the same thing, pure ‘Being.’ Absolutely nothing can be predicated of it. All the world around us is simply a projection of this absolute intelligence in association with māyā or illusion, and, as so associated, Brahmā is called Īśvara, the Lord. Each soul (jīva) is pure Brahmā, and the aggregate of bodily organs, and mental functions which make up the individual, and which separate and distinguish one soul from another, are mere māyā and unreal. So also all objects of cognition, volition, &c., the external world, are mere māyā; the only thing that really exists is the soul,—the projection of the supreme (parama) qualityless (nirgunam) Brahmā. The non-enlightened soul is unable to look beyond the veil of māyā, and blindly identifies itself with its adjuncts, the bodily organs and cognitions which make up the individual. It thus becomes limited in knowledge and power, as an agent and enjoyer. As such it burdens itself with the merit and demerit of its actions, and as a consequence is subject to a continual series of births and rebirths into infinity, each of which is a direct

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* Now in course of publication in the Bibli. Ind. That Tulāsī Dās is considered a professed follower of Rāmānuja is manifest from the introductory verses of the Mānas Sankalpa of Bandan Pāthak. He praises Śrī, Rāma, Ḥanumān, Gaṇḍā and Tulāsī Dās. Then he goes on ‘śri-Rāma-ṇava prabhu ḍhāraka ḍhāraka ḍhāraka jīva ! Tulāsī-ṛāma tṛīṣṇe hāraṇa bandhuṇa ṣe. The author would not have brought Rāmānuja’s name so prominently forward, were it not germane to the subject of his work.

* Sacred Books of the East.

* [Just as I have insisted in Legends of the Panjāb in similarly translating Rām, Hari, Bhagāmr, Bhagțvān, &c., as “God.” As the point is of much interest I give the following references to that work.—I. 125, 335, 357, 362, 365, 485; II. 7, 41, 101 ff., 204, 212 ff., 219, 376; III. 351.—Ed.]
consequence of its previous actions. The only way of escaping from this weary continual round of births, is the recognition by the soul of the soul as one with the Supreme Brahman, — the highest Self. By such knowledge the seeker after truth withdraws from the influence of mâyâ, and, at the moment of death obtains immediate final release, being absorbed into and altogether losing his identity in the absolute Supreme Brahman. He once more becomes himself pure “Being,” without qualities, cognitions, or identity.

On the other hand, according to Râmânuja, Brahman, the Supreme Being, the highest Self, the Lord, is not pure Intelligence, though Intelligence is his chief attribute. So far from being pure ‘Being,’ devoid of all qualities, he is endowed with all auspicious qualities. The Lord (I quote Dr. Thibaut’s words) is all-pervading, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-merciful; his nature is fundamentally antagonistic to all evil. He contains within himself whatever exists. Matter and soul (âchit and chît) constitute the body of the Lord; they stand to him in the same relation of entire dependence and subserviency, as that in which the matter forming an animal or vegetable body stands to its soul or animating principle. The Lord pervades and rules all things which exist, material or immaterial—as their antaryâmin, or inward ruler. Matter and soul as forming the body of the Lord are also called modes of him (prakâra). They are looked upon as his effects, but they have enjoyed the kind of individual existence which is theirs from all eternity, and will never be entirely resolved into Brahman. Creation (as both he and Sankara agree) takes place at intervals. Between each period of creation, is a period of pralaya or non-creation, during which matter is unevolved (asyakta), and (according to Râmânuja) individual souls are not joined to material bodies, but their intelligence is in a state of contraction, non-manifestation (mâbhâka). During this pralaya period Brahman is said to be in his causal condition (kârâ唤醒astha). When the pralaya state comes to an end, creation takes place owing to an act of volition on the Lord’s part. Primary unevolved matter becomes gross and acquires those sensible attributes (such as visibility, tangibility, &c.), which are known from ordinary experience. At the same time the souls enter into connexion with material bodies corresponding to the degree of merit or demerit acquired by them in previous existence; their intelligence at the same time undergoes a certain expansion (vihâsa). The Lord, together with matter in its gross state, and the “expanded” souls, is Brahman in the condition of effect (kârâ唤醒astha). Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same; for the effect is nothing but the cause which has undergone a certain change (pariprakâsa).

There is thus, as in Râmânuja’s system a never ending round of births influenced by former actions, and the only way of escaping from the endless chain is cognition of and meditation on the Lord, a thing which can only be done by His grace. There is no veil of mâyâ, as there is in Sankara’s system, between the soul and the Lord: but without the Grace of the Lord, true understanding and true meditation is impossible. He who obtains that grace obtains final emancipation, and an everlasting blissful existence. He does not become absorbed in Brahman, but enjoys a separate personal existence, and will remain a personality for ever.” The release from saûdra, the world of births and rebirths ‘means, according to Sankara, the absolute merging of the individual soul in Brahman, due to the dismissal of the erroneous notion that the soul is distinct from Brahman; according to Râmânuja it only means the soul’s passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise, where it will remain for ever in undisturbed personal bliss.

The above brief abstract of Dr. Thibaut’s luminous comparison of these two sister philosophies, will, it is believed enable the student to understand the paretic side of Tulsî Dîś’s writings, and in concluding this portion of the essay, I will give one more quotation from Dr. Thibaut, which (rem acu tevipil) accurately sums up the history of this side of religious

1 Note that according to Sankara there are two conditions of Brahman, a higher, which is Brahman, pure Intelligence, param nîryugam Brahman — a lower, associated with mâyâ, apram nîryugam Brahman, known as Isvarâ, the Lord. Râmânuja knows only one condition of Brahman, with which name Isvarâ, the Lord, is synonymous.
NOTES ON TULSI DAS.

thought in India. ‘Although this (Sankara’s) form of doctrine has, ever since Sankara’s time, been the one most generally accepted by Brahmanic students of philosophy, it has never had any wide-reaching influence on the masses of India. It is too little in sympathy with the wants of the human heart, which, after all, are not so very different in India from what they are elsewhere. Comparatively few, even in India, are those who rejoice in the idea of a universal non-personal essence in which their own individuality is to be merged and lost for ever, who think it is sweet “to be wrecked on the ocean of the Infinite.” The only forms of Védāntic philosophy which are and can at any time have been really popular, are those in which the Brahman of the Upanishads has somehow transformed himself into a being, between which and the devotee there can exist a personal relation, love and faith on the part of man, justice tempered by mercy on the part of divinity. The only religious books of wide-spread influence, are such as the Rāmdya of Tulsi Dās, which lay no stress on the distinction between an absolute Brahman inaccessible to all human wants and sympathies, and a shadowy Lord whose very conception depends on the illusory principle of māya, but love to dwell on the delights of devotion to one all-wise and merciful ruler, who is able and willing to lead a gracious ear to the supplication of the worshipper.’

With these introductory remarks I submit the following analysis of the fifth, or karma, sarga of the Sat-sūti.

The commentator Baijnāth’s preface to this part is not uninteresting and must first be quoted. ‘The subject matter of this part is an account of the doctrine of actions (karma-siddhānta-sāraṇa). Now this karma is the primal cause (ādī-kāraṇa) of all things. This karma may be good or evil (śuddhāsudha). It is, as it were, the wings of the bird-like soul (jīva-rūpa-palghā), and wings by the support (ādīkāraṇa) of which the soul continually makes progress (gañā). Moreover, good and evil karmas ever emanate naturally from the soul,—good, such as giving water to the thirsty, gifts to the hungry, setting on the right path those who have gone astray, leading the heat-oppressed to shade, and the like,—evil,—but they are countless. Or again; everything doable (yāvat kartavyatā) is karma, as for example, calmness, self-command, patience, trust. The six kinds of religious meditation, freedom from passion, desire for salvation, and other means of obtaining perfect knowledge are all examples of karma. Or again; hearing the Scriptures, chanting hymns, prayer and adoration, faith, these are all karmas. Or again; no karma which may be done contrary to a man’s position in life or caste can be considered a good one. Thus, the branches of the tree of karma extend to hell (nāraka), to the lower heaven (svarga), and to the abode of supreme bliss (mukti-dhāma), and are (the soul’s) one support. Wherever the soul may go, if it do karma with a selfish object (sāvādikā karma) (e.g., to obtain salvation), it must remain dependent upon karma alone, which thus becomes its fetter; but if it does karma with no selfish object (nirvāsikā karma), that is merely in order to please the Lord, then karma is no longer a fetter; it gives faith and salvation, nay, it is an agent (kārtri) of both. For example, Prithu when he sacrificed, had no selfish object, and became endowed with faith to the Lord, but through performing a sacrifice with a selfish object Daksha fell a victim to calamities. So Dhrūva performed unselfish austerities, and obtained faith, but Rāvaṇa performed selfish austerities and wrought his own destruction. Ambārīṣa obtained faith through his unselfish sacrifice. Other examples of karma are, unselfish justice, as in Yuddhaśīthira, and, selfish (karma), Jārāsandha. Thus a man who relies on selfish karma attains only to the lower heaven (svarga), and having thus exhausted his merits must again be born in the world of mortals. Hence, in order to attain to faith in the Lord, a man should only perform good karmas. This ocean of the doctrine of karma is fathomless and illimitable, but with the aid of a spiritual teacher, one crosses it as in a boat.’ End of Preface.

Text.—Consider thy body as worthy of honour, for the Lord himself once took the human

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8 The fifth sarga is devoted to the doctrine (siddhānta) of karma, and the sixth to the doctrine of jñāna. There is no reference here to the karma-kānda (pārśṇa-mīmāṃsā) and the jñāna-kānda (uttara-mīmāṃsā) of the Vēdāntists.
form (and became incarnate as Ráma), and knowledge of the non-dual (advaita) Lord is never far from it (1, 2). The holy man alone understandeth the mystery of the sun and the water, and obtaineth nirvána (3). The Lord is like the sun which draweth water from the Earth in the hot season and again dischargeth it upon the Earth in the rainy season, never desisting in his course (4). He calleth the holy to union with himself as the magnet doth steel (5). Even as the sun’s action in giving water is visible, but in taking water (by evaporation) is invisible, so is the action of the Lord, which can only be learnt by the grace of a spiritual guide (6); for every one knoweth what is before him, visible to the eye,—the gifts of the Lord, but who knoweth what happeneth after death, when the Lord absorbeth (laya) a man to himself (7)? Even as water is drawn from the earth to the sun, and is not lost in it but remaineth water, even so life goeth to the feet of the Lord, but is not absorbed (laya) in him (8). Each according to his nature taketh his store of actions (karma) with him, where’er he goeth he beareth its consequences (9). As a seed (or Earth-born material cause) changeth not its nature, but always produceth its own kind, so doth a man when absorbed (laya) in the Lord still retain his individuality (10). Thus, all things are in the Lord, yet is he not affected by them, as a mirror is not affected by that which it reflects (11); for karma (i.e. actions) cannot be wiped away, it is like a series of waves; the actions of a man’s present life (kriyamána) are the result of those of his former lives (sáuchita) and cause those of his future lives (12, 13). Actions (karma) are of two kinds (good and bad), and the Lord alone is entirely free from them. Few there are who can understand this mystery (14).

But the holy man, who is absorbed in faith in the saving power of the Lord, doeth every action only out of devotion for his Lord, and never looketh back (15). He unchangingly looketh upon Síthá (the energetic power of the Lord) as the giver of happiness, and upon Ráma (the Lord) as the taker away of his woes; the moon and the sun of the night and day of his faith (16). The holy man’s one joy is in Síthá, the tender, illuminating moon of his faith and as gold groweth in the fire, so groweth the soul of a holy man in the cool rays of that moon, casting itself at their feet (17).

Mankind, in their own obstinacy, keep binding themselves in the net of actions (or works) (karma), and though they know and hear of the bliss of those who have faith in the Lord, they attempt not the only means of release (19). Works (karma) are a spider’s thread up and down which he continually runneth, and which is never broken; so works lead a soul downwards to the earth, and upwards to the Lord (20).

Thy nature is ever with thee, and where thou art, there is thy nature too, nor is it set aright till thou hast learnt association with the holy (21). If, as the Védántists do, we talk of an individual’s subtle body (súkshma šaríra) and his grosser body (sthúla šaríra) then there is

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9 This is not the interpretation of Báiḻnáth, and depends on a reading ye tanu instead of yatana (yatna) in the first line.
10 It will subsequently appear, cf. Vés. 8 and ss. that this is very different from the nírvána of Buddhism.
11 Báiḻnáth’s explanation differs here.
12 For the Lord is devoid of karma (a-karma), and cannot become one with sa-karma soul.
13 The argument is that a soul can never free itself from karma, whilst the Lord is ever free from karma, hence the two never can become one. A-karma cannot unite with sa-karma.
14 Karma (actions) has thus three aspects, which is being done now (kriyamána), which is the result of that which has been done in the past (sáuchita), and which is the cause of that which has to be done in future (prárabdhá).
15 Báiḻnáth gives an alternative classification. He says that, with reference to the future, the present and the past of the present are the same. Therefore the two kinds may be, on the one hand sáuchita (including kriyamána) and on the other prárabdha.
16 The ‘night’ of ignorance (vedyá), and the ‘day’ of knowledge (jñána). The darkness of night is nítha, illusion, and the heat of the day is ‘works’ (sáuchita), which Ráma, unlike the real sun renders unnecessary, by the gift of knowledge.
17 As fire destroys the dross of gold, so Ráma and Síthá destroy the dross (sin) of human beings. She, however, does not burn, as fire burns the gold.
no difference between them. The faults and virtues of the subtile are all found in the grosser body (22).

As water for four months cometh from the sun, and for eight months goeth to it, so are the souls of men; they return to the place whence they came (23). The water as it cometh is visible, but as it goeth is invisible, even so is the going of the soul hard to know without a spiritual guide (24). The wicked man goeth along the path of sorrow and is reborn to misery for countless generations (25). There are the two paths of bliss and sorrow, but without the grace of the Lord they cannot be recognized (26), and it is not till he experienceth the sorrow of these perpetual births, that he calleth for the moon, lit. way of Slā (wisdom) (27). Once a holy man treadeth on this path his woes disappear. For that path leadeth to Slā’s (wisdom’s) feet, which guide him to the feet of the Lord (28). This moon of wisdom distilleth nectar of itself, and never suffereth eclipse or shadow (29). Like the real moon she giveth joy to all the world, and if the chakravāka bird and lotus (i.e. the worldly) grieve when she appears, ‘tis not her fault (30). Yet when the world, without experience, seeth them in sorrow, it falsely accuseth her of the fault, though, with a spiritual guide, all that sorrow would be wiped away (31). Learn the parable of the rain-cloud, which sheddeth water and maketh the whole world to rejoice. But, though the rain also causeth the javā plant to wither, no one blameth the cloud (32). The moon draweth poison from the earth, and yieldeth nectar in return; such is faith which destroyeth the holy man’s sins, and giveth him peace (33).

Again, the fierce rays of the sun draw moisture from the earth, and the cool rays of the moon give back nectar (30). Each is the complement of the other,—so is it with the Lord and wisdom (34, 35).

The earth is like the grosser (sthūla) body, and water like the subtile (vākshuna) one (which is absorbed by the sun, and given out by it again). This requireth a spiritual guide to understand (36).

The just man adoreth the cool rays of this moon, while others are seeking refuge (at once) in the fierce rays of the sun (34) undergo difficulties and miseries (39). Therefore should a man by every possible device seek association with the holy, for this endeth finally in union with the Lord (38). Take the part of a servant, which leadeth to happiness, and not that of a master (which by pride and confidence in good works) leadeth to misery. Remember the fates of Vibhishana and Rāvana (39).

‘The moon produceth coolness, and the sun heat,’ (so saith the ignorant), but neither produceth either; consider thou this carefully (40). No one ever saw them do it, yet everyday calleth them ‘the cool-maker’ (sūkha-kara) and ‘the heat-maker’ (uṣṇa-kara), and saith, therefore it is true, and cannot be false.’ But the maker of heat and cold, of sun and moon, is the Lord alone (41). The very Veda tell us of the virtues of nectar, how a draught of it destroyeth disease, and bringeth the dead to life, yet even it is subject to the Lord’s will (42) (43). Every one knoweth that the property of earth is smell, of water coolness, of fire heat, and of air the sense of touch, and their existence is accepted as proved, although they cannot be seen (43).

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19 That is to say during the pralaya period (see above) during which matter is unevolved, and intelligence is in a state of contraction, when the Lord is in his causal state.
20 Baijnath’s commentary is instructive. ‘A father cannot cherish a young child. The mother cherishes it and brings it to the father, so, &c.’
21 Or, the sun gives fiery rays, and the moon coolness.
22 i.e. seeking to know the supreme deity at once, by pure reason, without an intercessor, or by means of good works alone.
23 As for instance, the shower of nectar after the battle of Lanka only brought the bears and monkeys to life, and not the rakshasas.
24 Read, gandha sīta api uṣnāṃ sparśa vidita jaya jīva. A reference to the well known categories of the Nyāya philosophy. In the following verse, aśa = alasa = pāra : chetema = parabrahmarūpa = Rāma-chandra. I am indebted to Prapjita Sudhakar Drivédi for the explanation of this very difficult verse, of which the commentators available to me can make no sense. If, in verse 44, we could read bilākha an instead of bilākha, the passage would be still easier: ‘So in these (i.e. the faithful) the Pure Almighty is not visible, but is revealed, &c.’
In them all is visible the Pure Almighty Lord, who is revealed easily to the heart by the teaching of a spiritual guide (44). Of this nature is the supreme knowledge, which only a few by the grace of their spiritual guides obtain, and thus become for ever holy and able to understand (45).

As the young cuckoo deserteth its foster-father, the cow, and seeketh its own kin, as soon as its wings are grown, so the soul, when it gaineth wings of intelligence (chaitanya) abandoneth things of this world and seeketh the Lord (46). An even mind (samādhi) and clear discrimination (vivekā) follow from abandoning mundane welfare (swārtha)24 (47), yet all men clamber for the latter, though not one desire is ever perfectly fulfilled; for, void of knowledge (jñāna) their delight is in ignorance (ajñāna), and their trust is in their hard and evil intellect (48). But that only is welfare (swārtha) which destroyeth woe, and a spiritual guide alone can point it out (49). They desire this welfare, which is an effect (kārya), without doing those things which are its cause. Learn, saith Tulsī, the parable of the cotton bush, and the sugarcane25 (50).

Every one confesseth that the effect (kārya)26 is a necessary consequence of the material cause (kāraṇa), and saith Tulsī, thou and thou alone art the agent (kāra or kārtṛ) which acteth upon this material cause (51); for without an agent there can be no effect, and how can he attain (to his effect, i.e. salvation) without the instructions of the spiritual guide (as a material cause). The agent acteth upon the material cause, and the effect is produced, but, under the influence of delusion (moha) the agent acteth not (goeth not to the spiritual guide), and hence the effect cometh not (53). For the effect (i.e. salvation) never cometh without the action of the agent upon the material cause (e.g. faith), as surely as waves come not except from the action of the wind upon the water (54). The ultimate refuge of the agent (towards which he should act) is the Lord (55). The agent and the material cause are the two essentials.27 By them thou comest free from impurity, and endowed with faith in the one Lord, while karma (actions) waxeth or waneth (as their effect) (56). Where there is a material cause, the action (karma) must be produced (as an effect) self-born like the sweat-born insects.28 No one sees them produced, and yet they come (57).

From unholy actions (karma) holiness cannot come. Wash thyself in the ear of unholiness, and be holy (58). Show love to all creatures and thou wilt be happy (59), for: when thou lovest all things, thou lovest the Lord, for He is all in all (60). Thou and the universe are made of the same elements, and in thee dwellest thy soul (jīvātman), which thou canst not know till thou hast gained perfect knowledge (61). This knowledge may come in sudden inspiration, or from humbly sitting at the feet of a spiritual guide (62). Learn from thy guide to distinguish effects (kārya) temporal from effects eternal (63); the night is dark, let the sunrise of

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24 Defined as (1) sundar varṇī, (2) atar dāśa surandh, (3) sunder vasan, (4) bākhave, (5) gām tām, (6) tambūl, (7) uttam bhājan, (8) gajādi.

25 Worldly welfare consists in fine clothes, sweet food, and the like. These are effects, and cannot be produced without weaving cotton, and pressing the sugarcane. The preparations of the cotton and of the sugarcane are therefore the material causes of these effects. So also the supreme welfare, or salvation, is an effect which necessitates a material cause. This material cause is true knowledge, faith and the like. Here the dry cotton bush represents the dry (nirra) path to salvation by philosophy alone, while sugarcane represents the sweet (varṇa) path to salvation by faith in the Lord.

26 I follow the reading Kāraṇa-kāra jī, et tāṁ.

27 Bājīnāth says, these two of the three (agent, material cause, and effect) are the essentials, because when the agent acquires belief (vaidhi, not bhakti; cf. Śaṅkilya, 24) he approaches material causes, such as association with the holy. By the power of these his mind (manas) is directed to the Lord, and he does works (ākāhyā) such as hearing the scriptures, hymn-singing, asceticism and the like from which love (prema) arises. Thus his dualistic wisdom (dveṣa-buddhi), which was foul, is destroyed, and into his pure mind monistic discrimination will enter, and with pure affection he will obtain the Lord. So also, when the agent associates with the worldly, he looks upon mysteries after their fashion, and any purity which he originally had is destroyed, the mind becomes attached to things of the senses, and owing to sinful karma increasing, the agent gains the eighty-four hells. Therefore, saith Tulsī Dī, make association with the holy a material cause.

28 Like, &c., which are classed as a separate order of beings, distinct from those which are viviparous or oviparous. They have no parents.
knowledge shine. A man cannot trust for salvation to his good works (karma), for often do they mislead and the wisest are thereby made fools (65). A work (karma) done for mere reputation (náma-kára) defileth, for it is done without considering its effects (66). Flee evil communications. Holiness waneth when near wickedness, as the moon waneth when approached by the sun, and waneth as it goeth farther from it (67).

As thy father and thy mother were born, so hast thou been born, but thou art not one with thy father and thy mother (thou art only one with the Lord) (68). Hence thou art one with the whole universe (which is one with him), yet, at the same time thou art a distinct separate being (69). Even as gold is made into various ornaments, but still remaineth gold: so is the soul, and only by the Lord’s grace can the wise man test it (as a goldsmith testeth the ornament, and knoweth that it is gold) (70). It is one thing throughout, yet it hath many qualities and many names, beyond the possibility of counting, and thou canst only ascertain its true nature with the help of a spiritual guide (71). The gold is the root-substance, and it is only the adjuncts (upádhi) of name, form, &c., which cause it to appear as the countless ornaments of the body (72). The form of the root-substance may change owing to its adjuncts, and according to them it is beautiful or the reverse, and only the clear intellect considereth the effect of these qualities in his mind (74).

When thou seest the outer form, give thou it its name and tell of its qualities only after

29 I retain throughout the word karma besides translating it. Here it means good works, which, I may note, are of three kinds, those done for the love of God (madhuryika), those done for personal salvation (kátyika), and those done for mere reputation (námasára). The names, however, do not agree with the descriptions, which are Baijnath’s.

30 Baijnath gives several examples. Two will suffice to explain the author’s meaning. The pious Nriya gave the same cow to two Bráhmans by mistake, and was cursed in consequence. Here a good karma led to a bad result. Ajíñi, a notorious sinner, accidentally, and not intending it, uttered the name of God when at the point of death, and thereby got salvation. Here a bad karma led to a good result. Hence the moral is, put not your trust in karma or works, but in faith in the Lord.

31 All commentators explain this by a reference to the Śakakara doctrine of Māya, which was ignored by Rāmānuja, who only recognizes the Lord in two conditions of cause and effect, kṛṣṇāvastha and kāryāvastha. If the interpretation is true (which I greatly doubt), then Tulsi Das has superadded to Rāmānuja’s doctrine, a doctrine of śakti-máya.

32 Baijnath’s explanation is as follows:—As a son is born from the union of his father and his mother, so the soul comes into living being from the union of the Lord (lāvara) and Māya. At the will of the Lord Māya became śakti, and then became a triple-qualified self (tríyajñaśakti). Māya has two forms, viz., of cause and of effect, and lávara projected a portion of himself, like seed (vyamat), into the causal form (kramā-rūpa, rajas). Hence was produced the soul in a condition of foolishness of its true self, and imagining its body, &c., to be its real self. At the same time Māya in its form of effect (kārya-rūpa), having deluded the organs of sense, &c., and having caused them to forget happiness in the Lord, made them devoted to temporal happiness. Hence the poet tells the soul not to think himself one with his earthly father and mother, or even with his supreme parent (lāvara and kramā-rūpa Māya, but to recognize himself as really one with the Lord only.

33 Here we come back to Rāmānuja’s doctrine of the eternally separate individuality of the soul. There is nothing about the śakti-máya in the text. Indeed in dōhā 16 the poet apparently treats Śāh as a kind of śakti, and he assuredly would not call her Māya.

34 Baijnath carries on his explanation,—Just as gold is made into many ornaments, yet still remains gold, and its quantity remains unchanged, and is not diminished, so, with Māya for a material cause, the formation of bodies takes place, but the true nature of the self (dūma-tattva) is in no way diminished, but ever remains unaltered.

35 Gold may have many qualities, e.g., it may be used for charity or for debanchery, for food or for clothes, ornaments, and so on, and many names, as a specified coin, a bracelet, an earring, and so on.

36 Baijnath says ornaments (bhāṣākara) are of twelve classes according as they are worn on the crown of the head (1), forehead (2), ear (3), throat (4), nose (5), arm (6), wrist (7), finger (8), waist (9), foot (10), ankle (11), toe (12). Each of these classes contains countless ornaments.

37 From the 44th to the 74th dōhā, the poet has dealt with the question of the soul recognizing its own form. He now deals with the question of recognizing the form (rūpa) of the Lord. According to Baijnath, the Lord has five principal forms, viz., (1) Antaryāmin, the Inward Ruler, who is void of quality, nīśhāna, (2) Pāra, He who becomes incarnate, like Bāma, out of pity for mankind, (3) Vyāha (not explained), (4) Viśākha, He who becomes incarnate for special purposes, such as Nrisimha, &c., (5) Archā, Local forms, such as Jagannātha, &c., No. 2–5 have qualities (ṣaya). Antaryāmin (inward ruler) is usually mistranslated by Hindl scholars as antaryāmin, the inward knower (antar-kājñ, Baijnath).
careful thought (75). The Lord is ever endowed with all auspicious qualities, in whom alone is the hope of ultimate salvation (76). There is only one easy, simple, means of approaching this saguna (with-quality) Lord (namely faith), while the way of knowledge to a nirguna (without-quality) Brahman is full of countless difficulties (77). In that one Lord there are four classes of qualities, and say (O doubter) what existeth not within these qualities? All things are included in them, a saying hard to understand (78). The holy man knoweth the secret of the universe from East to West, and without that knowledge how can one wipe out one's heritage of woe (79); for the disease which hath doubt and sorrow (or error) for its root giveth unmeasured sorrow, as snakes seen in a dream, from which a man cannot escape (80). The snakes to him are real things, until he openeth his eyes; so is this sorrow real, till the eyes of the soul are opened by hearing the words of the spiritual guide (81). As long as hope (in things temporal) but toucheth the soul, no full sight of the true object of desire can be gained; even as, in the rainy season, as long as rain cometh not, the husbandman is not satisfied (82). As long as the soul hath ever so little desire, every one is greater than it, but once a man entirely loseth all desire, who can be greater than he and he obtaineth in the end the supreme home (83).

The cause (kāraṇa) is the agent (kāriṇi) (i.e. Brahman) immutable, without beginning, in the form of the uncreated, free from blemish, and incomparable. From it cometh many effects.

28 Sukha-adgama-mālūyana (or divyam) gunas kāri agdh. It will be seen that Bājī'nāth in the above note says that Antaryāmin is nirguna. This is directly opposed to Rāmānuja, and is not stated by Tu'śad Dās. Bājī'nāth adds that he is both chīt, soul, and achīt, matter, which agrees with Rāmānuja, who says that these form the body of the (saguna) Lord, and are modes (prakāra) of him.

29 So I translate this verse, which I take as arguing against the nirguna Brahman doctrine of Śaṅkara, in favour of the saguna Brahman (or saguna śvara) doctrine of Rāmānuja. It involves translating agdhā here as equivalent to upāya. The verse literally translated is as follows: 'The device for (obtaining) the vyūha (padārtaḥ) is that, that is to say, saṁśața (sātra) sātra saitraum kūha-dāyaka saguna śri Rāma) is one and everlasting. The devices for the nirguna (padārta) are countless. Tu'śad Dās, consider with special care, and follow the very easy course.' Bājī'nāth, following his original error, explains nirguna, not by the Śaṅkara, as opposed to the Rāmānuja, Brahman, but by the Antaryāmin, who, as he again repeats is sātra, and skāra. As already said, according to Rāmānuja, the Antaryāmin is saguna, and pervades and rules all things which exist, both material and immaterial, chīt and achīt.

30 Bājī'nāth quoting from the Bhaṭṭadeva-pāṇi-darpana, explains that in the Lord are all possible qualities, and it is useless denying that anything which exists has qualities which he has not. These qualities (gūpa) are divided into four classes. (1) Those conducive to the creation (upattati) and maintenance of the universe, viz.:-

Jāna (1), ātma (2), bhav (3), sāvitya (4), śivya (5), tājānāy (6), adhokshat 1
iva nātma vāsyaśeśa saha guṇadāmaka dina jagad-upattātīdy uṣpādhātu pradvādha kārman 2

Myopratyākhyātadhyatā bhogaha saha guṇadāmaka dina jagad-upattātīdy uṣpādhātu pradvādha kārman 2

knowledge, power, force, lordship, virile energy, ardour; to which some add, hostility to what should be abandoned, and infinity. I give the original Sanskrit, because Bājī'nāth has entirely misunderstood the latter, prose, portion.

(2) Those conducive to devotion, divinity, viz.:- śatya, truth; jñānata, knowledge in the abstract; amāta, endlessness; ēkta, oneness; viyākṣaśce, pervadulence; amalata, purity; adatadvata, independence; ānadvata, bliss in the abstract.

(3) Beneficial to those who take refuge in a person (dvīta-tāmāpaśayaśita) nineteen, viz.:- deva, mercy; kṛṣṇa, greatness; sukaśe, compassion; amṛtatnata, mildness; vīśeṣa, tenderness; śūnya, amiable; saukāya, accessibility; kāruṇya, pity; kāśām, forbearance; śāmśeṣa, profundity; śūnṣa, nobility; sthāriva, firmness; dharma, patience; chhātra, sagacity; kṛtikā, expertise; kriyātattva, gratitude; mānasa, sweetness; ājñāna, recititude; saukāya, kindness-heartedness.

(4) Beneficial to the outward appearance, viz.:- saumadāya, beauty; mālāyana, softness; maugandya, fragrance; saukumārya, youthfulness; suhaṣya, clearness of complexion; śūnṣa, charm; abhīrāpa, good proportion; kānti, enhancement of beauty by love; tāruṇa, gracefulness, and the like.

It will be observed that these are all auspicious qualities, with which, according to Rāmānuja, the Lord is endowed.

Again the commentators go wrong in explaining this very simple verse, trying to force Śaṅkara's doctrine into it.

That is to say, ignorance causes real sorrow, just as a phantom snake, seen in a nightmare, gives very real agony.

33 As long as it wants anything which it has not got and another has, that other is a greater man than it.

34 Or all things are equal in his sight.
(kārya) (84). But the agent cannot be known without the help of a spiritual guide, and except in the way of true happiness, how can sorrow be wiped away (85)? The world knoweth that an earthen vessel cannot be made without a potter, so how can any action (karma) be done without an agent (86)? Learn thou to know that agent (the Lord) from whom cometh the chief action; for without that knowledge, though thou reason in countless ways, thou wilt not come to see him (87). Reasoning cannot prove anything without a witness, therefore, if thou depend upon reason. I challenge thee to show me what visible proof thou hast (88). The potter, the agent, with his material cause, the earth, maketh (vessels of) many (varieties as his effects); but the man without discrimination looketh only at the cause (the earth) and considereth not that there must also have been an agent (the potter) (89). The goldsmith, as the agent, maketh manifest the gold which is the material cause; his joy-giving effects are the ornaments which he maketh from it, whose qualities are to enhance the beauty of the wearer (90). From the gold come ornaments of countless kinds, each depending on the intention of the agent. The soul which devoteth itself to them (instead of to their agent, the Lord), and hath not a spiritual guide is doomed (woe (91). Owing to (the trammels of) its body, the soul imagineth that whatsoever existence it findeth itself in, that is the real one; but when given knowledge it knoweth that this is not so (92). The potter’s vessels are of various kinds, each taking its form according to the volition of the agent, and he who bath a spiritual guide and knoweth this (not only) giveth joy to others but obtaineth matchless wisdom (93). In the market (every one looketh at and admires the vessels (for sale), and but few think of the potter, according to whose volition there are many forms, vessels very small and very great (94). The potter is uniform, and so is the clay. The vessels are of many kinds, small and great, and their form is due to the volition of the

In this and the following verses I deliberately throw over all the commentators. First, because my translation is literal, and secondly, because it exactly agrees with Rāmānuja, who says expressly that the Lord in the pralaya state is in his causal state kāraṇausthā. When the pralaya state comes to an end, creation takes place according to an act of volition on the Lord’s part. He is therefore now both a cause, kāraṇa, and an agent kārtṛi. When creation is complete the Lord (together with all created things) is in the condition of an effect, kāryausthā. Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same. It will be seen that this is just what Tulśi Dās says above. The commentators explain the effect of the agent to be the soul, and the cause to be means of salvation (converse with the holy and the like) or the reverse. These two are immutable, &c. The effect they explain to be good actions, karma, &c. This is nonsense, as I understand it. How can such a cause be described as immutable and so on? Rāmānuja, it is true (II, 3, 36-46), ascribes kārtṛi to the jīva, but I do not think that this is what Tulśi Dās refers to here, though he undoubtedly does so in dūḥa 51 ff.

The clay is the material cause, the potter is the agent, making the pot is the action or karma (Baij’nāth in his commentary on Dūḥa 84, distinctly says that karma = kārya, and I think that here he is nearly right). So all this will be very familiar to readers of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad, cf. also Vedānta sūtras II., 1, 14-20. So also the Lord, acting as above described, creates all things, which effects are karma. By ‘chief’ action, I understand the creation of all existing things. Not only the Lord, but every individual soul is an agent. The Lord is the chief agent, and his action should also be the chief.

Baij’nāth, still interpreting the soul as the agent, adds,— the effects are joy-giving, because, if the goldsmith is skilful and fears the king, nor covets and steals a portion of the gold, but uses all his industry to make beautiful ornaments, and gives them to the king to wear, the beauty of the king is enhanced. Then the king, being pleased, gives the goldsmith a reward, who thereby is made joyful. But if the goldsmith is foolish and covetous, and puts alloy in the gold, the ornament is spoiled, and the king punishes him. This parable is to be explained as follows: the soul is the agent, the goldsmith. His skill is self-knowledge, and abandonment of worldly desire. Association with the holy, and the like, are the cause, the gold. The nine different categories, pravīṇa, lora, &c., are the effects, the ornaments. The Lord is the king. By causing him to wear the ornaments, the qualities of tenderness to the devotee and the like are made manifest. By the grace of the Lord, the faithful being released from fear, are exalted. On the other hand, the soul which is foolish, attached to things of this world, and full of desires, makes alloyed ornaments for its karma or actions, and its punishment is (that of) the world.

I adopt the reading kartṛa (kārtṛa).

karta-māna bhava rāpa, its form became existing according to the mind of the agent. The commentators make māna = jīva, the soul, and say, as there are many kinds of vessels, so the soul, as agent, with the material universe (bhava = saṁskāra) as cause, makes many kinds of bodies. I take bhava in its common meaning of ‘became,’ the past tense of hāma. The application of sukhāda is doubtful. Possibly the spiritual guide is joy-giving, and not the enlightened soul.

ja kā māna kā rāpa bahā. Baij’nāth explains, the potter as the soul under the influence of whose desires (māna = mantrātha), the body takes new forms after death.
agent 95 (95). Wherever He is, and in whatever form He dwelleth, there He is ever the same. 96 No past hath He and no future hath He, the Pure, the Incomparable (98). He cannot be recognized. The grace of the Lord is the only means of showing Him (and teaching the nature of the Higher Self), just as a pure mirror maketh visible the (hitherto unseen) water in the breath-wind of the body 97 (97). But why make these comparisons? His immutable conditions are incomprehensible, and only they can understand the way who have gained the true knowledge 88 (98). According to the time, from the agent and the material cause come actions (karma); know this as my decision. Again, according to the time, the agent goeth far off, and the cause remaineth as a proof of his existence (99). 55

To be continued.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

DHAMMACETI, 1476 A.D.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

(Continued from p. 213.)

Atha rajā paṇḍitaṭeṇāḥ peseṭvā parivirṣakṣeṣāḥ. Tatō parivirṣakṣaṅkālāḥ thāmasa ekaṃśa catunnaṁ ca dahanabhikṣūnaḥ Sibal upasampadagahapatō pubbe mahantaravajabhāvāḥ pi tucchāssa garahaparipāvādattassā sambhāvāṁ śatvā, raññū tathā arūcessu. Tatā Rāmaṇāhipatirājā sāsaṃsāra antamastapariprakshākṣa ca upasampadabhāvā ca upasampadagahapatō pubbe mahantaravajabhāvā ca sante pi rittakgarahaparipāvādattasahitaṁ taṁ thāmaṁ sasisaṁ parivajjeva, tathā aṁbe pi cattāro dahanabhikṣū parivajji. Tad avasēsa pana datathera ca cha dahanabhikṣūc ca antamastapariprakshā upasampadā

51 The earth, the material cause, has nothing whatever to do with the shape of the resultant effect. Cause and effect are essentially the same, and in all the vessels the same cause, the earth, exists unchanged. Any difference in form is due therefore to the volition of the agent, whom I interpret as the Lord, and Bājānāthī and other commentators as the soul, acting on Māya as the material cause, and producing different forms in different births.

52 Every soul is of the Lord, and a portion of him. He therefore is in every thing, unchanged and unchangeable, without beginning (past) or end (future).

53 This is the plain meaning of the word Śrīsā-śeṣa pratyakṣaṇa upa mācaḥkā narā sa lakkhaṇā. The commentators, however, give an altogether different mystical interpretation. The body is composed of five elements, ether, air, fire, water and earth. Here air includes ether and fire, and water includes earth. Therefore air and water are the essentials of the body. Therefore the line means this: self, composed of breath and water, when visible, is pure like a mirror, but it is only visible by the Lord's grace.

54 Rend, Tulasī tuli rahi jīta kāi jugunī na ahala upādhi. Papūṣ Sudhakar Divīdī gives me the following explanation of this verse, which has completely baffled the commentators. Tulasī tuli (tulāṇa kar) rahi jīta kāi (chup kē jīta kāi). Acalā upādhi mā kāi jugunī (jukti) nahin hai, arthāt yakti nahin mili.

55 Here again, with fear and trembling, I differ from the commentators. The verse is as follows, and I have given above a literal translation:

 kartā kāraṇa kāla kē yāga karma matī jāna
 punaḥ kāla kartā durata kāraṇa rahata pramāṇa II

I interpret this as referring to the two states of the Lord. In the kāryāvacchā, the condition of effect, he creates and actions are produced. Again, in course of time, in the pralaya-kāla, matter becomes unevolved, and individual souls are in a state of non-manifestation (mātrikā). The Lord himself is quiescent, and as it were, far off. He is then in his kāraṇa-vācchā. Hence the poet says: 4 at one time, during the period of creation, the Lord is an active agent; by his volition all actions (karma) take place. At another time, during the (pralaya) period, he withdraws himself, and becomes a mere unevolved cause (kāraṇa) which is all that remains to prove his existence.

The commentators treating the agent as meaning the individual soul, say that kāla yāga means according to age periods, such as the sāya yāga, the dēvāya yāga and so on; or, in other words, according to associations. According to good or evil company, the agent (the soul) and the cause (the associations or māya) produce different fruits (karma), some good, some evil. Then duraḥ 'becomes distant,' is interpreted to mean 'changes,' and the second line is translated as times change, the soul (the agent) changes its nature as a goldsmith manufactures his ornaments as the fashions change (kartā, jītra, kāla durata, kāla, suhē, bākē bākē adad, arthāt samay anukā jīna bhī kau jītra; yathā svarnakāra jaiśe samay dēkat tāsī bākē bākē rukāta. Tāt kē kāla kāla jītra bhī kāla durata), while the cause (just as the gold and the clay of the potter are always the same) i.e., māya, that is to say, ignorance, evil companionship, wickedness, and on the other hand, knowledge, good companionship, honesty, remains always exactly the same. I cannot admit this interpretation to be correct. It is in the first place forced, and in the second place is opposed to Rāmānuja's doctrine.
ritakagaharaparūpaśammatatā pī virahitā simāsammutiṣāvaśabhavoygyatī samißhānam akāśī.

Simāsammananāsanakkāle pan’t ētēsu Guṇamatānaḍharathērō gāśātenā phīsēntā sissēna sādhīṁ sakavhārāṁ paccaṅgantvā vasaṁi. Tēna Siṁsāṅghabodhisatvā ca, Kittiṣirimaḥsāsāmā ca, Pārakkamaṁbhūṣāmā ca, Buddhaghosīsāmā ca, Jīnaḷākārāsīsāmā ca, Ratanānālīsāmā cē, Saddharmatājāsīsāmā ca, Sudhamāṇāmāsīsāmā ca, Būvānēkavaśabhūsīsī cē tāva thurā; tēsāṁ sissabhūtā panā dharabhakkāḥ: Siṁsāṅghakhitā ca, Dhammadvīlaśā ca, Uttarā ca, Uṃtāmō ca, Dhammatārō ca; paṇēcātī; cuddasīva bhikkhū simat̤hānato pacchimadisāyaṁ kārūpītī vīhārē vasaṁī.

Tattā paraṁ Rājā simāsammutiṣakkaṁ kārūpītukāmō: "Yatto bhikkhū simā saman-nilīṁ icchantī; sacē tatttha purūṣasimā n’attthī; tathēdāni samman-nilāsimā samabhavatī; sacē pan’attthī, abhinavasimā na samabhavatī; simaṃsimbhōdajhōṭharaṇadīpasasasūkātā." Tattā tatttha purūṣasimāsamaghātāṁ catvā vēdāni saman-nilīṁ "bhīnavasimā samabhavatī. Tasmā simāsammutiṣīyā pathamam ēva simāsamavāhātakamaṇāṁ kattabban ti’; manasi nīḍhāya atthakathāya santaṁ simāsamaggaḥūtiparikekanamaṇā kātām ārabhī.


Khaṇḍasimāna jānantaḥ, avippavāsasūkanakhaṭāmaḥ mahāsimāna yevā jānantaṁ, cetiyaṁgag-a-bōdhiyagana’ upōsathāgarādīsīriṣaṅkaṭhānēsa thatvā, appēva nāma samūhanītuṁ sakkhasantī; bandhituṁ pana na sakkhasant’ēva. Če bandhēyyuṁ, simāsambhēdaṁ katvā vīhāraṁ avihāraṁ karēyyum: tasmā na samūhanitabbāṁ.

Yē pana ubho pī na jānandī; tē n’ēva samūhanītuṁ na bandhituṁ sakkhasantī. Ayaṁ hi simā nāma kammacācāya vā asimā hoṭī; sāsan’antaradānēnā vā; na ca sakka simā ajanantēci kammavācaḥ kātuṁ; tasāṁ na samūhanitabbāṁ. Śādhikeṁ pana ētavā yēva samūhanitabbā ca bandhitabbāti vuttaṁ simāsamavāhātakamaṇā kattum icchantā bhikkhū sacē pūraṇasimāya vijjamāntattāpī parichchēdoṁ vā jānandī; tattthā kammappatiṭhī bhikkhūthī thatvā pūraṇasimāya samūhanītuṁ ca abhinavasimāya bandhituṁ ca labhantī. Sacē pana pūraṇasimāparichchēdoṁ na jānandī; tattthā satī taṁ samūhanītuṁ ca abhinavasimāya samānmanītuṁ ca na labhantīt atthā āpanno viyā dissattī. Vīmativīndapānīyam pana: “kēcē pana idēsēṭvā pī vihārēṣu cha-pāčcamattē bhikkhū gahītvā, vihārakōṭīpī patthāya vihāraparikkhopassa antō ca bahi ca samantarā lūḍḍapātē tatttha sabbattha manḍacapamāṇē okāśeṁ nirantarāṁ thatvā, pathamam avippavāsasimānaṁ tattī simaśūnasimāśasakasimānaṁ ca simūhananivasināva simāsamugghatē catē, tasmiṁ vihārē khaṇḍasimāva maḥāsimāvā vijjamāntattē satī avassāṁ ekasimā maṇicatthānaṁ tāsāṁ maḥjagatātē te bhikkhu tā samūhanōyumu. Tattō gāmasimā eva avasissēyā. Na hētthā simāya vā parichchēdo vā jānanam aṅgānī hōti. Simāya pana antō thānaṁ simūhanissīmāti kammāvācākaraṇā cēṭhā aṅgānī. Atthakathāyaṁ khaṇḍasimāna avippavāsān ajanantī pī samūhanītuṁ c’ēva bandhituṁ ca sakkhasantīti. Ėvaṁ maḥāsimāya parichchēdo sasāya jānāno pī samūhatāya vuttaṁ gāmasimā’ eva ca avasīṣṭhāya tattthā yathārūcitaṁ duvidham pī simāṁ bandhituṁ c’ēva upasampadādik-kamaṁ kātuṁ ca vattaṭhāti vandaṁ. Taṁ yuttam viyā dissattī; vimāṁsitvā gahetābbā ti’ vuttaṁ tēsāṁ kēsācī thērānāṁ adhipāyō yuttarūpō viyā dissattī. Atthakathāyaṁ ca parūṣa-simāya vijjamāntattē vā parichchēdo vā ajanantānaṁ simāsamugghatāssā dukkaratā mahātanām vīyānaṁ akathā yēna vā tēna vā vīyānaṁ simūhananivasināva simāsamugghatē samūhāya ye pana ubho pī na jānandī; tē n’ēva samūhanītuṁ ca na bandhituṁ ca labhantīti vuttaṁ. Na pana

Kalyāṇiṣāsimasammutiṭō ca punētaraṁ ēva, Sihāḷādīpē upasampājīṭvē paccagatāṁnathā thōrhāṁnān sampattakālātō paṭṭhāyate sādhūsāmpannāḥ byattā paṭṭhālaṁ gaṇino gaṇacaryā Rāmaḍhīpitarājānam upasaṅkamitvā: "na kēḥ pānē cāmaḥ Māhārāja, patirōpaṇāṁ yāṁ mayam Buddhāsaṇē
REVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.


Tātā rája migāsiramaṇasā sakkaṇakkhō navamiyāmn candavāro pātō va tehi gaṇḍa-carīyahī sādhhiṁ yōna Kālyāṇasimī tōn' upasaṅkāmī. Pañcāhi dahabrahikkhihi sādhhiṁ navathērō ca upajhayaabhāvānūpā-Suvaṇṇasobhapathārō ca nimanṭopēvā Kālyāṇasimīyām niṣidāpēsī. Tātā rája Siha' upasampadāna gānḥitakāmo gaṇḍa-carīyang thāpēvā, yōna Sihaḷadipam-gāmīnu thō' tē' upasaṅkāmī; upaṇe saṅkāmitvā te evam āha: "Imē bhante, gaṇḍa-carīyā tumhākaṁ satiktī Siha' upasampadāna gānḥhitam icchanti; dītha bhante, tumhō upasampadān ēmosam gaṇḍa-carīyanān tān āha.

Tasmāna hēna upasampadakammakaraṇakāle paṭhaṁdavasabbūtī mīgasiramāsāna sukkapakkāhī navamiyaṃ candavārō Rāmapūpitiṇājaḥ sayam eva tattha nisiḍidīvā, kamma kāraṇabhiikkhūnaḥ ca, upasampanānaṃ gaṇacāryaṇāṇaḥ ca, upasampadāpekkhānaḥ ca gaṇacāryaṇāḥ, purū bhattachāyanaḥ ca pacchā bhattānaḥ vividhapānaḥ ca santappanathānaḥ paṭisāνikaraṇētvā, upasampadādānarpitēsvāna ca sadhūkārandanathānaḥ bhērisaṅkhādiṇī dhammāpētvā upasampanānaṃ upasampanaṃ gaṇajīnāmatthānaḥ lākāvohārakāvidē lēkhaṅ aṅkākāracē canēkapadaṭītānaḥ ṣhapētvā, rattiṃ upasampadathāthya ca bahū dhē ṣhapētvā, suśrīṣṭhāvagamanānānākāle paṇivittātvā niṣamandīram agamasī." 

Navamīto paṭṭhāya yēva tārasaṃyaṃ paṇcaṇḍavasām upasampanā gaṇacārye paṇcacakattālādhikadvisatsaparīmaṇa mēḥēsva. Tātō rāja cātuddasāya mēnnavārūr eva paṇcapadōpaṇcacakatīllum sādhihikavadisa-parimāṣe tō thēra-gaṇacārye: “Svē bhadattā mīgasirapanṇam upōsthadiyasā adicavarē upasampadakammakarākāhē jīnēsara bhikkhū ca sāddhiṃ Kalyāṇīsīmāyā upōsathā karōtu; tad avasānē bhadattānaṃ piṇḍaṭāna ca orūṇē ca devy-dhammānā dātum lacohama, cītān ca piṇḍaṭēṃ lacohāmati” nimantōpēsī. Upōsthadiyasā rāja mahātā parivārē sāddhiṃ pōto va, gantvā Kalyāṇīsīmāyā piṇḍaṭabāsaṇāṇa paṭṭhāpētvā, pādōḍakaṇa ca paṭṭhāpētvā, paṇcacakatī upasampanaṃ no gaṇacārye ca, jīnēsara paṇcacakatī sādhipamānaṃ no ṣamāyāmaṃ mīnēda. Athē tō sabbē sannapātīvī Kalyāṇīsīmāyā upōsatham akaramiṃ. Tad avasānē rāja tē sabbē pi nāmappakārehi khajja-bhōjēhi ca vividīhē ca tambūlahidēsahēji ca, sortētvā kāca ṣevētvā ṣevētvā suśrīṣṭhāvagamanānānānaṃ dvē dvē yugē datvā, pūgakattarīyādiparīvarām sapīdoṇām ēkām ca tāmuṇāpētēkā ca taṭalabījanēm ēkām ca, sīṃpaṭhēchattēm kē ca, sādhipamākāhānaṃ pattēm kē ca, dēpsī." 

Tātō rāja sabbēsām bhikkhūnaṃ anumatiyā yēva Suṇaṃsobhaṅaṭhēra sa Kalyāṇīśitisaṃmahāhēro tē nāmam adēsi.

Tātō pabhuti rāja paṇcāhi daḥarabhikkhū ca sāddhiṃ tēsam upasampadākāraṇāno Kalyāṇīsīmamahāhērādhānaṃ dānaṃ thērēnaṇā ca, tasaṃ simāyā paṭṭhānaṃ upasampanānaṃ gaṇacāryaṇāna ca, bahūnaṃ upasampadāpekkhāna ca, piṇḍaṭādi-paccayē ca nāmaṭaparaṇiṭhāya añocē pāḍiṭṭahanē ca, upasampanānām upasampanānaṃ gaṇasājinaṭhēra bhūmē bhērisaṅkhādivēkā ca, sātāmē eva tattha vasēpsī."
Upasampadakammakāraka dasathēra ca, upasampann' upasampannā pañcācattāli-
sādhikadvisatapamūnāna gañacaryē ca, tēsa ca sissabhūtē bahū bhikkhu ca, Sihal' upasampadān gañhitukāmē aṭṭhē cagatāgāte gañacaryē ca, divasē divasē nirantarām
upasampeṣaṃum.

Api ca Rāmādhipatirājā sakalana pi bhikkhusuṅghamāyācītēvā, tassanumatiyā yēva
sabbasēmi pi Rāmaññhamandati tiṭṭhānanm sabbasēna bhikkhūnam idissam katikavacanam
ārociēt:

“Ajattaggē bhaddantā, sacē pabbajjāpākkhē pabbajjētukāmē hōnti; yē pana pabbajjā-
pākkhē lakkhaṇāḥatē vā hōnti; dhahandhaḥcērā vā; ārādhēkādā vā; rajā-
jiṇṇā vā; adhīmatagā ślānē upaśiplīṭā vā; hatthacchinādi-aṅgavikāla vā; khunē vā; vāmanē vā;
khaṇē vā; kusā vā; yē vē paunē pi parisadūsanā hōnti. Yē yē pabbajjē pi, passantā
passantā manoṣī kēlī vā, parihaṁsam vā, garahāna vā, karōnti; cittaun pasādōtu vā, garavam
uppādetum vā, na sakōnti. Tē tādīsē bhaddantā, mā pabbajjēntu.

Sacē vā pana bhaddantānaṁ santikē upasampadāpākkhē santi; tē pi Rāmādhipatirānāno
vā, Haṃsavatipurāṇadhivāsinī gañacaryayabhūtānaṁ vā thērānam, anārōcētvā, sakā-
sakathāhāno yēv upasampadām mā karōntu. Sacē paun anēhēi katau pi katikavattam
anādiyātvā, sakā sakathāhāno yēv upasampadām bhaddantā karissantī: tathā sat upasam-
padāpākkhānaṁ mātāpītunām vā, nātākānām vā, upaṭṭhakabhūtānam vā dāyākānam,
mayaṁ danādakamam upanēssēmāti ca.

Yē vē pana pāpabhikkhū vajjakamāni karōnti; yē vē gañaṅkakamāni vadhākkikamāna
māntakāraṁ katva, rājā-rājamaḥmatādānaṁ sabbasēna pi jānaṁ jātaṇāpadāraṇīyēna vā,
uppādanimittā-supin’-uppāda-karaṇa-vasēna vā, sahaṇadukkham ācikkhanti.

Yē vē bhikkhū yādiyānaṁ yādisam ācikkhanaṁ, cittaṇārammavadhākkikamā-ndantakāra-
kamā-undantakāramma-bimbakārakamādikānaṁ katva, gihikāmabhūginī viya āvītām kappēnti.
Tam sabbam āvītām kappēnti.

Yē vē pana bhikkhū kappāsakēṭṭhāṭhānaṁ gantvā āyatakēna sārēṇa dhammāṁ katthēnta
kappāsūlūpiṇḍāṁ labhitvā vāpijojān karōnti.

Yē ca bhikkhū sāli-vihiyāvādi-kēṭṭhāṭhānaṁ gantvā dhammāṁ katthēnta dhaṇṇāṁ
labhitvā vāpijojān karōnti.

Yē vē pana bhikkhū maricaṇṭhānaṁ gantvā dhammāṁ katthētvā maricaṇṭ labhitvā
vāpijojān karōnti.

Yē vē pana bhikkhū aṭṭhēnē aṭṭhēna pakāraṇa vāpijojān karōnti.

Yē vē pana bhikkhū akkhadhuttēvēhi vā, itthidhuttēhi vā, surādhuttēhi vā, cōriyakkamājivi-
kiēhi vā, rājaparisehi vā, yēhi kēcīhi vā naraṇārihi saddhīm ananulomikēṇa gihisamsagga-
saṃsattē viharantī.

Tē sabbā pi pāpabhikkhū. Pāpabhikkhūnaṁ tēsaṁ bhaddhantānaṁ niccāṁ santikē
vasītum ōkāsanā mā daṇḍatūtī ca.

Yē panna bhikkhū saddhāsansampannā; yathāsikkhāpadaṁ paṭipajjamānaṁ samma-paṭipatti-
pubbaṁ; adissapupu ce hādiṇapsatū; tēsaṁ yēva bhikkhūnaṁ bhaddantānaṁ niccāṁ santikē
vasītum ōkāsaṁ daṇḍatūtī ca.

Sacē panna sādhikampanē gaṅikulaptātthā bhaddantānaṁ santikē pabbajjētukāmē hōnti.
Tē aṭṭhēnti lākhaṇēvā akkhārēsū byañāpārāpiṇākāraṇavasēna paricayāṁ kūrēpētvā, sara-
ṇagamanānaṁ vā sikkhāpadaṁ vā sikkhāpētvā vē, bhaddantā pabbajjēntūtī ca.

Yē pi ca sāmāpērā pariṇuṇṇavasīvasaṁ upasampadēpēkkaṁ; tē pi upasampannabhikkhū
dhiṇakāraṁ pāṭimokkhasaṅgavaniratil-wiṇḍriya-saṅgavaniratil-ājāvāpiṇāsuddhāsala-paccayasannissi-
tasālaṁ kāḍhānā catupāriśuddhiśalām saṅkhēpatā paṇāṇpētvā, Bhikkhupātimokkhaṁ ca
Khuddasikkhā cādiōtī yēva parīyāsānā byañājanta ca atṭhētā ca sikkhāpētvā, āpattiddēsaṁ ca
catupaccaya-paccayevikkhatānā ca vāc uggatāṁ kūrēpētvā, Rāmādhipatirānāno ca Haṃsavaṇtipu-
rāṇadhivāsaṁ gaṅacaryānaṁ ca carēcōntu. Tada Rāmādhipatirājā tē parikkhāren upa-
thambhētvā v’upasampadōpēssatī ca.
"Sabbē pi ca bhaddantā Vinayē Bhagavatā paññattasikkhāpadānūrūpaṁ paṭipattīṁ yēva paṭipajjantūti ca.

"Pubbē pana Rāmaṇādēsē bhikkhuṇāṁ nānānikāyattā yēva sāsanē idisas mala-kaṇṭāk-
buddaṁ jātaṁ. Idāni pana sabhāsāṁ pi bhaddantānaṁ saddhāsampannatā yēva Mahāvihāra-
vasānaṁ paraṁpara-Sihal' upasampadāgāhītā. Yathā Sihaḷadesiyānaṁ mahāthēraṁ kēs'orōpa:
naṁ và civarabandhaṁ và hōnti; tathā katvā vēkanikāyō hōtūti ca.

Evānī ca pana Rāmaṇādhipatirūjyā sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaṇānāmaṇḍalē bhikkhuṇāṁ yam catikavatam ārūcētvā, yē tē bhikkhu jātārūpa-rajatāṭi-dhana-dhāṅa-hatthi-assa-gō-mahāmīśa-dāsī-dāsī-vantō tēsam idisas ārūcēpēsi: "Saccē pan' āyyā, saddhāsampannaṁ hūtvā, jātārūpa-rajatāṭi-dhana-
dhāṅa-hatthi-assa-gō-mahāmīśa-dāsī dāsī nissajjētaṁ upasahanti; te nissajjētvā Bhagavatā pañ-
nattasikkhāpadānūrūpaṁ sāmāyapaṭipattīṁ yēva paṭipajjantu. Sabbe pana n' upasahanti, yathākā-
maṁ vibhāmantūti."

Atha appē kaccē bhikkhu saddhāsampannatā tē sabbe nissajjētvā sikkhāpadānūrūpaṁ sam-
māyapaṭipattīyo ya paṭipajjantu. Appē kaccē thēra sabbe pi santikē nissajjētu anōṣaḥantaṁ' yathākāmaṁ vibhāmantu. Yē ca pana bhikkhu pākāṭābhūtā yēv' antimagatthum accantam év' ajañjāpajjantu; tēsam āyicicam catvā, gihībhāve paṭithāpēsi. Yēsam accantam év' antimagat-
thum āpamabbhūtvā na pākāṭo; garahaparāpavādamattāna pana dubbisodhāniyaṁ; tēsam āyicicam catvā, gihībhāve paṭithāpēsi. Yē ca pāpabhikkhu vajjakammānaṁ vē karonti; yē vē yathāvuttaṁ gaṇanakammādi-kammānaṁ vē karonti; yē vē gihikāmābhūtinī viya cittakammādīm ājīvikānaṁ catvā mihājīvetānaṁ kappentī; yē vē pana bhikkhu dharmakathā paṣjassakaṁnaṁ labhītvā vaṇṇijaṁ karonti; yē vē pan' aṁne pi bhikkhu aṁneṁ aṁneṇa pakārēna vaṇṇijaṁ karonti — tē sabbe pi gihībhāve paṭithāpēsi. Evānī Rāmaṇādhipatirūjyā sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaṇānāmaṇḍalē sāsanaṁalaṁ visēdhūtvā, sakalaṁ pi bhikkhusaṅghaṁ ēkanikāyam akāsi.

Evānī sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaṇānāmaṇḍalē gāmavāsino arāṇāvāsino ca bhikkhu nāga-
sikhi-nāga-sakkarājatō yāva rūpa-bōda-nāga-sakkarājaṁ Mahāvihāravēśi-parampara-
ocanta-parisuṣṭha-Sihal'-upasampadaṁ nirantaram ēva gaṅghūtissu.

Tēsam gaṇacāriyabhūtā aṭṭhasateparimāṅaṁ hōnti; dhaharabhikkhu pana pañca-
sattāṭhādhihikadīvastis'uttaracuddassa-saṅkāyāni: etē ubbhō pi sampiṇḍitī pañca-
sattāṭhādhihika-paṭṭa-saṅkāyānaṁ hōnti. Tēvāthasatānaṁ gaṇacāriyam upasampada-
dagahaṇa-pāriyōsīānaṁ rařā tiṣva-ratāgya dēvē dēv sukhumkappagāyaddassu yēngē ca, tamulipapattu-
pura-kattari-mukhaṇa-čanačelādi-parikkha-saṅhitaṁ sapīdhānānaṁ tēmālupētakaṁ ca, sindi-
panchaṭṭatānaṁ ca, sādhu-ra kapıdhāna-pattaṁ ca, tālābājīnaṁ ca, ēk'ēkassō ēk'ēkam evadāsi.
Yēsam gaṇacāriyānaṁ nāma-paṇṇatī ca dētābā hōti; tēsam pi sabhāsānaṁ nāma-paṇṇatāti adāsi.

Tatō paraṁ pubbē katakatika niyāmēnu' ēva ṣaṭtacatuṣṭasuddhissīlānaṁ sikkha-pāṭimikko-
huddasikkhā-pakaraṇānaṁ vāc'-ugratāpatti-dēsana-paccavēkkhāyānaṁ pāripanṇavēṣitavassānaṁ
ekāṭhikha-va-satānaṁ sāmaṅgīranaṁ patta-civara-parikkha-rādi-dēyyadhammeṁ' upatham-
hētvā, Kalyāṇisīmāya upasampadāpēsi. Tē pi sampiṇḍitī tāda Rāmaṇānāmaṇḍalē
chasatāṭhādhihikasat-sūtra-pannarass-saṅsāra-paṃsū bhikkhu haṁsum.

Evānī pana Buddhassanānaṁ visēdhanaṁ karontō Rāmaṇādhipatirūjya: "yēva pañca-vasa-
saṅsāra-paṃsū-kāla-pāriyantē Buddhassanānaṁ idaṁ nirāsaṅk'upaṣṭaṁ padabhāvēn' ēva dussilā-
naṁ bhikkhuṇāṁ ca garahaparāpavādamattāviratihānaṁ bhikkhuṇāṁ cāpaṁgamanaṁvasena parisu-
dhaṁ pahhasaranaṁ pāriyōdātaṁ hūtvā, pavattatō" manasi niḍhyākāsi.

1. Pur' Āsōkō dharmarrājē atulavibhōdayō
Sāsanaṁ piyātāya 'sssa mala-dassana-kampītō.
2. Mōggaliputtatissathēram upanissāya sōdhanaṁ
Bhikkhu chanahute 'kāsi, uppabājīya pāpakē.
3. Lākkādiṁ Sirisāṅghabōdhipada-nāmakō
Parakkamabāhurājē pi Buddhassanānaṁ āmakē.
4. Malinaṁ säsanaṁ disvā saṁvēgāpannamānasā
Pāpakē bhavā bhikkhu dhahisyādhammayadīno.
5. Mahāvihāravāsinaṁ pāvīṇām dhammavādinām
Saṅgham ēkanākaya ca thāpeśvā sōdhanam aki.
6. Tatā paccā puna c' aṁno Vījayaśabha bhūpati
Parakkamarajā cāpi tathā säsanaśōdhanamān.
7. Ambākaṁ Bōdhisattā pūrṇē pāraṁ purā
Tīdasālayasaggamhi dēvarajjam akārayi.
8. Tatā Anandathērō pī Bārāṇasipurē aki
Rajjam Usinarō huvā Kassapa Buddhāśāsanē
Tatā Sakkō dēvarajā dibbasukhaṁ paramū mukhō
duttēvatā dēvaṁ saha Uttaśēvatā rajanānām tatā 'śīnarnāmākaṁ.
10. Säsanaśōdhanathāya laddhā tapati jānanām
Pacchā 'nuśīsanaṁ katvā paccāga Tīdasālayaṁ.
11. Tasmā Rāmaṅnādesissārō pī Rāmadhipati bhūpati
Sanādarāṁ satācārām anugantvāna säsanaṁ
12. Yāvapanēcasahassantā patiṭhāhāya 'sōdhaṁ.
13. Ithām säsanaśōdhanakusalaṁ Rāmadhipati ham alatthaṁ yaṁ
Tēnāṅkhaṁ iva jītaṁ sāntaṁ suddhaṁ sivaṁ pacchā
dīvaṁ säsanaśārāmalaṁ pāyuṇṭītūṁ viyaṁantaṁ saḍā
dīvaṁ säsanaśārāmalaṁ pāyuṇṭītūṁ viyaṁantaṁ saḍā
14. Khiśāva katakicāṭhōrā Majjhantīkādayō
Vinuttisukham ohāya pavēkaraṭā api
15. Säsanaśūdhīya lētu byāpāram ākaraṁ purā
Tasmā tēsaṁ sanādaraṁ annakamā supesālo
16. Pacchā Haṁsapūravāsā bhikkhusaṁgho ca sādārō
Säsanaṁ mālāṁ disvā sōdhanamān kurtaṁ tatō
17. Yathā tāṁ tiḥbhav' ghaṭattā taritām durūte kasi-śyataṁ jaḥitūṁ
Ariyaṁ padaddhim pavañna gaṁitūm adhibōdhi budhālaṭītaṁ laṭītaṁ
Iti Kalyāṇi naṁ pāsumalēkha nītthitā.
(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.
BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.
No. 16.—The Prince and the Kambal.1

There once lived with his queen a king, whose dominions extended far and wide, and who had an immeasurable hoard of treasure; but, as the saying goes, "there was no one to eat," or in other words, the good couple had no children, though they had become old, and this grieved them very much. Every day the queen used to make it her habit to sit in the balcony of her palace, with a supli (sieve) full of gold, which she distributed among beggars, with the expectation that she would get a son through their prayers and blessings.

One day, as she was seated as usual with a sieve full of gold, there came up to her a gōsāvii2 who asked her what she had in the sieve. The queen answered saying it was gold.

1 For the description of a kambal, see the story of "The Snake and the Girl," ante, Vol. XIX. page 315, note 5.
2 For the description of a gōsāvii, see the story of "Bāphkādi," ante, Vol. XX. p. 142, note 1.
Upon this the gósáñvi again asked her:—"Is there any one that will eat it?", meaning "Have you got any children who will enjoy all this gold?"

"No!" said the queen in a sorrowful tone; "and that is the reason why I am sitting here with this sieve full of gold in order that, by distributing it, the receivers of it may pray and obtain a son for me; but up to this time it seems that their prayers have not been heard."

The queen was then asked where her husband, the king, was; and she said that he was gone out.

"Very well," said the gósáñvi. "Tell the king, when he comes back, to come to a certain village where is my mat, and then I will tell him what to do in order that your desires may be satisfied."

Thus saying the gósáñvi received some alms from the queen and went away.

Now, when the king came back in the evening, the queen laid out supper for him, and while he was partaking of it, the queen said:—"My dear husband, this morning as I was seated as usual in the balcony with a sieve full of gold to distribute to beggars, a gósáñvi, who says his hut is in such and such a village, came up to me and asked me what I had in the sieve, and when I told him it was gold, he asked me if there was one who would eat it, to which I said 'no,' and that I was distributing it in order to obtain a son through the prayers of the beggars. Upon this he asked me if you were at home, and I told him that you were not at home. Then, telling me where his hut was, he asked me to send you to him, when, he said he would tell you what to do to obtain our desires."

The king listened to her very attentively, and, when she had finished speaking, said:—"But, my dear wife, you are distributing a sieve full of gold every morning, and we are both performing other charitable acts, and all to no avail; what can the gósáñvi tell and much less do, that our desires may be fulfilled? It won't be worth my while to go to him."

But the queen pressed and begged of him to go, saying:—"Let us see what he says. Who knows but that he may help us to obtain our wishes?"

After much entreaty the king consented, and, having finished his supper, set out for the mat (hut) of the gósáñvi. When he reached it, the gósáñvi asked him what he wanted.

The king said:—"Did you not go to the palace this morning and tell my wife to send me to you when I came home?"

"Yes, my lord," answered the gósáñvi. "I will now tell you what to do. Go to a certain place where you will find a tree laden with fruit. Climb the tree and shake it. Come down and take two of the fruit. Mind you do not take more than two. Eat one yourself, and give the other to your wife, the queen; thereby you will obtain your desires."

The king went in the direction that the gósáñvi mentioned, and saw a large tree, which was bent down by the weight of its fruit. He climbed up and shook and shook the tree till he saw hundreds of the fruit fall on the ground, but when he came down and went to pick up the fruit he found only two. So he climbed again, and again shook the tree for a long while, and again he heard the sound of hundreds of fruit falling, but, as before, when he was picking up he got only two. The king was astonished at this occurrence, and climbed up in the tree a third time, and shook and shook the tree with all his might for a very long time till he was quite fatigued, and he heard the sound of some thousands of the fruit dropping on the ground. When he came down, the ground under the tree was so covered up by the fruit that he could not put his feet down but fell on heaps of fruit, which made him glad to think that he had now plenty of them, but, to his great astonishment, as he proceeded to gather them, all the fruit went up again in the tree, and there remained for him to carry only two.

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* A 'holy' man's hut.  
* It is to be regretted that the tree and the fruit are not mentioned by name.
Thought the king to himself:—“The gosānci told me to take only two of these fruit, but though I want to take more, and I knocked down many, I can't get more than two. There must be some meaning in it. I will, therefore, abide by the instructions of the gosānci, or, who knows, if I take more, they will have any effect.”

He then took the fruit and shewed them to the gosānci, who again told him to take them home, and to eat one himself and to give the other to the queen to eat.

The king, after thanking the gosānci for his kind advice, went home with the fruit, and giving one to his queen, told her to eat it, while he ate the other himself. From that time the queen became pregnant, and, when one, two, three, and so on till nine, months of her pregnancy had elapsed, she gave birth to a very beautiful boy. This event caused great joy to the king and queen, and they entertained all the palace servants to a great treat.

Now on the fifth day was celebrated the pūchnī of the new-born, and on the sixth day was the satī. On the day of the satī a fortune-teller was called to consult about the fortune and career of the infant-prince. While the fortune-teller was consulting the horoscope the pardhan kept watch outside. Though the fortune-teller knew what would happen to the prince, she did not tell the king and queen of the results of her calculations, and was going away, when the pardhan stopped her and asked her what was in the luck of the new-born. She refused to tell him anything, upon which he threatened to kill her if she would not tell him of the fortune of the king's son.

The fortune-teller then said:—“It is written in the fortune of the prince that on the twelfth day after his birth the boy will be drowned in the sea!”

Thus saying she went away. The pardhan, however, kept this story to himself.

Eleven days passed after the birth of the prince, and on the twelfth day was to be done the bārācī ceremony. For this purpose they had to go to a certain temple, to come to which they had to cross a sea. The king and everyone else, with the exception of the pardhan, being ignorant of what misfortune was in store for the child, made grand preparations to celebrate the auspicious occasion with great pomp and joy, and hundreds of relatives and others were invited to be present at the ceremony of naming the child.

At the appointed time they took a ship and set sail for the temple. On the way one person took up the child; a little while after a second person carried him. Soon after a third would take him, and so on, all the guests vying with each for the honour of carrying the prince. When they had sailed for several hours they came to the middle of the sea. The child happened to be in the arms of a woman, who, by accident, let the child fall, and down went the prince to the bottom of the sea! Hundreds of people dived after the child but in vain, and with tears in their eyes and broken hearts the king and the queen returned home with their guests. When they came home the king sentenced the woman, who had so carelessly dropped the child, to imprisonment for twelve years, during which she had to grind nāchnī.

Now it happened that as soon as the child fell into the sea, he was devoured by a magalmāsā, which, again, was carried by the tide and thrown on dry land in a certain village. In the morning a fisherman, who lived with his wife, and who were very wealthy, was going in pursuit of his vocation, viz., that of fishing, when he came upon the magalmāsā. He, therefore, managed somehow or other to drag it to the shore, and cut it open, when to his great surprise and confusion, he saw a child come out of the belly of the magalmāsā. The child was alive. Having no children himself with all his wealth, he gladly took up the child in his arms,

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8 A prince is usually called a pardhan, but here, I think, is meant the prime minister, or some kīrbhāri of the household.

9 Nāchnī is a sort of grain. It is popularly supposed that women, when sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, are made to grind nāchnī.

7 Equals magalmāsā = an alligator.
and went home and handed him to his wife, who also rejoiced at the event, saying:—"At last God has sent us a child in this miraculous manner."

They constituted themselves the drowned prince's foster-parents, and, possessing great wealth as they did, took every possible care, and brought him up with great tenderness. The prince grew up rapidly. When he was only one month old he looked two months old, when two months old, he seemed to be four months old, and so on.

Thus the boy grew up strong and beautiful, and was known to all as the fisherman's son, for the prince, too, always addressed the fisherman and his wife as father and mother. When he was about six or seven years old, he used to run about and play with the children from the neighbourhood.

One day the children ran to the shore, and the prince asked his foster-parents to permit him also to go and play there, but the fisherman said:—"No, my dear child. Don't you go and play near the seashore. You know how mischievous the children are. Who knows but that some accident or other may befall you? Then what shall I do? Tell me what you may need, and I will get you any toys that you may wish for, with which you can play about the house in safety."

In spite of the kind advice the prince, as is the wont of children, ran full speed, and joined his playmates at the seashore.

Now it happened that, as the children were playing and running about on the sand, they spied a very beautiful kambal, floating on the tide which was coming in. Every one of the children attempted to get it, but all failed. At last our hero said he would fetch it, but all of them laughed at his folly, saying:

"What a silly child you are. Such big boys as we are we could not succeed, and you say that you can fetch it."

The prince, however, persisted saying he would fetch the kambal, upon which they laid a wager, to which he consented and dived headlong into the waves, and in a few moments was again on the shore triumphantly carrying the kambal, and thus won the wager. The prince then carried the kambal to his foster-parents, who, on seeing it, asked him where he got it from, or whether he had stolen it from any one. The prince told them how, as he and other children were playing on the shore, they spied it floating on the water, and how, when all the other children had failed, they laid a wager for it, upon which he dived into the sea and came out safely with the kambal.

Now in that country kambals were so rare, that not even the nobles and very seldom the kings could obtain them, and to possess one was thought a great luxury. So the fisherman began to think to himself:—"Here is a most beautiful kambal, but of what use can it be to a poor man like me? I will go and present it to the king."*

So one day he took the kambal and presented it to the king, who was very glad to see such a beautiful flower, and asked him where he got it from. The fisherman told him the whole truth, and the king, being satisfied with the answer, dismissed him, after rewarding him handsomely. The king then took the kambal and hung it upon his bed. One of the maidservants of the queen, who happened to come into the room just then, on seeing the kambal, said:

"My lord, this flower is certainly very beautiful, but unless you can get and hang up two more, it will never lend any beauty by itself to the bed."

* It must be borne in mind that this king is the father of our hero.

* Two more added would make three kambals. The number three has here evidently some meaning to it, for it could be more natural to add three, so as to make four, one for each of the four corners of the bed.
The king, having heard this, sent for the fisherman, and told him to ask his son to bring two more; but the fisherman protested, saying:

"My lord, it was by sheer chance that my son obtained that kambal, and it is next to impossible to get any more."

The king, however, would not be convinced of the impossibility of getting more kambals, and told the fisherman that should his son fail to bring him two more kambals he should forfeit his head.

The poor fisherman went away downhearted, thinking upon the unreasonableness of the king. He went home, and, refusing to take any food or drink, took to his bed. Now, it was customary during meals for the old man, owing to his great affection, to feed the prince as one would a little child, though he was already nearly eight years old. That day, however, the prince missed him, and so asked his foster-mother why his father did not take supper. She said she did not know the reason; perhaps he was not feeling well. Upon this the prince went and asked him why he did not come to supper, but the old man said:

"Go, my child, and take your supper. I do not want any."

"But, father," said the prince, "you fed me every day, and why don't you do so to-day? What is the matter with you? What misfortune has befallen you that you look so downcast and won't touch your food? Tell me, father, all your cares and anxieties."

The old man was very much pleased with the prince's kind words, and said to him:

"My dear child, the kambal you brought from the sea, and which I presented to the king, has brought a very great misfortune on me. The king went and suspended the kambal upon his bed, but a maid-servant, who saw it, said, that the kambal, though certainly very beautiful, lent no beauty to the bed, and that, if there should be hung up two more, it would make the bed appear very handsome. The king, therefore, wants you to bring him two more kambals. I remonstrated with him on the impossibility of getting any, but to no use, for the king cannot be persuaded of it, and he has ordered you to fetch them on the penalty of forfeiting your head in case of failure. God gave you to us so miraculously in our old age, and the cruel king wishes to take you away. This, my child, is my grief, and I will starve myself to death before you are snatched away from me. Go, my dear boy, and take your supper, and go to bed quietly."

Thus said the fisherman and heaved a deep sigh, and tears could be seen trickling from his eyes in profusion.

Upon this the prince said:—"Is this what has caused you so much anxiety? Tell the king that I promise to bring him two kambals. But, first of all, tell him that he must provide me with a ship completely manned with khaldis and other servants, and I must have provisions to last for several months, and an iron chain several yards long. Then I will go and fetch him the kambals. In the meanwhile you must calm your fears, and rise and take your supper."

When the fisherman heard these words he took heart, and rose and took his supper. On the following morning the fisherman bent his way to the palace and informed the king that his son had promised to bring him the kambals on condition that he fitted out a ship with servants, a long iron chain, and provisions to last for several months. The king agreed to the conditions, and ordered a ship to be built. What did the king lack? He had hoards of treasures. So he hired numerous workmen, and a job that would take two or three months to finish, he got done in a fortnight, and fitted out the ship with a great number of khaldis and other servants. He also procured a very long iron chain, and stored in the ship provisions of all sorts enough not for some months, but for years!
Everything was now ready, and the prince, taking a tender leave of his foster-parents went and embarked on board the ship, and in a little while more the ship was out of sight dancing on the waves of the vast ocean.

They went on and on for many days. When they had reached the middle of the sea, the prince ordered them to cast anchor. He then hooked on the long iron chain to the side of the ship, and said to the khalās:

"I am now going to dive into the sea. Keep hold of the chain, and as soon as you feel extra weight on it pull up the chain and haul it home."

Thus he said to the khalās, and descended along the chain and dived into the sea. When he had gone down a long way, he came upon a beautiful country with large gardens full of fruit-trees of all sorts, bent down with the weight of the abundance of fruit, very tempting to the view.

Here he walked about for a couple of hours, and came upon a large but lonely mansion, most beautifully furnished, and as he entered it he came in sight of a damsel of unparalleled beauty, from whose mouth fell kambals as she spoke. Our hero asked her what she was doing there apparently alone, for he could see no signs of any other human beings.

Our hero being also very beautiful, the damsel of the subterraneous abode was enamoured of him, but said with a sorrowful tone:

"I am the daughter of a rānkhas who has gone out in search of his food, which consists of animals and such like, and occasionally human beings, should any fall into his hands by chance. I am certainly glad to see you, but still I am anxious about your safety, because, should my father see you, he will have no mercy on you, but will make a meal of you in a trice."

"Then tell me where I can conceal myself with safety," said the prince.

Upon this the girl said: "See, I will transform you into a fly and put you up on the wall, where you must remain till my father goes out again tomorrow. In the meanwhile you must be hungry; so take some food at my hands and be ready for the transformation before my father, the rānkhas, comes back, which will not be very long hence."

The prince thanked her for her kindness. She then set before him some food, which she prepared in a hurry-secury, and to which our hero did ample justice, being very hungry, as he had not eaten for several hours. This done, the girl changed the prince into a fly and stuck him up on the wall.

Not very long after the rānkhas came home after his day's excursion, and, as usual, lay down to rest, while his daughter shampooed his body. As he lay there he said to his daughter:

"My dear girl, I smell the smell of a human being about the place. Are you aware of any one having come or gone this way?"

And the daughter replied: "What makes you think of human beings about here? Here I am alone from one hour of the day to the other. What a silly idea this is of yours?"

"But," said the father, "I do smell the smell of a human being; otherwise I shouldn't have said so."

The girl, however, said that she had seen no human being, and was, therefore, unaware of it. The rānkhas was now quieted, and fell fast asleep.

On the next day when the rānkhas went, as usual, in search of prey, his daughter transformed the fly on the wall into its original shape, and there stood our prince before her. She then prepared some food of which they partook together, and conversed with each other freely.

10 i. e., a rānkhas = a giant.
during the whole day. At the close of the day, when it was near time for the rāukhas to return, the girl again transformed him into a fly, and stuck him up on the wall. Thus matters continued for several days.

One day the prince told the girl to ask her father, the rāukhas, in what his life lay. Accordingly, in the evening, when the rāukhas returned, and she was shampooing his limbs, she said:

"Father, tell me in what lies your life?"

The rāukhas replied:—"Why are you so anxious about knowing in what my life lies?"

"Father," said she, "if I am not to be anxious about your life, who should be? Every day you go in quest of food, which consists generally of animals. Should any accident happen to you, how could I know it, and what shall I do in the event of your death?"

But the rāukhas replied:—"Cast off your fears and anxieties, for there is no likelihood of my ever dying. However, to calm your fears, I may tell you as regards my life, — you know the three bral-tree\textsuperscript{11} standing near our house. Should any person cut one of the trees with one stroke, I shall get a strong attack of fever; and if he succeeds in cutting the other two also with one stroke, there will be an end to my life. So long, therefore, as the trees are safe I am safe also. You see, then, that you have no cause for anxiety about me."

He then fell asleep. The following day, when the rāukhas was gone, the girl, after transforming the prince, told him everything she had heard from her father. Our hero now looked about and caught sight of the rāukhas' sword hanging on the wall. He took it, and, having sharpened it, went out, and, with one stroke, cut off one of the bral-trees. As soon as the tree was cut down, a strong fever came on the rāukhas, who now retraced his steps home, but before he could reach it, our hero cut down the other two bral-trees also with one stroke, and with the fall of the trees the rāukhas also fell dead.

The prince then lived with the damsel for several days, during which he gathered plenty of the kannals, which fell from her mouth every time she spoke. He now thought that he had been absent for a rather long time from his foster-parents, who must be becoming anxious about him. So he made up his mind to quit the place taking with him the kannals, which he intended to give to his king. He, therefore, made the damsel of the subterranean abode acquainted with his intention.

The girl, however, said:—"You have killed my father, and now wish to go away, leaving me alone! What can I do here all by myself? Under whose protection shall I live? Take me with you, and we will be husband and wife, and live together happily."

The prince consented, but the difficulty was how to bring her to land. He then hit upon the following plan. He put her in a box and carried her to the place where his ship was waiting. He then tied the box to the chain, but alas! so soon as the khalād felt the weight of the box they pulled up the chain, and to their astonishment saw that a box was tied up with it!

"Where is the boy?" they thought. "From whence comes this box? What can have become of him? We have, however, acted up to his orders and are not to blame. Let us now return home; but let us, in the first place, see the contents of the box."

Thus saying, they proceeded to open the box, but to their utter embarrassment they heard a voice coming from inside:—"Hold! Be cautious what you are about. Do not open the box. Any one, who dares to do it in spite of my remonstrances, will be plagued with worms."

\textsuperscript{11} [This is an exceedingly interesting instance of the local survival of an old forgotten Anglo-Indian word, the last previous quotation for which is 1869, so far as I know, the earliest being 1623. Bral is a corruption of Portuguese braç, and stands for the tree otherwise known as the toddy palm, the palmyra, and the fan-palm \textit{Borassus flabelliformis}. — Ed.]
When they heard these words, they thought it best not to meddle with the box, but to take it and present it to their king for what it might be worth.

Accordingly they set sail, and with a favourable breeze reached their native shore in a very short time. When they had landed, they carried the box into the presence of the king, who was impatiently waiting to see the prince back with the kambals, and thus addressed him:

"Sire, here we are after a long absence. When we had reached in the middle of the sea the young lad, who promised to bring the kambals, descended into the sea with the aid of the long iron chain, which he had so particularly ordered you to make, and diving under the waters disappeared. Before doing so he told us to hold the chain in its position till we felt it getting heavier, when we were to pull it up. After waiting there for many days, we felt an unusual and extraordinary weight, upon which we pulled up the chain, expecting, every moment, to see the lad, but to our surprise we found this box tied to the chain. We cannot say what has become of the lad. When we attempted to open the box, we heard a female voice speaking from inside the following words:—'Hold! Be cautious what you are about. Do not open the box. Any one, who dares to do it in spite of my remonstrances, will be plagued with worms.' We, therefore, refrained from opening the box, which we now present to your Majesty."

The king was pleased to accept the box, and proceeded to open it, expecting to hear the words the khalásé had told him, but our heroine let him open it. When the box was, however, opened, out popped a damsel of unequalled beauty.

The maid-servants, who saw her, at once exclaimed: —"Sire, she is fit to be your queen, while the queen ought to be made her maid-servant."

The king, thereupon, asked her if she was willing to be his queen, but she said: —"I am under a vow for twelve years; should any one dare touch me before that period has elapsed he will be plagued with worms. If, however, you wish to keep me, you must allot me a separate room, to which no one is to be allowed admittance, except one or two maid-servants. When my twelve years of vow have passed away I will be yours."

The king did not wish her to violate the vow of twelve years which she had mentioned. He, therefore, ordered a large room to be furnished in an elegant style for her to live in separately, and provided her with maid-servants and everything else necessary to her comfort.

To return to our hero, the prince, whom we left behind in the country under the sea. As soon as he found that the chain with the box was hauled up, and there was no chance of his coming out of the sea, he walked back, and wandered about in the gardens, subsisting on the various fruits with which the place abounded. He lived in this way for many days. One day he felt himself fatigued and so lay down to rest under a pimpal-tree.

Now it happened that two birds, a male and a female, called gáripakshá and gáripaksh'ni, were in the habit of breeding in that pimpal-tree, but, to their misfortune, as soon as they left the place in search of food or for any purpose, some wild animal or bird used to come and eat up their young ones. That day, too, the gáripaksh'ni gave birth to two littles ones, after which she and the gáripakshá went away in search of food. During their absence a huge wild bird came and was about to gobble up the little birds, when our hero at once rose up to their help, and killed their enemy. Some four or five hours afterwards the gáripakshá and gáripaksh'ni came to the tree carrying some food in their beaks, and proceeded to feed the little ones, upon which they said:

"Before you feed us, tell us if you had any other issue besides ourselves, or are we your first-born?"

The parent-birds said: —"Dear little ones, we had many children born before you, but some cruel bird deprived us of all of them. We are certainly astonished to find you alive; and even now we are not certain how long you will be spared to us."

(To be continued.)
MISCELLANEA.

VADDAVARA.

The details given by Prof. Kielhorn on page 111 above, in connection with certain dates which include the word Vadavara as the name of a day of the week, render unnecessary the greater part of a note which I have had on hand, unfinished, for over four years. But it may be useful to now supplement what he has written.

Prof. Kielhorn has arrived at the opinion that Vadavara must be either Saturday or Sunday, and that the chances are in favour of Sunday.

On the other hand, I arrived at the opinion that Vadavara is most probably Saturday. But I have not been able to obtain the actual proof that is needed. And that is why my note has remained unpublished.

Finding, like Prof. Kielhorn, that the available dates do not give uniform results, I was pursuing a different line of inquiry, which was suggested by the fact that, among the grants recorded in an inscription at Tâlgund in Mysore, dated in the Śivāra navarathra, A.D. 1157-58 (Pāṭi, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions, No. 210), there is mentioned (line 65-66) the item of — Vadavara dâj abhyanga Sôna-varâdala 30 mumsha brâhmana ruguram kaâva nâvidam jyotita ga 4. — "four gudâyus (for) smearing the body with oil on Vadavara, (and for) the support of a barber who is to bathe thirty sick Brâhmans (or, perhaps, the thirty Brâhmans, when they fall sick) on Monday."

This passage shows that at any rate Vadavara is not Monday. And my object was to find out the day of the week for which the abhyanga or tailâbhyanga is prescribed by the Śrâtras. Prof. Kielhorn will very probably be able to give the final passage that is required. Meanwhile, I will quote the following:

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit supplied me with the following from Śrîpati's Ratnamala, Vara-prakarana, verse 9 —

Ravis tápaṁ kántin vítari Śāśi Bhūmibhavanam
uvatiṁ lakshmiṁ Chándriḥ Surapatiyur
vitta-harapam 1

1 As regards the latter point, he seems to have been somewhat influenced by some remarks by Mr. Rice, from which he infers that vadâma may be synonymous with vaâñya and dâ, but I cannot find anything to support such a meaning of the word. As we have, in Kanarese, oddē, 'dullness,' it is just possible that oðâna, vâda, may be a corruption of the Sanskrit maṇḍa, which is used as a name of the planet Saturn. But I have not been influenced by this idea in the result at which I have arrived. — In an inscription at Tâlgund (P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, No. 217, line 20, and Mysore Inscriptions, p. 236, and note), that village is called "the glorious great vâda-village, Tâlpundar" (see ante, Vol. IV. p. 279, note 8). But I doubt whether in that expression, or in vâdhânavârâna as the name of an ancient tax, and in vâdhânavâdhârëna which indicates a trade or profession, vâda has the same application as in vadavara.
To the dates given by Prof. Kielhorn, I can add the following:

An inscription on a vīragal at Holi in the Belgaum District is dated on Vaḍḍavāra, the fifth titхи of the dark fortnight of Śrāvana of the Sarvajit saṁvatsara, which was the thirty-second year of the Chalukya-Vikrama-kāla. Here, Sarvajit coincided with Saka-Sanvat 1050 current. And the given titхи, beginning at about 48 gh. 40 p. = 19 hrs. 28 min., after mean sunrise, on the Friday, ended at 49 gh. 45 p. = 19 hrs. 44 min., on Saturday, 10th August, A.D. 1107.

And, on the dates put forward by him, I would make the following remarks:

The inscription of A.D. 1087. This records a grant of land and an oil-mill; and the latter item seems to connect the grant closely with the tālāḥāhyānga. I expect that in this record the fourteenth titхи, which began on the Saturday at about 42 gh. 40 p. = 17 hrs. 4 min., and ended on the Sunday at 46 gh. 45 p. = 18 hrs. 42 min., is a genuine mistake for the thirteenth, which included all the daylight hours of the Saturday.

The inscription of A.D. 1144. The resulting day for Vaḍḍavāra, with the ended titхи, is Friday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. But, as Friday is mentioned in the first part of this record by the usual name, Sukravāra, it seems hardly likely that Vaḍḍavāra also can be really used here to mean Friday. — Though the two parts of the record are dated in two successive years, they seem to have been written at one and the same time. — With the titхи, the second, which seems, at first sight, to be given in the first part of the record, the resulting week-day there is Monday, instead of Friday. But there are indications that the ‘two’ was corrected into ‘six.’ And this would give the correct day, Friday. — It seems possible that there was some similar carelessness, left uncorrected, in respect of the titхи in the second part of the record. The given titхи, indeed, Māgha krishṇa 14, is the titхи of the Mahā-Sivarātri, which is named in the record; and there ought to be no mistake in connection with at any rate the titхи of so very special a festival. But, plenty of cases can be turned up in which the rites have had to be celebrated on the day on which the thirteenth tit Micha ended. And the question may be, whether, on the occasion in question, there were any circumstances that necessitated the celebration of the rites during the fifteenth tit Micha, which ended on Saturday. — with the result that the writer made confusion between the ended tit Micha of that day and the tit Micha of the festival.

The inscription of A.D. 1163. The tit Micha began on the Saturday, at about 3 gh. 15 p. = 1 hr. 18 min., and ended on the Sunday, at 6 gh. 5 p. = 2 hrs. 26 min. As a current tit Micha, it was connected with almost the whole of the daytime of the Saturday. And my belief is that we have always to consider the week-day during which a tit Micha is current during an appreciable portion of the daytime, quite as much as the week-day on which it ends.

The inscription of A.D. 1187. The resulting week-day is undoubtedly Saturday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. The tit Micha began at about 39 gh. 10 p. = 15 hrs. 40 min., on the Friday; and ended at 43 gh. 10 p. = 14 hrs. 4 min., on the Saturday. And both the daytime condition and the ending condition are satisfied.

The inscription of A.D. 1234. Here, again, the resulting week-day is undoubtedly Saturday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. The tit Micha began at about 33 gh. 40 p. = 13 hrs. 28 min., on the Friday; and ended at 37 gh. 35 p. = 11 hrs. 26 min., on the Saturday. And, here also, the daytime condition is satisfied, as well as the ending condition.

The inscription of A.D. 1284. According to all but one of the inscriptions of Rāmāchandra in Sir Walter Elliot’s MS. Collection, the Svabhānu saṁvatsara, A.D. 1283-84, ought to be the thirteenth year of his reign, — not the twelfth, according to the one exception, it would be the twelfth year. My results are the same as Prof. Kielhorn’s, for the three years given by him. And there must be more than one mistake in the details given in the record.

It seems to me that the evidence decided, preponderates in favour of Vaḍḍavāra meaning Saturday. But, as I have already said, definite proof is still wanting.

24th May, 1893.

J. F. Fleet.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. teak, quotes Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindooostan or the Mogul Empire, 1795, p. 260, to the following effect:— the teak forests, from whence the marine yard at Bombay is furnished with that excellent species of ship timber, lie along the western side of the Gaut Mountains . . . . on the north and north-east of Basseeen.

This settles the pronunciation of Basseeen when the word first began to be recognized, although the Basseein referred to by Rennell is I take it the town in the Bombay Presidency and not the town in Burma. See ante, p. 18 ff. R. C. Temple.
8. The Kabitta Rāmāyan, or Kabittābali. The history of Rama in the kavitta, ghanākshari, chhappai and savasīya metres. It is devoted to the contemplation of the majestic side of Rama's character. Pujit Sudhākar Drivēdī informs me that the poem has been enlarged in later times by the addition to the last kāṇḍ of occasional verses written by Tulsi Dās in kavitta metres. That Tulsi Dās did write occasional verses, like other poets of his time, is to be expected, and they have been collected and arranged in appropriate groups by admirers of the poet. Such are K Rām, Ut, 132 ff., in praise of the Jānakī-vatā, or peepul tree at the site of Vālmiki's hermitage, which still exists on the banks of the Ganges, and is an object of worship to the present day. So also, Ut 94-96, addressed to the Kāliyugā, Ut, 170 and ff., lamenting over the insults offered by the Musalmāns to Banārās, and Ut, 174, which is said to have been uttered by him when at the point of death. Other collections of similar verses, frequently found appended to the Kabitta Rāmāyan are the Rām-stuti, Udbhav-gopaśikā-samhād, Hanumān-stuti, Jānakī-stuti, Sankhar-batis, and the Hanumān bāhuś (written when the poet was suffering from a severe sore in the arm).

In seven kāṇḍs or cantos, viz.:

1. The Rāśi-kāṇḍ, Childhood. Commencing with Rama's childhood and ending with the breaking of Siva's bow. 22 stanzas (pada), mostly quatrains.

2. The Ayodhyā-kāṇḍ, Ayodhyā. Describes the circumstances attending Rama's departure on exile. 28 stanzas.

3. Aranyā-kāṇḍ, the Forest. Describes the chase of the golden deer. One stanza.


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1 The commentators say that there are three ways of looking at Rama (tīmī bhānti līlā), viz., the tender side of his character (śuddhārya), the majestic side of his character (avirārya), and the complex (mīritchā) in which tenderness and majesty are combined. There are four ways of singing his praises, as a māgadhā or panegyrist, a vādī or bard, a sūta or historical poet, and an arthā or suppliant. A work in which the complex view of Rama's character, together with his glory and his power, is celebrated is called a charita, and should be sung by a sūta (also called a pauraukika) an historical poet. His tenderness should be sung by a māgadhā, and his majesty by a vādī; while entreaties addressed to him should be sung by an arthā. Tulsi Dās first composed the Rāmācharita-mānas, dealing with the complex side of Rama's character, as a sūta. Then, to encourage the faithful with a true idea of Rama's power, he illustrated his majesty in the Kabittābali, assuming the role of a vādī. Then to strengthen the love of the worshipper, he dwelt on Rama's tenderness in the Gīthābali, taking the role of a māgadhā. Finally becoming an arthā, a suppliant, he wrote the Bīnay patrikā. Pujit Sudhākar Drivēdī gives me the following bhāka—

\[
\text{सिताक पार्षदक्षथि प्रसिद्धि, मागद्धि मनुष्याविशुद्धिः ।}
\text{सुन्दरसमयं देवनाधिपति सरद्रिकतानि ।}
\]

from which we gather that a sūta is a reader of ancient histories, a māgadhā praises the king's family, and a vādī is expert in complying with his demand for a fine poem.
The following are examples of this work. K. Râm. I.

Metre. Sāvatiyā.

Avañ̄hāsa kā dāre sakhārē gat suta gōda kai bhūpati lāi nīkāsē | 1
Abalākā haum rōchā bimāchāna kō thāqē sī ruhi, jē na thāqē ḍhika sē | 2
Tulasi mana-raîjana raîjīta aîjana nainā sukhāñja-nāîska sē | 3
Sajani, sahi mēn sama sīla ubhai nava nīla sarāruha sē bikāsē || 1 || 2 ||

(One townsman of Ayodhyā says to another) "I went at dawn to the portal of the Lord of Awadh (Daśaratha), as son in arms, the king issued from the palace. As I gazed upon the babe, the releaser from sorrow, I stopped like one enchanted,—yēa, shame on all who were not enchanted at the sight. (O Tul śi), His eyes darkened with heart-rejoicing henna were like young khañjas. 3 My dear, 'tis just as though two dark lotuses had bloomed, noble in character, upon the fair moon (of his countenance)."

We may note that the first word of the first line is said by the commentators to set the whole keynote of the poem. Avañ̄hāsa, the Lord of Awadh, (iśā-śyāma), indicates that the subject of the poem is majesty (śvetārya).

The next example (V, 14, 15) describes how Hanumat, with his flaming tail sets fire to Lañkā. It is a good example of Tul śi Dās's power over words, with which he makes the sound an echo of the sense.

Metre. Kaviyā.

Hāṭa-bōta kōṭa-bīja atani agāra pawri khōri khōri dauri dauri diṅki ati āgi kai | 1
Āraṭa pukārata, sanbhārata na kēu kāhū, byukulā jahān sō tahān lōgy chalīya
bhāgi kai || 1 ||
Bhālākī phāṭāwai, bāra bāra jahārāwai, jharaṇ bāndiyā sī, lañka paghlāi pāgi
pāgi kai || 2 ||
Tulasi, bhātī akulāntā jāṭudānti kahai chītra kāh kē kāpi sō niśchāra na lāgi
kai || 14 || 11
Lāgi lāgi āgi, bhāgi bhāgi chalī jahāṇ tahāṇ, dhiya kō na mūya, būpa pūta na
saṁbhārāhih || 11
Chhūṭē bāra, basana ughāre, dhūma dhūnda andha, kahai bāre bādhē bāri bāri
bāra 'bārāhih || 11
Hāya khitītā, bhāgī jāta, ghahārātā gaja, bhai bāra ḍhīli pēli ruṇḍī khaunīdi
dārakīh || 11
Nāma lāi chīda bilalāta akulāta ati tātā tāta taṁśīya jhauśīya jhārakhīh || 15 || 11

In the market-gulleys, on the bulwarks of the citadel, on the balconies, on the palaces, on the gateways, running along from lane to lane, Hanumat sets alight a mighty conflagration. In terror the people scream. One fails to help another, every one is in confusion, and every one only tries to run away from where he finds himself. The monkey brandishes his (blazing) tail: he jerks it from door to door; sparks fall from it like rain drops, and Lañkā, as it were, ripens and melts into syrup. (O Tul śi) the distraught Rākshasa women cry out as they look at him: —'not even in a picture hath such a monkey been seen by the night-prowlers?' (14)

'Fire! Fire! Fire!' They flee, they run hither and thither for their lives. Mother knows not her own daughter. Father helps not his own son. Girls with their hair dishevelled, nay, their very garments torn open, blind in the darkness of the smoke, children, old men, cry and cry again for 'water, water!' The horses neigh, the elephants trumpet, as they break from their stalls. In the vast mob men shvoe and trample one another, one crushing another as he falls beneath his feet. Calling each others names, children screech, lamenting, distraught, crying 'my father, my father, I am being scorched, I am being burnt alive in the flames.' (15)

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1 The khañjas is a very quickly darting bird, to which eyes are frequently compared.
2 i.e. Rākshasa.
9. The Git Rāmāyan or Gitābali. The history of Rāma, in various song-metres. Devoted to the tender side (madhurya) of Rāma’s character. In seven kāṇḍa, or cantos, viz.

(1) Bāl-kāṇḍa. Childhood. A gospel of the infant Rāma. The birth of Rāma and his brothers. Rejoicings thereon. The delight and affection of the queen-mothers (7), and of Daśaratha in and for their infant children. The blessing of Vaśishṭha (13). The mothers’ affection. They rock the babes to sleep. Description of the beauty of the infants. They grow older and crawl about the court of the palace (26). Rāma’s beauty at this age. They play in the courtyard and lap their first words. Their first lessons in walking. The awakening of Rāma, at dawn, by his mother (36). The boys run out to play. The admiration of the town folk. They play on the banks of the Sarayu (46). (The first half of the canto ends here. Forty-six songs).

Viśvāmitra comes to Ayodhya. His welcome. He asks for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to relieve the hermits from the Rākshasas. They start off with him. Description of his charming appearance. Their delight and wonder at the novelties they see on the way. The slaughter of the Rākshasas. Rejoicing of the hermits. The salvation of Aḥalyā (57). They set out for Janakapura. Their reception there: admiration of the citizens. The two princes introduced to Janaka. They reach the scene of the bow-sacrifice. The appearance of the princes. The crowd assembles to see the sight. The townsfolk talk. The grandeur of the assembly. Arrival of Sītā in state (84). The proclamation of the conditions. The other competitor kings fail even to move the bow. Rāma, at Viśvāmitra’s instance, breaks the bow (90). Rejoicings thereat. Rage of the defeated kings. Delight of the townsfolk (99).

Kausalyā’s lamentations in Rāma’s absence from Ayodhya. The other queens comfort her. Arrival of news from Janakapura. Rejoicings in Ayodhya. The marriage procession starts and arrives at Janakapura (109). The wedding. Description of the beauty of Rāma and Sītā. Of Lakṣmaṇa and Urmi. The townsfolk talk of Rāma. His reception at Ayodhya by his mother. Altogether 110 songs (pada) to various melodies.

(2) Ayodhīya-kāṇḍa. Ayodhya. Daśaratha determines to make Rāma yuvārāja. Kaikēyi, under Mantharā’s influence, gets Bharata made yuvārāja, and has Rāma sent to exile (1). Lamentations of Kausalyā and Daśaratha. They entreat Rāma to stop, but unavailingly. Sītā makes ready to go with Rāma. He remonstrates. She insists. The townsfolk lament that Sītā is going (11). Lakṣmaṇa also insists on going. They start (12). Sītā washes Rāma’s feet when he is weary with the road. Their pilgrimage (14). The comments of the people along the way, on their appearance. Of the village people (15-30). Their hardships. Comments of people on the road (31-41). The comments of the forest women (kīrtātī) in Chitrakūta. The pilgrims settle there. Their life. The forest and all nature gain new beauties (42-50). At Ayodhya, the lamentations of Kausalyā (51-55). Return of the charioteer Sumantra. Daśaratha addresses him, laments, and dies (56-59). Bharata reproaches Kaikēyi (60, 61). He speaks humbly to Kausalyā. Her reply (62-64). He refuses to be made king, and sets out for Chitrakūta (65). Lamentations of the parrots, &c., in Rāma’s house (66-67). Bharata’s journey to Chitrakūta. He meets Rāma, and entreats him to return. Rāma refuses (68-72). Bharata asks for Lakṣmaṇa at least to return, and to let him go instead with Rāma. This he also refuses. He takes Rāma’s shoes home with him, to set them on the throne. He himself lives in humble guise at Nandigrāma (73-79). Praise of Bharata (80-82). Kausalyā’s lamentations (80-87). The talk of the townsfolk (88, 89). Total eighty-nine songs (pada).

(3) Aranyā-kāṇḍa. The Forest. The pilgrims in the forest. Rāma as a hunter. The leaf hut in Pañchavāti (1-5). The golden deer. The circumstances of its death. The approach of Rāvaṇa disguised as the mendicant devotee. The rape of Sītā. The conflict with Jaṭāyu (6-8); return of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the hermitage. The search for Sītā. They find Jaṭāyu. He tells them of the rape (9-16). The meeting with the Savari (17). Altogether 17 songs (pada).

* See note on the Kēvīṭhālī.
(4) Kishkindhā-kaṇḍ. The Adventures in Kishkindhāya. Sūrya shows Rāma the bracelets dropped by Sītā. When the rainy season is over the monkeys and bears go off to search for Sītā. In all two songs (pada).


The following is an example of this poem. Git. I. 32.

Rāg Kānkhārā

Lalitā sutahi lālati sacchū pāyēn
Kausalyā kaṅka aŋīra mahāṅ sikhavata chałana aŋguriyān lāyēn II 1 II
Katī hiṃkini pāṇjanī pāṇjanī bājati runu jhūnu mādhura renghāyēn
Pahūchē karani kaṅkha kāṇṭhulā banyau kēhari-nakha mani-jarīta jarāyēn II 2 II

Pīta pūnita bichitra jhāṅguliyā sēhatī sūṁa sarīra sohāyēn
Daiyā dvai dvai maṅghara mukha-chhābhi arunā adharu chīha lēta chordanēn II 3 II
Chīḥuka kapāla nāsīkā sundara bāhā bāhā masi bindu banāyēn
Rājata nayana maṅjū aṅjana-juta khaṁjana kaiṣa mīna madu nāyēn II 4 II
Laṭkana chāru bhrīkuṭīya lēdhi mēḍhi subhaga sudēva subhāyēn
Kilaki kilaki nākhaṭa chuṭakī suṇi darapati jānani chuṭukalyēn II 5 II
Gīrī ghūṭurani tēkī utki anujāni toṭāri bōlata pāpa dehāyēn
Bāla-bēlī abhaṅki mālu sabha mudita maṅgaṇa āṇandā anamāyēn II 6 II
Dēkhaṭa nabha ḍhana ḍaṭa charita muni jōga samāṭhī birati bīṣṭrīyēn
Tulasi Dāśa jē rasik na yēki rasi tē nara jāda jēītata jōga jāyēn II 7 II

Full of happiness Kausalyā caresses her darling boy. She lets him cling to her finger as she teaches him to walk in the fair golden palace court (1). Runu jhūnu, runu jhūnu, sweetly tinkles the bell-girdle on his waist, sweetly tinkle the anklet-bells on his feet, as she helps him along. On his wrists are bracelets, and round his throat a jewelled necklace studded with (evil-
10. The **Krishna Gitabalī**. A collection of songs in honour of **Krishna**. In the Braj, or rather the Kanaūj, dialect. A collection of 61 songs (**pada**). The first portion deals with **Krishna**'s babyhood and boyish pranks in Gokula, and the latter portion with the lamentations of the herd-maidens during his visit to Mathurā. The style is quite different from that of Tulśi Dās's other works, and many scholars deny its authenticity. I have only seen two lithographed editions of the text, and no commentary. The following is an example. It describes how **Krishna** held up Mount Gòvardhana. *Krishna Gitabalī*. 18.

**Edg Maldr**

Bṛjā para ghana ghamaṇḍa kari āyē
damakati duṣaṇa duṣa na dāṁmi bhayō tama gaganā garbhīrē
garajata ghōra vārīdhara dhāvuta prērita prabala samērē
bāra bāra pābi-pāti upala ghana barakhatā būnda bisāla
sūta-sābha pukārata ārata gōsuta gōpi gveda
rākhasu Rāma Kānuха ehi abasara duṣaṇa duṣa bhai āi
nanda bīrōhika kiyō surapati saun sō tumharō bala pēi
sunī hāni uṭhāu nanda kō nāharu liyō kara kudhara uthāi

tulasi Dās, Mahāvād apanē saun kari gayō garba gauśāi

On Vraja the storm clouds have arrogantly come, for the king of the Gods (Indra) considering himself insulted has sent them. Lightning, irresistible, flashes all around; in the heaven hath been born a profound darkness. Fierce rain clouds roar and rush, impelled by a mighty wind. Again and again fall thunderbolts, and the raindrops of the clouds are huge hailstones. Terrified at the cold, the cowboys, the cow-maidens, and the cowherds scream aloud, 'Protect us, O Balarāma and **Krishna**. Our lot is now more than we can bear. **Nanda** has contended with the Lord of the Gods, trusting in your power.' When **Nanda**'s tiger heard these words, he rose up smiling, and lifted up the mountain (of **Gòvardhana**) with his hand. 5

Saith Tulśi Dās, Mahāvān (Indra) thus, by his own action, humbled his own pride.

11. The **Bināy Patrīkā**. The Book of Petitions. In this the poet writes in the character of a suppliant (**arthin**). 6 There is an interesting legend as to the way the book came to be written. Tulśi Dās first, as a **paurāṇika**, wrote the *Edm Charit Mānās*, in which he dwelt on the complex side of Rāma's character and on his glory, might and prowess. Then, as a **vandin**, to establish the hearts of those who sought the Lord, he wrote the *Kabītīdbali* dealing with Rāma's majesty. Then, to increase love in the worshippers of the Lord, he wrote as a **māyadha**, the *Gitabolī*. Subsequently to all this, a murderer one day came on a pilgrimage crying, 'For the love of
the Lord Rāma, cast alms to me, a murderer.' Tul'śi, hearing the well-beloved name, called him to his house, gave him sacred food which had been offered to the God, declared him purified, and sang praises to his beloved deity. The Brāhmans of Banāras held an assembly, and sent for the poet, asking how this murderer's sin was absolved, and how he had eaten with him. Tul'śi replied, 'Read ye your Scriptures. Their truth hath not entered yet into your hearts. Your intellects are not yet ripe, and they remove not the darkness from your souls.' They replied that they knew the power of the Name, as recorded in the Scriptures, 'but this man is a murderer. How can he obtain salvation?' Tul'śi asked them to mention some proof by which he might convince them, and they at length agreed that, if the sacred bull of Siva would eat from the murderer's hand, they would confess that they were wrong, and that Tul'śi Dās was right. The man was taken to the temple and the bull at once ate out of his hand. Thus did Tul'śi teach that the repentance of even the greatest sinner is accepted by the Lord. This miracle had the effect of converting thousands of men and making them lead holy lives. The result enraged the Kaliyuga (the present age of sin personified), who came to the poet and threatened him, saying, 'Thou hast become a stumbling block in my kingdom of wickedness. I will straightway devour thee, unless thou promise to stop this increase of piety.' Full of terror, Tul'śi Dās confided all this to Hanumat, who consoled him, telling him he was blameless and advising him to become a complainant in the court of the Lord himself. Write a binay-pattrikā, a petition of complaint, and I will get an order passed on it by the master, and will be empowered to punish the Kaliyuga. Without such an order I cannot do so, for he is the king of the present age. According to this advice the poet wrote the Binay Pattrikā.

The book is in the form of a series of hymns, adapted to singing, and addressed to the Lord, as a king in a court. According to earthly custom, the first hymns, or petitions, are addressed to the lower gods,—the door-keepers, ushers, and courtiers as it were, of heaven, and then the remainder of the book is devoted to humble petitions to the Lord Rāma himself. Thus,—He first addresses Gaṇēśa (the door keeper) (1), then the Sun-god (2), Siva (3—10), Bhairava (Siva, the protector of Banāras) (11), Saṃkara (12), Siva (13), Siva and Pārvati in one (14), Pārvatī (15, 16), the Ganges (17—20), the Yamunā (21), the Kshetra-pāla of Banāras (22), Chittrakūṭa (23, 24), Hanumat (25—36), Lakshmana (37, 38), Bharata (39), Satrugna (40), Sita (41—43). With the 44th hymn the petitions to Rāma begin, and are continued to the 277th. In the 278th the poet addresses the whole court, and the 279th, and last, hymn records the successful result of his petitions.9

The following are specimens of this work:

Bin. 149.

Kahāṁ ivaṁ, kā saṁk kahāṁ, aurā śaurā na mērā | 1.
Janma gamūdyā tērē-ś taṁ kinkara tērē ni 1 1 1.
Māṁ taṁ bijāṁ, nātha, so svārātha kē bērhā | 2.
Toṁ kriṣṇā-nidhī kyanū bānai mērā ṣi kinhā | 2 2.
Dīna duradūna, dīna duradūna, dīna dukhā dīna dūkha | 3.
Jauṁ lauṁ tūṁ, na bēkolāi Rāghubhāna-bēhlūkha | 4 1.
Dai pīṭī bīna dīthi havū, bīva-bīlochana | 4 2.
Tō sōṁ tu-kiṁ, na dūsārō, nāta-sōcha-bīlochana | 4 4.
Parādithā, dēva, dīna havū, suddhāna gosūṁ | 5.
Bēlānahāre sō karaṁ, bāī, bāī, ki jhānā | 5 1 1.
Āpya dēkkhī, mahāī dēkhiyē, jana jānīyē sānchō | 5 2 1.
Bālī ētā Rāma ṛāsta, ki jeghī tāī sō bāhchō | 5 3.
Rāhārī rītī Rāma rāvṛī mitā hūyē hulasā hai | 5 4 1.
Jyauṁ bhāvāi tyanū kara kriṣṇā tērō Tulasi hai | 5 7 1.

1 Kaliyuga, as a person, may practically be translated by 'the devil' of Christianity. [For Kaliyuga's doing when personified as a god in popular poetry, see Legends of the Painjōb, Vol. II. p. 239 ff.—Ed.]
2 Some editions make 290, not 279 hymns.
In the preceding hymn, the poet has prayed to the Lord to look upon him, — he can do nothing of himself. He now continues, — "For whither can I go? to whom can I tell (my sorrows)? No other place have I. Have I not passed my life a slave at thy door, and thine only? True, often have I turned away from thee, and grasped the things of this world; but, O thou full of mercy, how can acts like mine be done by thee (that thou shouldst hide thy face from me)? O Glory of Raghu's race, till thou wilt look upon me, my days will be days of evil, my days will be calamity, my days will be woe, my days will be defilement. When I turned my back to thee, and (it was because) I had no eyes of faith to see thee where thou art; but thou art all-seeing (and canst therefore look upon me where'er I be). Thou alone, and no other, art like unto thyself; thou who dost relieve the sorrows of the humble. O God, I am not mine own; to some one must I be the humble slave, while thou art absolutely uncontrolled, and master of thy will. I am but a sacrifice (bali) offered unto thee; what petition can the reflection in the mirror make to the living being who is reflected therein? First, look thou upon thyself (and remember thy mercy and thy might). Then cast thine eyes upon me; and claim me as thy true servant; for the name of the Lord is a sure protection, and he who taketh it is saved. Lord, thy conduct and thy ways ever give joy unto my heart; Tul'si is thine alone, and, O God of mercy, do unto him as it seemeth good unto thee."

Bin. 195.

Bali jauhina Rama Gosaini
Kripa kripa aparani nahi
Paramaratna sukapura sithana, sabha svarama sukhada, bhali
Kali sakupi lohi suchal, nija kathina kuchali chalali
Jahan jahan chita chitavata hita, tahan nita nawa bikhada adhikali
Kuchhi bhavati bhavhuri bhagahi, samuhvai amita anahdali
Dhahri manana mana, byadh bhikala tana, bancha malma jhuhdali
Etuhvini para tunaka so Tulasi ki sakula sanaha sagali 95

O Rama, my Holy one, I offer myself a sacrifice unto thee. Show thou grace unto me as thou art wont. The evil age hath in its wrath cut off every good way, the means of ultimate salvation, and the means of attaining to the lower heaven, yea, every earthly happiness, every goodness,—and hath brought into use its own, hard, evil way.

Wherever the soul looketh towards good, there ever it causeth new sorrows to increase. Every pleasure that delighteth fleeth in terror, while all things that delight not, stand in front of a man, in unmeasured numbers. The soul is plunged in spiritual woe: the body is distracted by disease: man's very words are foul and false. And yet, (O Lord,) with thee doth Tul'si Dasa hold the close kinship of perfect love.

12. Rama-charita-manas, the Lake of the Gests of Rama. Written in various metres. Most commonly eight pairs (frequently more) of chaupai followed by one pair (sometimes more) of dohas, with other metres, in the more high-flown portions, interspersed. In seven sopaana, or descents (into the lake), viz.: —

(1) Balan kandha. (2) Ayodhyu kandha. (3) Aranya kandha. (4) Kishkindha kandha.

This work, which is more usually called the Manas Ramayan, or the Tul'si-krit Ramayan, is, as already shown, largely quoted in the Dhahabali. The following references will show that

9 The reflection of a man in a mirror is entirely dependent on the man who is reflected. It moves as he moves, and only acts as he wills. So man's soul, which is but a reflection of the universal Soul, is entirely dependent on the will (prarana) of the latter for all his actions good and bad. Hence the poet asks that the Lord may will him to lead a holy life. He has no right to ask for it as a right, he can only ask for it as a favour.

10 Rahani = achara (ujjvalat gurutakti dharmamiti aha ahachara par apo rahani; taka kai rahani kah, comm.).
Rita = upanahara (jia upanahara taka mantri mitra sevak prajjati par caratia.)

11 The commentator gives as an illustration, disease springing up at a holy festival. The late Hardwar affair is an example in point.
certain verses occur twice in the poem itself. Whether this is due to interpolations or not I cannot say. My references are all to Chhakkan Lāl's Corpus, and also to the new edition published by Bābu Rām Din Singh.

Rām. Bā., Ch. 77, 2 = Rām. A., Ch. 212, 3 (Rām Din., 213, 3)

Sīra dhari āyasu kariā tumhārā |  
Parāma dharama yaha nāthka khamārā ||

Rām. Bā., Ch. 73, 3, 4

Tapā-bala rachai prapānchā bidhātā |  
Tapā-bala Bishnu sekhā jaga-trātā ||
Tapā-bala Sambhu karahiā sanghārā |  
Tapā-bala Sēkha dharaī mahi-bhārā ||

Compare Rām. Bā., Ch. 163, 23

Tapā-bala tēn jaga srījai bidhātā |  
Tapā-bala Bishnu bhāt paritrātā ||
Tapā-bala Sambhu karahiā sanghārā |  
Tapā tēn aqama na kachhu sansārā ||

Rām. A., Ch. 80, 2 = Rām. A., Ch. 111, 7

Tē pitu mātu kahahu, sahē, kaisē |  
Jiūha pāthāe banu bālaka aīsē ||

Rām. A., Ch. 123, 1, 2 = Rām. Ar., Ch. 7, 2, 3 (Rām Din., 9, 2, 3)

Āgē Rāma Lakhau bane (pūnī) pūchhē |  
Tāpāsē bēkha bādājita (banē atī) kachhē ||
Ubbha kha biśha Siya sōhati kaisē |  
Brahma jīva biśha māyā jaisē.

Note that the last half line, 'as Māyā exists between Brahman and the soul,' shows that Tulśi Dās was not altogether in accord with Rāmānuja, who altogether denied the existence of the Māyā postulated by Śaṅkarāchārya. This will be dealt with subsequently.

Ram Sun., Ch. 23, 1

Rāma charana-pankjaja ura dharahū |  
Lankā achala rāju tumha karaṇā ||

Rām. Lαn., Ch. 1, 8

Rāma charana-pankjaja ura dharahū |  
Kautuka ēka bhālu kapi karaṇā ||

The poem was commenced in the year 1574 A. D. in Ayōḍhya, where the first three sōpanās were written. Thence he went to Banāras, where Tulśi Dās completed the work.¹²

I do not give any analysis of the contents of this excellent work. Mr. Growse's translation makes this unnecessary. I hesitate also to give any example of it. No specimen will give a fair idea of the poem's many beauties, and at the same time of its (to European taste) defects. It would be as unfair as to show a single pearl as a sample of the ocean with all its profundity and all its terrors. The Rāma-charita-mānas is the earliest known, and at the same time the greatest, of Tulśi Dās's works. But, though the earliest, it has none of the crudeness which we might expect in a poet's first attempt at song. Its metre is correct, though never monotonous; its language is appropriate without being affected, and the chain of thought, ever bound together by the one golden string of love and devotion to his master, is worthy of the greatest

¹² Rām. Ki., Sū. 1. mukti-janma mahi jāmi, &c. Here the poet for the first time in the poem praises Kāśi (Banāras), instead of Ayōḍhya, and this passage is to be interpreted as above. The Bāla, Ayōḍhya and Āranya Kāptjas were written at Ayōḍhya, and the Kishkindhya, Sundara, Lākṣā and Uttar Kāptjas, at Banāras.
poet of any age. In the specimens taken from his other works I have shown what power the poet had over language, and how full that language would be either of tenderness, or of soul-absorbing devotion to the Deity whom he adored, and if I now give an extract from the Tul’si-kriti Rāmāyān it is not as a specimen of the work, but to show Tul’si Dās in his lighter, perhaps more artificial mood, in which, with neatness and brevity of expression worthy of Kālidāsa or of Horace, he paints the marvellous transformation of nature which accompanies the change from one Indian season to another. I allude to the well-known passage in the Kishkindha-kānda which describes the rainy season, and the coming of autumn (Ch. 14 and ff). I follow Chhakkan Lāl’s text, as usual, in this paper.

A word as to the style. Tul’si Dās here adopts a series of balanced, antithetic sentences,— each line consisting of a statement of fact and of a simile,—the latter often of a religious nature. This method of writing closely resembles that adopted by Kālidāsa in portions of the first book of the Rāghuvrīṣa, and still more that of the Book of Proverbs. Thus,—(Prov. xxvi, 7 and ff.

' The legs of the lame are not equal;
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.
As he that bindeth a stone in a sling;
So is he that giveth honour to a fool.
As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard;
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.

In the same style, Tul’si Dās here says—

As the sheet lightning flickereth,
So is the short-lived love of the wicked.
As the clouds heavy with rain bow down to the earth,
So boweth (humbly) the wise man full of wisdom.
As the mountains heed not the assaults of the raindrops,
So the holy man heedeth not the words of the wicked.

The translation given by me below will be found to be more full than the above, but it will be seen that, throughout, the text is built on this principle.

Chāupāi.

Ghāna ghamaṇḍa nabha garajata ghūrā
Priyā-hina mana ārapata mōrā
Dāmīni damaka raha na ghana māhīṁ
Khala kai priti jathā thīṁ nākīṁ
Barakkahāṁ jalāda bhūmī niardē
Jathā navahīṁ budhā bidyā pādē
Būḍa aghāta sahāhiṁ giri kāśe
Khala kē bachana santa saha jaisē
Chhūḍa naṁ bharī chalī tordā
Jasa thēra kura dhana khala itārāṁ
Bhūmi parata bād gūbāra pāniṁ
Janū jivaṁ máyā lapatāṁ
Samīti samīti jāla bharaṁi talāwāṁ
Jimi sadaguna sajana pahiṁ āvāṁ
Sarītā jāla jali-nīdiṁ mahāṅ āṁ
Hōi achaḷa jimi jiva Hari pāṁ

Dōḍa.

Harīṁ bhūṁī trīn sankula
Jimi pakhaṇḍa bādā teṁ
samajhi parahīṁ nahiṁ panthāṁ
gupta hōṁīṁ sadagrāṅhāṁ
Chaupāi.

Dādura dhūni chahuṇ ādiśa ukaś ||
Beda paśchari jana baṭu samudā ||
Nava pallava bhaś bijapā anēka ||
Sādhaṇa mana jasa mili bhīkēka ||
Arha jauṣaṇa pāta bīnu bhāyaḥ ||
Jasu suṣāja khala udyna gayaḥ ||
Khōjata katahuṇ nilai nahiṇ āhōri ||
Karasā kroṭha jimi dharamahā dūri ||
Sasi-sampanna sōha mahi kaiś ||
Upākāri kai sampati jista ||
Nīsi tama ghanā khadyōla bīrāj ||
Janu dambhinka kar miliḥ samajā ||
Mahābriṣhti chaṭti phēkā kīḍī ||
Jimi sutanta bhayē bigarahirnā nārī ||
Kṛiṇi nirūwahī chaturā kisāṇ ||
Jimi bhūḍa taṇahī mōha mada māṇā ||
Dekhāyata chakrabāka bhagā nāhīn ||
Kelsi pāi jimi dharna parāhun ||
Ūsara bāarakun tīṇa nahiṁ jāmā ||
Jimi Hari-jana-hyā waṇa jana kanaunn ||
Bīṇāṇa janta-sukula mahi bhrājan ||
Prayā bāṛha jimi pāi swājān ||
Jahān tahanr hāṁ pathika thakā nānā ||
Jimi indriya-gana upajē jīnēn ||

Dhāḥ.

Kaba-huṇa prabala boha mārata jahān tahanā mēṅga bidaṭikā ||
Jimi kappā ta ṭyaṇa kula sadharma nasāhun ||
Kaba-huṇa diśas mahuṇa nūbīḍa tama kaba-huṇ ka pragaṭa paṭanga ||
Binasāt upajā jūna jimi pāi ku-saṇa su-saṇa || 15 ||

Chaupāi.

Bovākhā bīgata sarada-ṛitu ॐ ||
Dāchajmana dekhaṇu parama sukā ||
Phīlā kāsa sukala mahi chhān ||
Janu barakāḥ-kṛiṇa pragāta buḍhān ||
Uḍita Agasti pantha-jala sūkhā ||
Jimi lōṭhaṁ sōkhaṁ sanāṭhān ||
Sarīṭā sara nirmala jala sōkhā ||
Sānta hriṇaya jasa gata-mada-mōhā ||
Rasa rasā sūkha sarita sara pānī ||
Mamātyāya karahi jimi jūnē ||
Jāni sarada ṛitu khoṇjana ē ||
Pāi samaya jimi sukṛita suḥān ||
Panka na rēnu, sōha ati dhārani ||
Nīti nipuna niṣpa kai jasi karani ||
Jala-sāṅbōkihā bhāna bhaṁ māṇa ||
Abudha kuṭumbi jimi dhana-hinā ||
Bīnu ghanā nirmala sōha akāsā ||
Hari jana hā parāhāri soba dēn ||
Kahūn kahaṇ bṛiṣṭiś śarādī thōrī ||
Kou eka pāwa bhagāti jimi mōrī ||
Dōhā.

Chalē harakhī taji nāgara nīpa,
   tāpasa, baniha, bhūkhāri
Jimī Hari-bhagatī pāṭa evaṇa
   tajahī āsrāmi chāri

Chaupāi.

Sukhi mīna jē nīra eqādhā
g;$
Jimī Hari-sarana na ēkau bādhā
g;
Phālē kamala, sōha sara kaisī
Nirgunā Bhagam saγuna bhe jaisī
g;
Gūjāta mādhukara mukhara anūpā
g;
Sudāra khaγa rubā nānā rūpā
g;
Chakrabāka maṇa ḍukha nisī pēkhī
g;
Jimī durjana para-sampatī dēkhī
g;
Chēlaka rātata trikhā atī dhān
Jimī sukha laḥā na Saṅkara-drēhī
g;
Saradd tāpa nisī sasi apakaraī
Santā-darasa jimī pātaka jaraī
g;
Dēkhī māṇa chalēram samudāī
g;
Chitāvahā trihī Hari-jana Hari pāī
g;
Mosaka dansa bēh hima-trēsā
Jimī dwija-drēhā kī ki kula-nāsē
g;

Dōhā.

Bhāmī jīve senkula rālē
gau saṇada-ritu pāī
g;
Sada-gurū mālē jāhin jimi
g;
Samsaya bhrāma samudāī

Rāma addresses Lākṣmanā, while they are waiting in the Kishkindhā forest for the rains to pass over, that they may start on their search for Sītā.

Chaupāi.—The sky covered with arrogant rain-clouds fiercely roareth, while my heart is distraught, bereft of its darling. The sheet lightning flickereth amidst the heavy clouds, fitful as the short-lived love of the wicked. The heavy vapours pour forth rain, and hang close-bellied to the earth, like a wise man stooping 'neath his weight of wisdom. The mountains bear the never-recessing assaults of the rain-drops, standing proudly unconcerned; and even so the holy man heedeth not the words of the wicked. Each shallow streamlet, flooded to the brim, hasteneth eagerly on its way, like a rain-fellow puffed up with a little wealth. The clear water which falleth on the earth is become mud (and hideth it from the sky), as the cares of this world envelop the soul (and hide it from its Creator). With here a drop and there a rill, the water filleth the lakes, like virtue entering a good man's heart; while the rushing rivers flow into the Ocean and find rest, even as the soul findeth rest in faith in God.

Dōhā.—The grass groweth green and thick upon the ground, hiding the very paths so that they cannot be traced out; and even so the disputations of the unbelievers ever hide the true path of the scriptures.

Chaupāi.—The frogs shout lustily around, like a school of postulants reading holy books. Fresh shoots appear on bushes, as wisdom springeth in the hearts of the pious; and only the arka and javā trees lose their green leaves from the rainfall, as the schemes of the wicked fail under a righteous governor. Seek where thou wilt, thou wilt find no dust,—so when a man yieldeth to passion his piety departeth. Fair shineth the earth prosperous with its fields of corn, as fair as a charitable man blessed by prosperity; but in the dark nights the countless fireflies are radiant, like anto hypocrites that have met their meet companion (the night of ignorance). The field banks (left uneared for) are burst and washed away by the heavy rainstorms, as a woman is ruined by being left to her own devices; but the wise and clever husbandman weeddeth his crops, as the wise man weeddeth his heart of delusion, passion, and pride. The Bṛāhmaṇī goose hath hidden itself, even as piety disappeareth in this age of sin;
and as on the barren land, for all the rain, not a blade of grass is seen, so lust is born not in the heart of a servant of the Lord. The earth is brilliant with swarms of manifold living creatures; so, under a good governor, do his subjects multiply. Here and there a wearied traveller sitteth to rest himself, as a man’s senses rest when wisdom is born in him.

Dhād.—At times a mighty wind ariseth and hither and thither scattereth the clouds, as, with the birth of a disobedient son, a household’s piety is destroyed. At one time, by day, here is a thick darkness, at another time the sun is visible; even so, true knowledge is destroyed or born, as a man consorteth with the vile or with the holy.

Chauṭā.—The rains are past, the Autumn-time is come; O Lakṣāmana, see how fair the world appeareth. (The first sign that it cometh) is the white-bearded blossom of the tall thatch-grass, which hideth the earth as though declaring that the old age of the rains had come. Čaṇḍaśī shineth in the heavens, and the water which drowned the pathways is drying up, as desire dieth up when the True Content is achieved. The water glistens clear in the streams and lakes, like a holy man’s heart from which passion and delusion have departed. Gently diminisheth the depth of the streams and lakes, as the wise man gradually looseth his thoughts of self. The wagtail now knoweth that the Autumn is arrived, and cometh forth from its hiding place, beautiful as a good work done in season. No mud is there, and yet no dust, fair shineth the world, yea, like unto the deeds of a lore-learned king; yet as the waters fall the fish are troubled, as a foolish spendthrift is perplexed when his possessions are wasted. The sky serene and pure, without a cloud, is like unto a servant of the Lord, who is free from all earthly desire; while now and then there fall a few drops of Autumn rain, — few, as the few, who place their faith in me.13

Dhād.—Joyfully issue forth from the cities, kings and eremites, merchants and beggars, even as the four orders of mankind desert all care when they find faith in the Lord.

Chauṭā.—Happy are the fish where the water is deep; and happy is he who findeth naught between him and the fathomless mercy of the Lord. The lotuses bloom, and the lakes take from them a charm, as the pure Spirit becometh lovely when it taketh material form.14 The noisy bees hum baily, and birds of many kinds sing tuneful notes. The Brāhmaṇi goose alone is mournful when it seeth the night approach (which separateth it from its mate), as the evil man mourneth when he seeth the prosperity of another. The chāṭak waileth in its ever waxing thirst, even as an enemy of the deity never findeth peace. The moon by night consoleth for the heat of the autumn sun, as sin vanisheth at the sight of a holy man. The partridge-coveys gaze intent upon the moon, like pious men whose only thought is for the Lord. The gnat and the gadfly disappear in fear of winter, as surely as a house is destroyed which persecuteth Brahmaṇa.

Dhād.—The swarms of living creatures with which, in the rainy season, the earth was fulfilled, are gone. When they found the Autumn approaching, they departed. So, when a man findeth a holy spiritual guide, all doubts and errors vanish.

(3) Legends and Traditions.

In conclusion, it will be interesting to record such legends regarding the poet, as have not been already given in this paper. Some of these have been published before, but others are, I believe, new to English scholars.

I commence by giving some valuable facts communicated to me by Mahāmahāpādhyāya Sudhākara Drīvēdi. Some say that the poet was a Kāṇyakubja, and others that he was a Sarayuparīṇa-Brāhmaṇa. Brāhmaṇa of the former clan condemn the receipt of presents, begging for alms, and the like; but Tūl śi Dāsī in Kabhītāvalī, Ut., 73, says distinctly, 'jāyṣ kula māṇika, I was born in a family which begged,' and hence he must be considered to have been a Sarayuparīṇa. Tradition adds that he was a Dūbe of the Parāśara gōtra of that clan. The most trustworthy accounts state that he was born in Samvat 1589 (A.D. 1532), so that he must

13 Rāma was of course an incarnation of the Lord.
14 Here Tūl śi Dāsī certainly speaks both of a Nirguṇa and not of a Sagguṇa, Brahmaṇa.
have been 42 years of age when he commenced writing the Rāmdāyaṇa, and this conclusion is borne out by the nature of the work, which is that of a mature intellect, — of a man who had lived.

In former days, before the British rule, children born at the end of the asterism Jyēṣṭhā, and at the beginning of that of Mūla, were said to be born in Abhukta-mūla. Such a child was considered to be of the worst possible nature, and destined to destroy his father. On this account he would usually be abandoned by his parents, or, at the best, if from natural affection they could not be so inhuman, they would not look upon its face for eight years. Thus, in the Mahārāma-chintāmanī (composed about Tulsi Dās’s time), it is written, ‘jātaṁ "siśuṁ tatra purityajēd vā mukhaṁ pitaḥ 'syā 'śhṇaṁāna paśyāt.’ In the purāṇas, Nārāyana is mentioned as having been born to Rāvaṇa in Abhukta-mūla, and to have been abandoned in this way. He did not die, but grew up and had many children and grandchildren. At Nārada’s instigation, Rāvaṇa sent for them, and they were all killed in the conflict with Rāma.

Tulsi Dās was one of these children born in Abhukta-mūla, and, when his parents abandoned him he must have been picked up by some wandering sādhu, for no respectable householder would have had aught to do with such a child. He tells us himself in Bināy Patrīrikā, 227, 2, ‘janani janaka taj' janmani, karaṁ binā bidhi-kārā sirajyō abadēr.’ ‘My father and mother brought me into being and then abandoned me, and God himself created me without good fortune, and forsook me.’ Compare also, the whole passage above quoted from the Kavi-tābālī, Ut., 73. He must, as a boy, have lived and wandered over India with this sādhu, and learnt from him and his companions the story of Rāma, as he himself tells us.15

He was probably named Tulasi Dāsa by the sādhu, according to a custom which these men have. When they desire to purify any person, they cause him to eat a tulasi leaf which has been dedicated to an image of Vishnu. This was probably done in the unfortunate lad’s case, and hence his name.

He is popularly supposed to have been a profound pāṇḍit, but this is an evident error, as is shown by his works. His Sanskrit is full of mistakes, e. g., in the introductory skōkas to Rām. Ut., he writes cākṣaṇaṁ ṛṣhvaṁvānāṁ for kākī, and chintakṣaṇya manabhringasangitau for "manabhṛtinga," or in the Rudrāshakas,16 Rudrāshakam idaṁ prātţaṁ viprēṇā hara-tūshayē, for "tūshayā." According to tradition, his father’s name was Ātma Rām Śukla Dūbē, and his mother’s Hulasī. His real name was, as he tells us in K. Rām, Ut., 94, Rām Bōlā. His spiritual preceptor was named Nārāhāri. His father-in-law’s name was Dīnabandhu Pāṭhak, his wife’s Ratnāvall, and his son’s Tārak.17 Various places claim the honour of his birth, viz. Tarī in the Doāb, Hātipūr near Chitrakūt, and Rājāpur, in the district of Bāndā, on the banks of the Yamuna. Of these, Tarī appears to have the best claim. In his youth, he studied at Sākurakshētra, the modern Sōrān (Rām. Ba., dō. 30). He married in his father’s lifetime, and after the latter’s death, he lived contentedly as a householder, and begat a son. As explained elsewhere, Tulsi Dās was a follower of the viśiṣṭādvaīta Vedantic teaching of Rāmānuja, as modified by Rāmānanda. It would be incorrect, however, to call him a strict adherent of that sect. I have previously pointed out that, in Ayodhyā he was a Śmārta, not

15 Rām. Ba., dō. 30, 1 (Māiṇa pāṇi niṣita guru, &c.) and the following chaupāṭī. This passage also tells us that he learned the Rāma-stotra from this sādhu, or guru, as he called him, in Sanskrit, and why he determined to tell it in the vernacular (bhāṣhā-buddha, &c.)
16 See remarks above on the Kavi-tābālī.
17 The following dohās give the above particulars:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dūbē</th>
<th>Ātma śukla-hari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motā Hulasī kahata saba</td>
<td>Tulasī kaiśu kāna īlī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragotā nāma nahi kahata jaga</td>
<td>guru kī śuṅk śādhu īlī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīnabandhu Pāṭhaka kahata</td>
<td>kāhē hita āyārādhii īlī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnāvallī tiya nāma hai</td>
<td>saṅna nāma sābā kūt īlī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Guru’s name cannot be plainly given without sin, but it is that form of Vishnu which saved Prahlāda, i.e.,

Nārāhāri. From the last line it appears that the poet’s son died at an early age.

The poet also mentions his Guru’s name in a similarly disguised fashion in Rām. Ba., vō. 1, 5 ‘bandānā guru-pada-kaṇjā kīpā śādhu nara-tūpā hari.’ With regard to his mother’s name, vide, post.
a Vairāgī Vaishāva, and also worshipped Mahādeva to some extent. In the Rāmāyana he himself states that he has followed many scriptures, and now and then he even alludes to the uivīśeṣa vedanta Vedantic teaching of Saṅkarāchārya, with its māyā and its nirūpaṇa Brahman. A great friend of his was Madhu-sūdana Sarasvatī, who was a follower of the doctrine of Saṅkarāchārya. As a whole, however, his teaching may be taken as that of the visīśeṣa vedanta, with a liberality, leaning sometimes to approval of strange or more esoteric doctrines. I have obtained from Bābā Mōhan Dās Śādhu the following genealogical table showing the line of succession of the teachers of the poet. It starts from Sri-Mānjarāyaṇa, who was twelfth in ascent of teachers before Rāmānuja. I have no means of checking it, and give it for what it is worth, and with the warning that it is probably largely based upon unwritten tradition. Some of the names are interesting and well known. I give in a parallel column another list of names received from Paṭṭā, which differs in a few particulars, and the authority of which is unknown to me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mōhan Dās’s List</th>
<th>Paṭṭā List</th>
<th>Mōhan Dās’s List</th>
<th>Paṭṭā List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sri Mānjarāyana</td>
<td>21 Sri Purushottamāchārya...</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
<td>21 Sri Purushottamāchārya...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sri Lakshmi</td>
<td>22 Sri Gangādhārananda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>22 Sri Gangādhārananda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sri Dharamuni</td>
<td>23 Sri Rāmēśvarananda...</td>
<td>Sri Rāmāmīśa.</td>
<td>23 Sri Rāmēśvarananda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Sri Sēnāpatimuni</td>
<td>24 Sri Īvānanda...</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
<td>24 Sri Īvānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sri Kārisumuni</td>
<td>25 Sri Dēvānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>25 Sri Dēvānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Sri Sainyanāthamuni</td>
<td>26 Sri Śyāmānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>26 Sri Śyāmānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sri Nāthamuni</td>
<td>27 Sri Śrutānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>27 Sri Śrutānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Sri Puṇḍarīka</td>
<td>28 Sri Nityānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>28 Sri Nityānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Sri Rāmāmīśa</td>
<td>29 Sri Pūrṇānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>29 Sri Pūrṇānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sri Pārākūsa</td>
<td>30 Sri Haryānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>30 Sri Haryānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sri Yāmunāchārya</td>
<td>31 Sri Śrayānanda...</td>
<td>Not given.</td>
<td>31 Sri Śrayānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Sri Rāmānūjasvāmin</td>
<td>32 Sri Harīvānanda...</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
<td>32 Sri Harīvānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Sri Śātaṇāḍāchārya</td>
<td>33 Sri Rāghavānanda...</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
<td>33 Sri Rāghavānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Sri Kurūsāchārya</td>
<td>34 Sri Rāmānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>34 Sri Rāmānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sri Lōkāchārya</td>
<td>35 Sri Surasurānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>35 Sri Surasurānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Sri Pārāśāchārya</td>
<td>36 Sri Mādhavānanda...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>36 Sri Mādhavānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Sri Vākāchārya</td>
<td>37 Sri Garībānanda...</td>
<td>Sri Garībādāsajī.</td>
<td>37 Sri Garībānanda...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Sri Lōkārya</td>
<td>38 Sri Lakhnuīāsajī...</td>
<td>As in Mōhan Dās.</td>
<td>38 Sri Lakhnuīāsajī...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Sri Dēvādhipāchārya</td>
<td>39 Sri Gōpālāsajī...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>39 Sri Gōpālāsajī...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Sri Śeḷēśāchārya</td>
<td>40 Sri Naraharāsajī...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>40 Sri Naraharāsajī...</td>
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<td>41 Sri Tulasīdāsajī...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>41 Sri Tulasīdāsajī...</td>
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18 Dī. sū. 7. māyā-pūrāṇa-nigamāyana-amamalabhah.
20 Wilson, Religious Spects of the Hindās, gives a much shorter line of descent between Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda. On p. 32, n. 1, he concludes that Rāmānuja was born about the end of the 11th century, and that the first half of the 12th century was the period at which his fame as teacher was established. On p. 47, he says “Rāmānand is sometimes said to have been the immediate disciple of Rāmānuja, but this appears to be an error.” He adds that a more particular account gives the following succession:

1 Rāmānuja (No. 12 in above list)
2 Dēvānanda (No. 25)
3 Harīnanda (? No. 32)
4 Rāghavānanda (No. 33)
5 Rāmānanda (No. 34)

which would place the last about the end of the 18th century. The Bhāratmālā omits No. 4 in the above list. Wilson, himself, doubts the accuracy of the list given by him, and believes that Rāmānanda was not earlier than the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century, thus putting three centuries between the two masters.

24 Wilson, l. c. p. 59.
His father-in-law, Dnabandhu, was devoted to the adoration of Râma, and his daughter, who had been married to Tul’si Dâs in her girl-hood, but who, according to custom, lived with her family till she was grown up, became also imbued with the same faith, and, when holy men visited her father used to tend them, and entreat them hospitably. When she grew up she went to live with her husband, who became passionately devoted to her. After a son had been born, one day, Tul’si Dâs came home, and discovered that his wife, without letting him know, had gone to her father’s house. Full of anxiety he followed her there, and was received by her with the following dôhâs:

Lôjâ na lâyata âpu ki   dhaurê áyêku sâthâ 1
Dîkâ dhîkâ aîś prêmâ ki   kahâ kahauî main nâtha 1
Asthâ-charma-maya dêha mama tâ mûn jaisî prîti 1
Tâsî jaiû Sri Râma majuû hûta na tau bhava-bhûti 1

‘Are you not filled with shame, that you have pursued me here? Fie on such love. What can I say to you, my Lord? My body is but made of perishable bone and skin, and if such love as you have for it, had been but devoted to the holy Râma, the terrors of existence would not have existed for you.’

Immediately on hearing these words, Tul’si Dâs became ‘converted,’ and set out again for his own home. His wife, who had by no means intended to produce so violent a reaction, followed, calling him back, and asking him to stay and eat, that she might return with him. But ‘what could a fan do, in the face of a whirlwind?’ Tul’si Dâs from that moment became an ascetic and, abandoning house and home, wandered about as a ‘released’ worshipper of Râma. He made Ayôdhya, and subsequently Banâras, his head-quarters, from which he frequently visited such places as Mathurâ, Vrîndâvana, Kurukshêtra, Prayâga (Allahabad) and Purushottamapuri.

After he had left his home, his wife wrote to him the following letter—

Katisî ki khiû kanaka si   rahata sahkina sangâ soti 1
Mohi phatû ki dana naghâ anata kaṭî daṛa hûî 1

‘Slender of loin am I, and, fair like gold, I dwell amid my girl-companions. I fear, not that my own (heart) may break, but that thou may perchance be captured by some other woman.’

To this Tul’si Dâs replied—

Katisî êkâ Raghunâtha sangâ bânâhi jaiû siva-kësa 1
Hama tô châkhâ prêma-rasâ patûñ kë upadêsa 1

‘Captured alone by Raghunâtha am I, with my locks bounded in matted curls. That is flavour of the love which I have tasted, taught by my own wife.’

On receiving this reply, his wife sent him her blessing, and praised him for the course he had adopted.

Years afterwards, when Tul’si was an old man, he was returning from Chitrakûta, and, rapt in devotion he came to his father-in-law’s village, and called at his house for hospitality, without recognizing it, or knowing where he was. His wife, who was now also very old, came out, according to custom, to tend the venerable guest, and asked him what he desired to eat. He replied, ‘I will make a mess of pottage,’ and so she prepared him an eating place (chaukâ) and brought him wood, rice, peas, vegetables, and clarified butter. Tul’si Dâs, as is the custom of Smârta Vaiśnâvas, began to cook his food with his own hands. After his wife had heard him speak once or twice she recognized him, and became full of joy that her husband had so manifestly become a devotee of Râma. She, however, did not disclose herself, but only said, ‘Reverend sir, may I bring you some pepper?’ He replied ‘there is some in my wallet.’ ‘May
I bring you some sour condiment? ’There is some in my wallet.’ ’May I bring you some camphor?’ ’There is some in my wallet.’ Then, without asking permission, she attempted to wash his feet; but he would not let her. After this she passed the whole night thinking to herself, ’How can I manage to stay with him, and to spend my time at once serving the Lord and my husband?’ At one time she would wish to do so, and at another time she would remember that her husband had left her and become an ascetic, and that her company would only embarrass him. Finally she made up her mind that, as he carried with him, in his bag, delicacies like pepper, sour condiments, and camphor, she as his wife, would be no impediment to him. Accordingly, at early dawn she invited Tul’si to stay there, and worship. He refused, in spite of all her entreaties. He would not even stay to eat. Then she said ’Reverend sir, do you not know me?’ He replied ’No.’ ’Reverend sir, do you not know whose house this is?’ ’No.’ ’Do you not know what town this is?’ ’No.’ Then she told him who she was, and asked that she might be allowed to stay with him; to which he would in no way agree. She continued.

Khariyā 23 khari kapra lón uchila na piya tiga tyāga
Kai khariyā mohi mēli kai acha kara su anūrga 11

1 If there be in your wallet everything from chalk to camphor, you should not, my love, have abandoned your wife. Either take me also in your wallet, or else (abandon it) and devote yourself entirely to love for the Omnipotent (giving up all care for earthly things). 24 Thereupon Tul’si Dās departed, and gave away all the things in his wallet to Brāhmans, and his wife’s knowledge of things divine (jādā) became fuller than before.

On one of his journeys, Tul’si Dās, after visiting Bhirugurāśram, 25 Hāsānagar and Parsiyā, being attracted by the devotion of Gāmbhirā Deva, Rājā of Gāy Ghat, stayed there a short time, and thence went to Brahmapura 26 to visit the shrine of Brahmāśvaranātha Mahādeva. From Brahmapur he went to the village of Kācit. 27 There not only did he find no place, where he could get any food, but was distressed to see the people devoted to the manners and customs of female demons (Rākshasī). He went on his way, and met a cowherd (ākhar, ahhāra) of Kācit, named Maṅgar or Maṅgārd, the son of Sāna-war A’hīr. 28 He had a cattle yard in the open plain, where he used to offer hospitality to holy men. With great humility, he invited Tul’si Dās thither and gave him some milk, which the poet boiled down into khōā, and ate. He then asked Maṅgar to ask a boon, and the latter begged first that he might be endowed with perfect faith in the Lord, and secondly that his family, which was short lived, might be a long lived one. Tul’si Dās replied, ’If you and your family commit no thefts, 29 and avoid causing affliction to any person, your desire will be fulfilled.’ It is now claimed that the blessing has been fulfilled. The story is still well known both in Bāliyā and Shāhābād districts. In 1889 A.D. the representative of his family was an old man named Bihārī A’hīr. Maṅgar’s descendants have always been well known, ever since, for the ready hospitality they offer to holy men, and are said never to commit theft, though other A’hīrs of the same village have by no means so good a reputation.

23 This verse is Dīhabāl 255, with slight differences of reading.
24 Khariyā is the technical name for a Vaishnava mendicant’s wallet. It is made of khāru cloth, and carried on the shoulder.
25 The meaning is that he keeps himself too well supplied with delicacies, to be a pure mendicant. He should be either a pure mendicant, or not at all.
26 Bhirugurāśram (sic) is the chief town of the District of Bāliyā, opposite Shāhābād, and east of Bānārās, in the N. W. P. Parsiyā is in the same district. It is said to be the site of Pārdār’s hermitage. So also Hāsānagar and Gāy Ghat are in Bāliyā. The latter is no longer the seat of a Rājā. The family of the Rājā of Gāy Ghat is now settled at Hal’d in the same district. They are Kṣatrīyas of the Hayābī clan.
27 Brahmapur is in the District of Shāhābād (Arrah). A māla is held there at the festival of the Śivaratri.
28 Also in Shāhābād, about two miles east of Brahmapur. It is in fact commonly known as Kācit-Brahmapur.
29 Two men of the same names are prominent figures in the well known folk song of Lōkik.
30 A’hīrs are notorious thieves.
From Kālū, Tul'śī Dās went on to Bēlā Pataut where he met a Paṇḍīt, a Śakadvīpi Brāhmaṇa, named Gobind Miśra, and a Khattṛṭiya, named Raghunāth Singh. These received him with great hospitality. He complained that the name of the town, Bēlā Pataut, was not a good one, and suggested its being changed to Raghunāṭhpūr, by which both Raghunāth Singh's name would be preserved, and also hundreds of thousands of men would be continually uttering a name of Rāma, (i.e., Raghunāth) when speaking of it. This proposal was agreed to and the place is now known as Raghunāṭhpūr; it is a station on the East Indian Railway, and is about two miles south of Brahmāpur. The chaūrā, or place where Tul'śī Dās used to sit, is still shown there. Another village in the neighbourhood is called Kaithī, where the principal man, Jūrāwar Singh, is said to have received the poet, and to have been initiated by him.

Tul'śī Dās at first resided in Ayōdhya, as a Smārtī Vaishṇava, and here the Lord Rāma is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and to have commanded him to write a Rāmāyaṇa in the vernacular language used by the common people. He commenced it in the year 1574 A.D. and had got as far as the end of the Aranyak-kānd, when his differences with the Vaiṣṇavī Vaishṇavas, with whose regulations about food he could not comply, induced him to go to Banāras, where he completed the poem.

He settled in Banāras at Asī-ghāṭ, near the Lōlārka-kunḍ, and here he died in the year 1623 A.D. A ghāṭ on the Ganges near this place is still called the Tul'śī-ghāṭ. Close by is a temple in honour of Hanumān, said to have been built by the poet, as mentioned, when describing the legend as to manner in which the Rāmāyāṇa came to be written.

It is said that, after he had finished his great poem, he was one day bathing at Maṇikapikā-ghāṭ, when a paṇḍīt, who was proud of his knowledge of Sanskrit came up to him and said, 'Reverend sir, Your Honour is a learned Sanskrit Paṇḍīt. Why, therefore, did Your Honour compose an epic poem in the vulgar tongue.' Tul'śī Dās replied; 'My language in the vulgar tongue is imperfect, I admit, but it is better than the erotics of you Sanskrit-knowing gentlemen.' 'How is that?' said the Paṇḍīt. 'Because,' said Tul'śī,

Mani bhadraṇa bikha pāraś pūraṇa ami nihāri
Kā chāhāṇīya kā sangrahīya kahaṇu bibëka bīchāri

'If thou find a jewelled vessel full of poison, and an earthen cup (pūraṇa=purava) full of ambrosia, which wilt thou refuse, and which wilt thou accept? Tell me this after thou hast considered the matter.'

Ghana Syāma Sukla was a great Sanskrit poet, but used to prefer to write poems in the vernacular. Some of the latter were on religious topics, and a paṇḍīt reproached him for this, telling him to write for the future in the pure Sanskrit language, and God would be pleased thereby. Ghana Syāma replied that he would ask Tul'śī Dās, and do what he advised. He then laid the whole matter before the poet, who replied,—

Kā bhākhā kā saṃskṛta prēma chāhīye sāncha
Kāṇa jo ā vai kāmarī kā lai karaś kumāṇchā

'Whether it be in the vulgar tongue, or whether it be in Sanskrit, all that is necessary is true Love for the Lord. When a rough woollen blanket is wanted (to protect one in the storm), who takes out a silken vest?'

It was the custom of Tul'śī Dās to cross the river Asī every morning for purificatory purposes. On his way back, he used to throw the water, which remained unused in his 164. 

30 It was originally two villages, Bēlā and Pataut, which have grown into one.
32 This is Dēhālibāl 351, with slight variations of reading.
33 Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, § 92.
34 Dēhālibāl 572, and Sat'āśī VII. 129. The Kaliyuga is the time of storm and drang, when the rough protection of the vernacular is wanted, and not the silken graces of Sanskrit to teach people the right way. Kumānch explained as equivalent to qamāš (Arabic) 'close texture,' hence as above.
upon a mango tree which grew there. A ghost (prétá) lived in that tree, and one day he appeared to the poet, thanked him for the daily draught of water, and told him to ask a boon. Tul'ší asked to be shown the Lord Ráma with his attendants. The ghost replied, 'I have no power to show you Ráma, but I can show you how to get to see him. In a certain temple the story of the Rámayána is being recited. There you will find a very poor miserable looking man, who comes before every one else to hear the reading, and goes away last of all. That is Hanumán. Go to him privately, fall at his feet, and make known your petition to him. If he be willing, he will show you Ráma.' Tul'ší Dás went home, bathed and worshipped, and then went and sat where the reading was to go on. Sure enough, as the ghost had said, a wretched looking man came first of all and stayed till the very end. When he went away, Tul'ší followed him, and when they got to a lonely place, fell at his feet, calling him Hanumán and making known his petition. Hanumán said: 'Go thou to Chitrakúta and there wilt thou be vouchsafed a sight of Ráma Chandra.' With these words he disappeared.

Tul'ší Dás started for Chitrakúta with his heart full of love and joy; stayed there a few days to visit the various holy places, and then, one day, took a walk outside the city, where all of a sudden he came upon a Rám Lídá, or dramatic representation of the history of Ráma. The scene which was being acted was the Conquest of Lanka, including the giving of the kingdom to Vibhishana, and the return to Ayódhyá. There were Ráma, Lakshmana, Síta, Hanumán, and all their friends. When Tul'ší Dás had finished looking on he turned to go home, and met a Bráhmañ, who was no other than Hanumán in disguise. 'Sir,' said Tul'ší Dás, 'this is a very excellent Rám Lídá.' The Bráhmañ said, 'Are you mad, talking of Rám Lídás at this time of year? Here they only take place in Ásvin and Kártik (October and November). This is not the season for the Rám Lídá.' Tul'ší Dás, feeling annoyed at the brusque answer which he received, replied, 'No, Sir, I have just seen one with my own eyes, come along, and I will show it to you.' He took the Bráhmañ back to the scene of the Lídá, but, when they got there, there was nothing visible. Tul'ší asked all the people about, 'Where is the Rám Lídá I saw just now going on here? Where have the actors gone to? Did not you see it?' Everyone said, 'Who would see a Lídá at this season?' Then Tul'ší remembered what Hanumán had said to him at Banáras, and recognized that what he had thought was a Lídá was really a vision of the actual heroes of the drama. Full of shame at not having recognized his Lord and done honour to him, he went home weeping, and refused to eat. At night, when he had gone to rest, Hanumán came to him in a dream, and said to him 'Tul'ší, regret not. In this Káli Yuga, even gods get no opportunity of seeing Ráma. Blessed art thou among men, that he hath shown himself to thee. Now abandon sorrow, and adore him more.' Comforted by these words, the holy man returned to Banáras, and spent his days adoring his Master. It was on his way home on this occasion, that he met his wife as already recorded.

As Tul'ší-Dás was going home one dark night in Banáras, he was set upon by robbers, who rushed at him crying 'már, már.' He did not attempt to protect himself, but stood his ground fearlessly, saying:

Básara dhása ni ke dháká
rajani chahún dísí chórá
Dalata dayándhí dékhiyé
kápi kási kábra

35 The ghost was a wicked man who had died under the tree just outside Banáras. He had thus not gone to Heaven, but had been saved by propinquitv to the holy place, from going to hell. He was accordingly settled in the mango tree. The story goes that after his interview with Tul'ší Dás, he was allowed entrance into the city, and thereby obtained salvation.
36 Compare Doháball 239, in which the second half line runs,
'Sanuká míra pura dékhiyé
chítai suktchana kóra,'
'O Siva, protect thine own city (Banáras), with a glance (literally margin) of thy propitious eye.' Siva had three eyes; two were propitious, and the third turned to aches him on whom its glance fell (e.g., Kamádeva. Cf. Rám. Bú., ch. 81, 6, taba siva tásra nayana ughárá). I am indebted to Pañjít Sudhákár Drivvádd for this explanation of this difficult verse of which I have seen several attempted translations. The sixty-year cycle of Jupiter is divided into three periods of 20 years each, sacred to Bhráma, to Vishnu and to Siva, respectively. The last score or 'Rudrabjast,' commenced in Tul'ší Dás's time about V. S. 1655 (1698 A. D.), just when the Mussalmán commenced to oppress
'By day, I am rudely thrust aside by scoffers; by night, robbers surround me. O Hanumán, thou monkey-prince, thou son of Kēsirin, gaze in compassion as they oppress me.'

Whereupon Hanumán appeared and so terrified the robbers that they fell to the ground in fear, and Tulsī went on his way unmolested.

Another thief-legend is better known. A thief came by night to break into his house, but as he was about to enter, he was alarmed to see a mysterious watchman, armed with bow and arrow standing in his way. The thief retreated, to come again two or three times the same night, but always with the same result. The same thing happened for two nights more. On the morning of the third day, the thief approached Tulsī Dās and asked who the handsome dark-complexioned man was that was living in his house. Tulsī asked him when he had seen him, and the thief confessed the whole affair. Then the poet recognized that the mysterious stranger could be no other than his master, Rāma, and grieved that his possessing property should have given his Lord such trouble to guard it, distributed all he had to Brāhmaṇas, offering some to the thief also. The latter, overwhelmed with remorse, gave up his house and home, and became a follower of Tulsī Dās.

A mendicant of the Alakhi27 Sect came to Banāras, and everyone gave him alms except Tulsī Dās. Annoyed at this he came to the poet's residence with his usual cry 'Alakhi kahō, Alakhi kō lākho,' 'Tell of the Unseen. See the Unseen.' Tulsī made no reply. Then the mendicant began to abuse him, but Tulsī replied; 'Why do you abuse me, and call upon the Unseen? Call upon Rāma,'—

Hama lakhu hama-hi hāmāra lakhu hama hāmāra kē bhīka ।
Tulsī alakhi kā lākahu Rāma-nāma jayu nicka ।

'Woe to him who art in the midst of "I" and of "mine," see (that which thou callest) "I" and (that which is) really "I." See (that which is really) "mine." Why dost thou endeavour to see the Unseen? Vile one, utter prayer in the name of Rāma.'

Here "I" and "mine" mean the illusion, māyā, of the Vēdāntins, in which the ignorant man is enveloped. This is well brought out in the oft-quoted line,

maït āru mōra tōra tain māyā,

"I and my, thy and thou, are illusion."

Tulsī Dās tells the Alakhiyā to distinguish what he calls self from his real self, the Antaryāmī Brahma. When a man is in the midst of illusion, all he can see is the illusion. The Alakhiyā is to break the veil, and to understand what his real self is. Without breaking that veil it is impossible to see Brahma. The only way to break it is to worship Rāma.

At the village of Mairawā in the district of Sāran is a Brahma-sthāna, where one called Hari Rāma committed suicide, compelled thereto by the tyranny of Kanak Śāhi Bisēn. Throughout the districts of Gūrakhipur and Sāran, there is a widely believed tradition that Tulsī Dās was present when he was invested with the Brahanical thread. The sthāna is called Hari Rām Brahm, and a large fair is held here on the ninth of the bright half of Chaitra (the Hari-navaṇa). The place is a station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

The celebrated 'Abdur-Rahmīn Khānkhān38 used frequently to correspond with Tulsī Dās.

On one occasion Tulsī Dās sent him half a dōhā as follows:—

'Sura-tīya, nara-tīya, nāga-tīya, saha bēdana saba kōi.'

27 The Alakhi-jagāndhānlās are Śāivas. The name is derived from alakhiya, invisible. They are a sub-division of the Pūrūr division of the Daśāmil sect. They are also called Alakhiyā. Some of the Gūrakhpanthis also call themselves Alakhiyā, but the true Alakhiyās do not slit their ears as the Gūrakhpanthis do.

38 See Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindīstān, § 108.
To which the Nawáb replied,

‘Garbha liyé Hulasi phiré Tulasí sé suta hóí m.’

‘Women of the gods, women of the mortals, women of the Nágas, all suffer pain (in child-birth).’

‘Yet Hulasi’ (the poet’s mother) let herself become with child, that she might have a son like Tulśí.’

Pańdit Sudhákrá Dvivéd gives a variant of the legend, with a slightly different reading of the verse. A poor Bráhman is said to have worried the poet for money to meet the expenses of his daughter’s marriage. Finally Tulśí gave him the following half line:—

‘Sura-tiya nara-tiya nágá-tiya saba chákha aṣa hóí’

‘These three kinds of women all desire a son like thee,’ and told him to present it to the Emperor’s Governor. The latter on receiving it rewarded the Bráhman, and wrote the answer

‘Góda lié hulasi phiráí Tulasí sé suta hóí’

‘But all women desire that they may joyfully (hulasi) carry in their arms, a son like Tulasí.’ This verse, the Pańdit explains, is probably the foundation of the tradition that the name of the poet’s mother was Hulasi.

The famous Tódar Mal⁴⁴ was another of Tulśí Dáś’s friends and was an ardent devotee of Rámá. When he died (1589 A.D.) the poet wrote the following verses in memoriam:—

Maható chóro gávia kó mana kó baqás mahipa
Tulasí yá kali-kíla mén athayé Tódara diya
Tulasí Ráma sanáka kó sira dhara bhári bhára
Tódara dháre na kádúha hú jaga kurn rahen utara
Tulasí ura thála bimala Tódara guná-gana bága
Samújhi suláchana sínchíkhén umági umági anúráhá
Ráma-aláma Tódara gayé Tulasí bhayen maíchá
Jiyábo mítá punáka bín juhá bódé sáncahá

‘A master of but four villages,⁴¹ but a mighty monarch of himself, Tulśí, in this age of evil the light of Tódar hath set. Tulśí placed on his head the heavy burden of love for the Lord, but Tódara could not bear the burden of the world upon his shoulders, and laid it down.⁴² Tulśí’s heart was a pure watering-basin in the garden of Tódara’s virtues. When I think of this mine eyes overflow and water them with affection. Tódara hath gone to the dwelling place of the Lord, and therefore Tulśí refraineth his grief, but hard it is for him to live without his pure friend.’

The famous Maháráj Mán Siígh⁴³ (d. 1618) of Ambér (Jaipur), and his brother Jagáit Siígh and other great princes were in the habit of coming to pay reverence to the poet. A man once asked why such great people came to see him now-a-days. In former days no one came to see him. Tulśí Dáś replied:—

Laháí na phúṭí kauḍí-hú kó chaháí kahi kája
Só Tulasí mahaṅgó kiyó Ráma garába-nírváña

⁴¹ It is an idea expressed frequently in Tulśí Dáś’s poetry, that the mother of a son devoted to Rámá is blessed above all others.
⁴² Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindústán, § 105. The deed of arbitration already alluded to was devoted to settling a quarrel between his descendants. We have already seen that Tulśí Dáś is said to have compiled the Dókhábí, after the year 1598 A.D. at his request. Tulśí Dáś objected on principle to praising any great man, see Rám. Bh., Ch. 11, 7 (Kirá bi-kárína jana, etc.)
⁴³ This may be either taken literally, or if chóro gávia be used in its idiomatic meaning of ‘landed property,’ the sentence may mean: ‘respected in his own property.’
⁴⁴ The meaning of this dókhá is doubtful to me.
⁴⁵ Vernacular Lit. § 109.
\[\text{Ghara ghara māṅgh īuka punī bhāpatī pūjī pāi}\\Tē Tulāsī taba Rāma binu tē abha Rāma sahāi}

'(Once did I beg) and collected not even a cracked cowry in alms. Who wanted me then for any need? But Rāma, the cherisher of the poor, made me of great price. I used to beg from door to door for alms, now kings worship my feet. Saith Tulāsī: then it was without Rāma. Now Rāma is my helper.'

One day a Brāhmaṇ-woman, whose husband had just died, and who was on her way to become suttee, passed Tulāsī Dās and made obeisance to him. The holy man, in absence of mind, blessed her, saying 'saubhāgyavati hō,' 'blessed be your wedded life.' Her relations who accompanied her said: 'Reverend sir, this woman only to-day became a widow, and is on her way to become a suttee with her husband. You have just now given her a blessing, which must turn out unfulfilled,—but, still, all men know your might.' Tulāsī replied, 'Achchhā, do not burn her husband till I come.' He then went to the Ganges and bathed, put a new garment on to the corpse, and began to repeat the name of Rāma. He remained praying and praising the Lord in this way for nearly three hours, when the corpse rose, as one awakened from sleep, and sitting up in the presence of thousands of men, said 'Why have you brought me here?' His relations explained to him that he had died, and that Tulāsī had brought him to life, at hearing which he fell at the poet's feet. Thereupon all the people praised the name of Rāma, and took him who was dead, and was now alive, to his home.

News of this reached the emperor at Dehli,\(^{44}\) who sent for Tulāsī Dās. When the poet arrived in court, the emperor received him with much honour, gave him a high seat, and then asked him to perform a miracle. Tulāsī smiled and answered, 'Your Majesty, I have no power to perform miracles. I know not magic. One thing, and only one, I know, —the name of the Lord, Rāma Chandra.' The emperor, on this, flew into a rage, and ordered the poet to be imprisoned till he should perform some miracle. He sat in prison, repeating the name of Rāma and praising Hanumān.

Seeing the trouble in which this faithful devotee of Rāma was involved, Hanumān sent myriads of monkeys, who entered the city and began to destroy the palace and all its contents. They even went so far as to make faces at and threaten the emperor and his wives. When nothing could stop their devastation, the emperor's eyes became opened, and going with his chief queen he fell at Tulāsī Dās's feet and implored his forgiveness. The poet then prayed again to Hanumān and the army of monkeys withdrew, after the emperor had promised to leave Dehli (a city of holy memories to Hindus), and found a new city. This new city is that now known as Shāhjāhānābād. From Dehli, Tulāsī Das went to Vrindāvana, where he met Nābhā Das, the worshipper of Kṛṣṇa and the author of the Bhakt Mālā.\(^{46}\) One day, the two poets went, with other Vaiṣṇavas, to worship at the temple of Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa). Some of the Vaiṣṇavas said to him sarcastically, 'He has deserted his own God (Rāma), and come to worship in the temple of another (Kṛṣṇa).' To this Tulāsī replied:

\[\text{Kā baranauḥ chhahi āja kī bhālē birājuṁ nātha}\\Tulāsī 'mastaka taba nauvai dhanukha bānā lie kātha}

'How am I to describe the representation (of Kṛṣṇa) which I see to-day. Noble indeed doth he seem, but not till he appear with bow and arrow in his hands (i.e., in the character of Rāma), will Tulāsī bow his head to him.'

While he was yet speaking, behold the image of Kṛṣṇa changed its appearance. His flute became an arrow, and his reed a bow. Seeing this miracle, all were astonished, and praised Tulāsī.

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\(^{44}\) Some legends say this was Shāh Jahān, who reigned from 1628 to 1658 A.D. But the poet died in 1624 A.D.

\(^{46}\) Vernacular Lit. § 51.
The following are said to have been Tulâśâ Dâs's dying words:—

Râma-nâma-janâ barâne kai  
bhayau ekhata abâ mauna 1
Tulâśâ ke mukhâ diîjîc  
abâ-hi tulâśâ sauna 11

"I have sung the glory of the name of Râma, and now would I be silent. Now place ye the gold, and the leaf of tulâśâ, into Tulâśâ's mouth." 47

I may add that K. Râm. Ut., 180 (kunkumâ ranga su-angâ jîti, 40.), is said to have been composed by the poet, when his eye fell upon a kâhâmakori falcon, a bird of good omen, as he sat on the banks of the Ganges awaiting death.

In conclusion, I must again thank the various scholars who have helped me to compile these notes, more especially Mahâmahâpâdhyâya Paûçit Sudhâkâr Dvivâdhi, and Bâbû Râm Dîn Singh. Without their kind assistance, I should never have been able to place on record the information here made public.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYÂNI INSCRIPTIONS.

(Concluded from page 243.)

Postscript.

[BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.]

In May, 1892, the Local Government in Burmah authorized me to arrange for the restoration of the three Pâli stones of these inscriptions, if possible.

Through the kindness of Messrs. E. W. Oates, Algie and Griffin, of the Public Works Department, preliminary works were undertaken, with a view to finding out what remained of the stones and how far they could be put back into their original condition.

Mr. Griffin took a great deal of trouble over the matter, and the immediate result of his labours was the following report:—

"The stones, of which there are ten, i.e., including both the Pâli and the tulâsing inscriptions, are all more or less broken. Their original form was approximately that shewn in the sketch (see the six Plates entitled "Restored Portions of the Pâli Stones of the Kalyâni Inscriptions"). They stood 6 ft. high above the ground surface and had their tops curved, as shewn in the Plate, "Stones 1 to 10 of the Kalyâni Inscriptions." Only one retains any part of the top curvature, the rest being broken off much nearer the ground. Their thickness averages about 13 inches, but they differ in this respect from each other, and each stone varies in itself. The broken pieces shewn in the Plate, "Broken Portions of the Kalyâni Stones," are numbered as belonging to the various stones; but this selection depends partly on the position in which they are lying, and partly on their thickness. Consequently, since the thickness is variable, the selection is only approximate and cannot be absolutely determined mechanically till the pieces are fitted together. The material from which the stones were cut is a moderately hard sandstone.

"The stones are inscribed on both sides, and, consequently, many of the broken pieces have been lying with one surface in contact with the soil. In some cases this has decayed the stone, and a few portions of the inscriptions have been thereby entirely destroyed. Other portions have also been destroyed by the stone having flaked off, not by the action of the weather, but when the stones were broken. These flakes it will, of course, be impossible to recover. It will, therefore, be impossible to entirely restore the inscriptions.

"The sketches in the Plates above mentioned shew those portions of the stones, which are still left standing above ground, and also those pieces lying on the ground, which are above one

47 Amongst members of the Vaishnava sect, it is customary to place Ganges water, gold, and a leaf of the tulâśâ plant into a dying person's mouth.
Plate I.

Restored portions of the Pāli stones of the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions of Dhammachetī, 1476 A.D. Obverse face of the first stone.
(76 lines).
Plate II. Reverse face of the first stone.
(70 lines).
Plate III.

Obverse face of the second stone.

(17 lines).
Plate VI.  Reverse face of the third stone.

(68 lines).
General Plan of the Site of the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions.

- Brick
- Ruins of a small brick Pagoda
- Platform

Small mound formed by roots round the base of a bamboo thicket, since cut down. May contain a few small stones; two large ones already taken out.

Surface of ground slopes away very slightly from the bases of the stones. From their appearance the soil must have been originally heaped up higher around them than it is at present.

Small hollow showing brickwork at its top edge. Might possibly be the top of an old well in which some of the stones may be buried, but not very probable.

Slight Mound about 1 ft. above the natural surface of the ground, apparently formed of broken brick, probably debris from the pagoda to the North.

Small mass of brickwork overgrown with bamboo and partially broken away.
cubic foot in size and which bear a portion of both inscribed surfaces. The total volume of all these is approximately 200 cubic feet; while the total volume of the original stones above ground must have been at least 325 cubic feet, taking an average thickness of 13 inches. This leaves a difference of 125 cubic feet, representing the volume of the missing portions.

"All that is now visible does not exceed half of this, if, indeed, it is as much. It is clear, then, that some portions of the stones have either been removed from the site, or are lying buried near it.

"With regard to the possibility of some pieces of inscribed stone being buried near the site, the Plate, "General Plan of the Site of the Kalyani Inscriptions," shows a slight mound near the south-west corner and a small hollow at the south-east. The former does not rise more than twelve to eighteen inches above the natural surface of the ground and appears to be composed of broken brick, possibly debris from a ruined pagoda opposite. The hollow is circular, and about two feet deep, with brickwork showing round its edge. This may possibly be the top of a well which has been filled in, but this is doubtful. There is a small mound at its edge, which is made up of brickwork, partially broken away and overgrown by bamboo. The only other mound is that shown in the "General Plan" about the centre of the line of stones. This is very small, having been formed by ants round the base of an old bamboo clump, now cut down. Two stones have already been taken out of this and it could not possibly contain any consequence. The ground slopes slightly from the base of the stones and the pieces shown in the plates were lying on the slopes, either on the surface, or partially buried to a depth of only three to four inches below it.

"The general inference, then, is that the probability of finding any considerable amount of inscribed stone buried in the vicinity is very small.

"Building up the various parts of the stones would be attended with considerable difficulty, since the stones are inscribed on both sides. The only portions available for connecting the parts are, therefore, the broken surfaces (these in many cases have a considerable slope to the horizontal) and the outside edges; so it would be exceedingly difficult to fix the centre portions. For the same reasons, also, it will be necessary to build them up in a vertical position."

The above report, having made it clear that the restoration of the stones, if possible at all, would be attended with much difficulty, advantage was taken of a set of ink impressions taken by the late Prof. Forchhammer, and found among his papers, to aid in piecing the broken stones together.

The work of restoring the stones on paper from Prof. Forchhammer's fragments was in itself a matter of no small difficulty, but it has been successfully accomplished, so far as the materials at hand sufficed for the purpose. For this work the MSS., from which the text given in this Journal was compiled, were of great value, and their general accuracy was proved by the fact that with their aid the text of the original stones could be followed so closely as to admit of the fragmentary impressions collected by Prof. Forchhammer being arranged in the order, in which they must have originally been inscribed on the stones.

When the fragments of the text were thus restored, they were fixed on to large sheets of paper, the original forms of the stones were roughly drawn in, and the spaces left between fragments blackened over. The sheets were then photo-lithographed and the results reproduced in Plates I. to VI., entitled "Restored Portions of the Pāḷi Stones of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of Dhammadētī, 1476 A. D."

These plates are now in the hands of the engineers, and it may be possible yet to restore these most important stones and preserve them from further destruction.

The credit of the difficult and ingenious work of piecing together Prof. Forchhammer's fragments is due to Mr. Taw Sein-Ko.
FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 16.—The Prince and the Kambals.

(Continued from p. 250).

The little birds then said:—"We thought so much. We did see some huge bird falling upon us, and had it not been for that boy there under the tree, we, too, should have been lost to you. As soon as he saw the wild bird trying to devour us, he got up and killed it, and there lies the carcase of it. Go down, therefore, and thank him first as our deliverer. You must also try and render him some help, for he appears to be in great anxiety about something or other."

The gürápakhē and gürápakhān then came down and saw that all that their children said was true. They, therefore, thanked our hero very heartily, and asked him why he looked so dejected and care-worn, and if they could help him in any way. The prince told them everything: how he had come to that land in search of kambals; how he killed the rāhkhas; how he packed the rāhkhas' daughter in a box and tied it to the chain of the ship in which he came; how the chain was drawn up, and he was left behind without any chance of his ever getting back to his parents, which thought caused him the greatest pain and anxiety.

When the gürápakhē and gürápakhān heard his story they said to him:—"Is this all that you are anxious about? Order us and we will bear you in a short time to your home in safety. But before you go, take a little present from us. We will each give you a feather. When you wear the feather of the gürápakhē in your turban, at any age, you will look like a person a thousand years old; again, when you wear that of the gürápakhān, you will look like a lad of twelve years. Now tell us where you wish to go."

Upon this our hero took heart at the opportunity offered him of once more going to see his parents, and told them where he wished to be carried. The gürápakhē and gürápakhān then both joined their wings and thus made a fine seat, and having seated the prince thereon, bore him into the air, and in a few moments put him down near the fisherman's house, and went away, after again thanking him for rescuing their children's life, and each of them gave him a feather.

The fisherman and his wife, who were nearly blind from the effects of crying day and night for the supposed loss of their child, were taken by surprise, as they heard the prince's voice suddenly fall on their ears, calling out to them as father and mother. They were now very glad to see him back, and asked him where he had been and what he had been doing for so long. He told them everything from the moment he had left them to the time of speaking. They listened, with amazement, to the exploits of their son, and were proud of him. Now that their son was again with them safe, they shook off their cares and anxieties, and, recovering slowly, regained their strength. Thus they were again themselves in a short time.

A few months after this, there happened to be a great festival, and every one was supposed to eat and drink merrily for the day. The old fisherman called the prince, and, handing him some money, told him to go to the bāzār and buy some meat and vegetables and fruit, and other nice things for dinner. The prince at once obeyed. Going to the bāzār, he bought what was necessary, and, hiring a cooly, sent it to his house, while he himself kept roaming about the place, as he had not been there since he had left in search of the kambals, diverting himself with sweets and fruits. Rambling from one place to another, he happened to come to where the palace of the king was located. Just then he remembered the feathers given to him by the gürápakhē and gürápakhān, and of their virtue. So wishing to amuse himself by passing off for an old man, he wore in his turban the feather of the gürápakhē, when, at once, he was transformed into an old man of a thousand years!
In this guise he went past the king's palace. The king, who happened to be standing in the balcony of his palace, saw him, and thought to himself:

"How old that man looks! Surely, he must have seen many countries, and must be acquainted with many stories. It will certainly be worth while to hear some tale or other from him."

Thus thinking, he called him in, addressing him as ājjā (grand-father), and said: — "Ājjā, you look a thousand years old. Won't you oblige me with one of the old tales of which you must be full?"

But our hero modestly said: — "No, no; what do I know about old stories?"

The king then again said: — "Come, come, ājjā, who will believe that you are not acquainted with stories? Do oblige me."

After much begging and coaxing, the supposed old man began: —

"Sire, as I told you, I do not know any old stories, but listen to what little I can tell you. Once upon a time, there lived a king with his queen, whose dominions extended far and wide, and who possessed an immense hoard of treasure, but, to their great grief, they had had no issue, to procure which the queen every day gave away one sūpīt (sieve) full of gold in alms to beggars, hoping that the recipients of the alms would pray and thereby obtain them a son.

"One day she was seated in the balcony with a sieve full of gold for the purpose of distributing among the beggars, when a ēsāhāvī, who happened to come to beg, saw this gold, and asked her what she had in the sieve. The queen told him it was gold, upon which the ēsāhāvī asked her: — 'Is there any one that will eat it?' And the queen answered in a sorrowful tone: — 'No; and that is the reason why I am sitting here with this sieve full of gold, hoping that, by distributing it, the receivers of it may pray and obtain a son for me, but to this day it seems that their prayers have not been heard.' The ēsāhāvī then asked her if the king, her husband, was at home, but she said that he had gone out. 'Very well,' said the ēsāhāvī. 'Tell him when he returns, to come to my mat in a certain village, and then I will tell him what to do in order that your desires may be satisfied.' The queen promised to send the king on his return, and the ēsāhāvī, after receiving alms, went away.

"This is the story, O king, I know; and now let me go."

The king, who suspected that this story was all about himself, was anxious to hear more, and so said to him: — 'Go on, ājjā, tell me farther. It is a very interesting tale."

But the supposed old man pretended to know nothing more. The king, however, begged of him, and urged him to tell more, upon which he continued: —

"Then, Sire, when the king returned in the evening, the queen laid out supper for him, and while he was partaking of it, the queen said: — 'My dear husband, this morning, as I was seated as usual in the balcony with a sieve full of gold to distribute to beggars, a ēsāhāvī, who says his hut is in a certain village, came up and asked me what I had in the sieve, and when I told him it was gold, he asked me if there was any one who would eat it, but I said there was no one, and that was the reason why I distributed it among beggars, in order that, through their prayers at any rate, we may get a son. Upon this he asked me if you were at home, and when I told him you were gone out, he asked me to send you to his mat on your return.'

"The king listened to her very attentively, and, when she had finished speaking, said: — 'My dear wife, you are distributing a sieve full of gold every morning, besides which we are performing other charitable acts, and all to no avail. What can a ēsāhāvī tell, and much less do, that our desires may be fulfilled?' But the queen pressed and begged of him to go, saying: — 'Let us see what he may have to say. Who knows but that he may help us to obtain our wishes.'
"After much entreaty, however, the king consented to go, and, having finished his supper, he set out for the gosāvī's maṭ. When he had reached it, the gosāvī asked him what he wanted. The king said:—'Did you not go to the palace this morning and tell my wife to send me over to you when I came home?' 'Yes, my lord,' answered the gosāvī. 'I will now tell you what to do. Go to a certain place where you will see a tree laden with fruit. Climb up the tree and shake it. Come down and take two of the fruit. Mind you do not take more than two. Eat one yourself and give the other to your wife, the queen; thereby you will obtain your desires.'

"The king went in the direction he was told by the gosāvī, and saw a large tree which was bent down by the weight of its fruit. He climbed up and shook and shook the tree, till he saw hundreds of the fruit fall on the ground, but when he came down and went to pick up the fruit he found only two. So he climbed again, and again shook the tree for a long while, and he again heard the sound of hundreds of fruit falling, but, as before, when he was picking them up he got only two. The king was astonished at this occurrence, and climbed up in the tree a third time, and shook and shook the tree with all his might for a very long time, till he was tired, and he heard the sound of some thousands of the fruit dropping on the ground. When he came down, the ground under the tree was so covered by the fruit that he could not put his feet down without treading on heaps of them, which made him glad to think that he had at last plenty, but, to his great astonishment, as he proceeded to gather them, all the fruit went up again into the tree, and there remained for him to carry away only two. The king now thought to himself:—'The gosāvī told me to take only two of these fruit, but though I wished to take more, and I knocked down so many, I cannot get more than two. There must be some meaning in it. I will, therefore, abide by the instructions of the gosāvī; or, who knows, if I should take more, they may lose their virtue?'

"He then took the fruit and showed them to the gosāvī, who again told him to take them home, and to eat one himself and to give the other to the queen to eat.

"The king, after thanking the gosāvī for his kind advice, went home with the fruit, and, giving one to his queen, told her to eat it, while he ate the other himself. From that moment the queen became pregnant, and, in due time, she gave birth to a very beautiful boy. This event was the cause of great joy to the old king and queen, and they feasted the palace servants very sumptuously.

"This much, O king, I know; I shall thank you to let me go."

"The king, however, could not be persuaded to believe that the old ājā knew only so much, and again prayed and urged him to tell something more, upon which the thousand-year-old man continued:—

"Five days passed after the birth of the child and they celebrated the pānchēvī, and on the following day, the sixth day, was the sūtfī. On the day of the sūtfī a fortune-teller was called in to consult about the future of the infant-prince. When the fortune-teller was going away, after consulting the horoscope, the pāṛdhan of the palace, who was watching outside, stopped her and asked her what would be the future career of the king's son. The fortune-teller, after much reluctance on her part, and much entreaty on the part of the pāṛdhan, said:—'It is written in the fortune of the prince that on the twelfth day after his birth the boy will be drowned in the sea.' Thus saying she went away, and the pāṛdhan, too, did not divulge what he heard from the fortune-teller.

"Eleven days passed after the birth of the prince, and on the twelfth day was to be celebrated the bārdāvī ceremony. For this purpose they fitted a ship to convey them to a certain temple, to come to which they had to cross a sea. Hundreds of guests were invited to be present at the ceremony, and the king and queen made grand preparations to celebrate the auspicious event of naming the child, with great joy and befitting pomp."
"At the appointed time, the king and the queen, with all their guests, embarked on board the ship, and soon set sail. On the way, the guests vied with each other for the honour of carrying the child, though it was only for a moment. Scarcely one had lifted the child, when a second person asked and took it from him. In another moment a third person came and took up the child, and then a fourth, and a fifth, and so on. When they had sailed for several hours they came to the middle of the sea. The child happened to be in the arms of a woman, who, by accident, let fall the child, and in a moment more the prince was drowned. Hundreds of people dived into the sea after the child, and made a long search, but in vain, and with tears in their eyes and broken hearts the king and the queen returned home with their guests. When they reached their home, the king sentenced the woman, who had so carelessly let fall the child, to a rigorous imprisonment for twelve years.

"Thus far, O king, I know the story, and can't tell what happened afterwards. I am now getting late for my meal, do let me go."

The king, who was now almost certain that the story was about himself and his child, for whom he had not yet left off mourning, was now more anxious to hear further. He made himself sure that an old man of the story-teller's age knew everything.

So he said:—"O ájju, come, finish your story. You are only pretending not to know further."

But the supposed old man said:—"No, no; I know no further. I have told you all I knew."

Nothing, however, could convince the king of the ignorance of the old ájju, as he called him, and he begged hard of him to continue the story. So at last the old man said:—

"Listen, O king; as it was written in the fate of the king's son, so it came to pass. As soon as the child fell into the sea, he was swallowed by a large magalmásá, which was carried by the tide and thrown on dry land in a certain village of the king's dominions. In the morning a fisherman, who lived with his wife, and possessed great wealth, was walking along in pursuit of his vocation, and he happened to see the magalmásá. He dragged it to shore, and cut it open, when to his great surprise and confusion he saw a child come out of the belly of the magalmásá alive. The fisherman, too, with all his wealth had no children. He, therefore, gladly took up the child in his arms, and, going home, handed him to his wife, who was also very glad, saying:—'Dear wife, God has, at last, given us a child in this miraculous manner.'

"Thus they constituted themselves the prince's foster-parents, and, possessing great wealth, took every possible care, and brought him up with great tenderness. With such care the prince grew up rapidly. When he was only a month old he looked a child of two months; when two months only he appeared as four months old, and so on. He grew strong and beautiful, and was the pride of his foster-parents. He was known in the neighbourhood as the fisherman's son, and the prince, too, always addressed the fisherman and his wife as father and mother.

"When he was about six or seven years old he used to run about and play with the children from the neighbourhood. One day they ran to the shore, and the prince, too, wishing to go with them, asked the foster-parents permission to go, but the fisherman said:—'No, my dear child. Do not go to play near the seabeach. You know how mischievous the children are. Who knows but that some accident or other may befall you? Then, what shall I do? Tell me what you require, and I will give you any toys you may wish for, with which you can play about the house in safety.' The prince, however, in spite of the kind advice of the old man, ran at full speed, and joined his playmates at the seabeach.

"Now it happened that, as the children were playing and running about on the sand, they spied a beautiful kumbál floating on the waves. Every one of the children attempted to get it,
but with no success. At last our hero said he would bring it, but all of them laughed at his folly, saying:—'What a silly child you are. Boys bigger than yourself have failed to get it, and you say that you can bring it.' But the prince said he would bring it, though he was younger than the rest of the children. Upon this they laid a wager, to which the prince consented, and immediately dived headlong into the water, and in a few moments came on the shore, triumphantly carrying the kambal, and thus won the wager. The prince then carried the kambal to his foster-parents, who asked him whence he got it, or whether he had come by it through stealing. The prince told them how, as he and other children were playing on the shore, they spied it floating on the water, and how, when all the children had failed, they laid a wager for it, upon which he dived into the sea and came out safely with the kambal.

"Now, in that country kambals were so rare, that even kings could seldom get them. The fisherman thought to himself:—'This is a very beautiful kambal, but of what use can it be to a poor man like me? I will go and present it to the king.'

"So one day he took the kambal, and, going to the palace, made a present of it to the king. The king was certainly very much pleased with it, and asked the fisherman whence he had obtained it. The fisherman told him how, while his son and other children were playing on the seashore, they saw it floating on the sea, and how, when all the children had failed in their attempts to get at it, his son succeeded in bringing it out. The king accepted the kambal at the hands of the fisherman with thanks, and rewarding him handsomely, dismissed him. Afterwards the king took the kambal and hung it on to his bed, but a maid-servant, who chanced to come into the room at the time, praised the kambal for its beauty, but said that if there were two more hung up, then it would really lend beauty to the bed, and not otherwise. The king, thereupon, sent for the fisherman, and told him to order his son to fetch him two other kambals. The fisherman protested against the idea, saying:—'My lord, it was by sheer chance that my son got that kambal, and it is simply impossible to get any more.' The king, however, would not be persuaded of the impossibility of getting more kambals, and told the fisherman that if his son failed to bring him two more kambals he would forfeit his head.

"Such, my lord, was the cruelty of the king. The poor fisherman went away downhearted, thinking upon the unreasonableness of the king. He went home, and, refusing to take any food or drink, took to his bed. Now, the love of the fisherman for the prince was so great that though he was now a lad of about eight years, he used to feed him like a child. That evening, therefore, the prince missed him at supper, and asked his foster-mother why his father did not come and eat with him. She said she was unaware of the reason why he did not take supper, but, perhaps, he was unwell. The prince, however, was not satisfied with the answer of his foster-mother. So he went and asked the old man why he lay in bed, and why he did not join him at supper; but the old man said:—'Go, my child, and take your supper. I do not want any.' 'But, father,' said the prince, 'you fed me every day, and why don't you do so to-day? What is the matter with you? What misfortune has befallen you that you look so downcast, and won't touch your food? Tell me, father, all about your cares and anxieties.' The old man, thereupon, much pleased with the kind words of the prince, said:—'My dear child, the kambal which you found in the sea, and which I presented to the king, is the cause of misfortune to me. The king took the kambal and hung it upon his bed, but a maid-servant, who chanced to come into the room, said that the kambal, no doubt, looked very beautiful in itself, but that, to impart beauty to the bed, there were required two more. The king, therefore, wants you to fetch him two more kambals. I tried hard to persuade him that it was impossible to get any more kambals, but in vain, for he will not convince himself of the impossibility, and says that, if you fail to carry out his orders, you run the risk of forfeiting your head. We have had no children, and God gave you to us in a miraculous manner in our old age, but this cruel king wants to deprive us of you. This, my child, is the cause of my grief, and I will rather starve myself to death, than see you snatched away from me. Go, my dear boy, and take your supper,
and do not think about me.' Thus said the fisherman, and heaved a deep sigh, and shed tears in profusion.

"Upon this the prince said:—'Is this all that has caused you so much anxiety? Go and tell the king to-morrow that I promise to fetch him the kambals. He must, for that purpose, provide me with a ship fitted out with servants and provisions to last for several months, and also an iron chain many yards long. Then I will go and bring him the kambals. In the meanwhile, father, calm your fears, and get up and take your supper.'

"At these words the fisherman took courage, and, getting up, took his supper. The following morning he went to the palace and told the king that his son had offered to fetch him kambals, provided the king supplied him with a ship and everything else requisite for a long voyage, with provisions to last for several months, and also an iron chain several yards long. The king agreed to the conditions, and ordered a ship to be built. He engaged numerous workmen and a job, that would take some months, was finished in about a fortnight. The ship was then manned by a number of khalāsīs and other servants, and the king did not forget to provide also a long iron chain. Provisions were also stored in the ship that would last, not for months, but for years.

"Everything was now ready, and the prince, taking a tender leave of his foster-parents, embarked on board the ship, and set sail. They went on and on for many days. When they had reached the middle of the sea, they cast anchor. The prince now hooked the iron chain to the side of the ship, and said to the khalāsī:—'I am now going into the sea. Keep hold of the chain till you feel extra weight on it, when you must pull it up, and return home.' Thus saying, the prince descended along the chain, and disappeared under the waters.

"Did you hear, O king? Such was the cruelty of the monarch, that for the sake of two kambals, he was determined even to deprive the poor fisherman of a son, whom he had obtained so miraculously. Here ends my story, O king, and now let me go.'

The king listened with wrapt attention, for he had now not the least particle of doubt that the story was his own. At the same time it gladdened him to find that his son was miraculously saved and was living. He wished to know more about his son, and would not believe the supposed old man that was the end of his story.

So he begged of him to tell the whole story, saying:—'O ājá, this cannot be the end of the story; do tell me the whole of it. An old man of your age must know more.'

And thus he kept pressing him and begging of him to finish the story. Thereupon the supposed old man continued, saying:—

"After the prince had disappeared under the waters, he walked on and on, and came upon a beautiful country, where he saw large gardens full of fruit-trees of all sorts bent down with the weight of their fruit.

"Here he walked for a couple of hours and came upon a large but solitary mansion, furnished in a manner better imagined than described. He entered the mansion, in which he saw a damsel of unparalleled beauty, from whose mouth, as she spoke, fell kambals. Our hero asked her who she was and what she was doing there all by herself, for wherever he cast his eyes, outside the mansion, he could see no vestige of human beings. The damsel was at first glad to see him, and she was also enamoured of him for his beauty, but said with a sorrowful tone:—'I am the daughter of a rūkkhas, who has gone out in search of his prey, which consists of animals and such like things, and occasionally human beings, should any unluckily fall into his hands. I am certainly very glad to see you, but am still anxious about your safety, for should my father, the rūkkhas, see you, he will, without fail, make a meal of you.'

"Then tell me where I can go or conceal myself with safety,' said the prince. The girl then said:—'See, I will transform you into a fly and put you up on the wall, where you must
remain till my father goes out again to-morrow. In the meanwhile you must be hungry; so take some food at my hands and be ready for the transformation before the râûkhas, my father, comes back, which will not be very long hence." The prince thanked her for her kindness, and being very hungry did ample justice to the dishes set before him. After this the girl transformed him into a fly and put him up on the wall.

"A little while afterwards the râûkhas came home after his day's excursion, and, as was his custom, lay down to rest, while his daughter shampooed his body. As he lay there he said to his daughter: — 'My dear girl, I smell the smell of a human being about the place. Are you aware of any one having come or gone this way?' In reply the girl said: — 'What makes you think of human beings being about here? Here I am, alone from one hour of the day to the other. What a silly idea this is of yours? 'But,' said the râûkhas, 'I do smell the smell of a human being; otherwise I shan't have said so.' The girl, however, said that she had seen no human being anywhere, and was, therefore, unaware of it. The râûkhas was now quieted, and fell fast asleep.

"On the next day when the râûkhas went, as usual, in search of prey, his daughter transformed the fly on the wall into its original shape, and there stood the prince before her. She then prepared some food, of which they partook together, and conversed with each other freely during the whole day. At the close of the day, when it was near the time for the râûkhas to return, the girl again transformed him into a fly and stuck him up on the wall. Thus matters continued for several days.

"One day the prince told the girl to ask her father, the râûkhas, in what lay his life. Accordingly, in the evening, when the râûkhas returned, and she was shampooing him, she said: — 'Father, tell me in what lies your life.' The râûkhas replied: — 'Why are you so anxious about knowing in what my life lies?' 'Father,' said she, 'if I am not to be anxious about your life, who should be? Every day you go in quest of food, which consists generally of animals. Should any accident occur to you, how could I know it, and what shall I do in the event of your death?' But the râûkhas replied: — 'Cast off your fears and anxieties, for there is no likelihood of my ever dying. However, to calm your fears, I may tell you as regards my life, — you know the three brâb-trees standing near our house. Should any person, with one stroke, cut down one of the trees, I shall get an attack of strong fever; and if he succeeds in cutting the other two trees, also with one stroke, then shall I die. So long, therefore, as the trees are safe and intact, I, too, am safe. You see, therefore, you have no cause for anxiety about my life.' He then went into sound sleep.

"The following day when the râûkhas had gone out, the girl, after transforming the prince, told him everything she had heard from her father concerning his life. The prince now looked about and saw the sword of the râûkhas hanging on the wall. He took it down, and, after sharpening it, went where the three brâb-trees stood. He first cut down, with one stroke, one of the trees. As soon as the tree was cut down a strong fever came on the râûkhas, who now retroceded his steps homewards, but before he could reach it, our hero, using all his strength, cut down the other two trees also with one stroke of the sword, and with the fall of the brâb-trees the râûkhas fell down dead.

"The prince then lived with the damsel for several days, during which he gathered plenty of the kambals, which dropped from her mouth every time she spoke. At last he got tired of the life in the subterranean abode, and thought to himself that he had absented himself for rather a long time from his home and foster-parents, who must be growing anxious about him. So he determined to quit the place at the earliest opportunity, taking with him the kambals, which he intended presenting to the king. So he one day told the girl of his intention. The girl, however, said: — 'You have killed my father, and now wish to go away, leaving me alone! What can I do here all by myself? Under whose protection shall I live? Take me with you, and we will be husband and wife, and live together happily.'
"The prince consented to take her with him and to marry her, but the difficulty was how to carry her to his house. He then hit upon the following plan. He put her into a box and carried her to where the ship was waiting. He then tied the box to the chain, but misfortune of misfortunes! as soon as the khalâsî felt the weight of the box, they pulled the chain up, as instructed, and our prince, to his confusion and distress, was left behind, with little or no chance of his ever seeing his home and parents, who, he thought, must now die of grief.

He now retraced his steps, and wandered about in the gardens, subsisting on the various fruits, which the gardens yielded in abundance. He lived in this way for many days. One day he felt himself quite fatigued; so he laid down to rest under a pîmpul-tree.

"Now it happened that two birds, a male and a female, called gûrûpakhâ and gûrûpakhîn, had made their nest in that tree, and were in the habit of breeding there, but to their great sorrow, some wild animal or bird used to come and eat up their young ones. On the day that the prince came under the tree the gûrûpakhîn gave birth to two little ones, after which she and the gûrûpakhâ went in search of food. In their absence a huge wild bird came and was about to eat up the little ones, when our hero, seeing its cruel intention, rose up to their help, and killed their enemy. Some time afterwards the gûrûpakhâ and gûrûpakhîn returned, carrying some food in their beaks and found, for once, their little ones alive, and proceeded to feed them, upon which the young birds said:—'Before you feed us, tell us if you had other issue besides ourselves, or are we your first-born?' The parent-birds answered:—'Dear little ones, we had many children born before you, but some cruel bird deprived us of them all. We are certainly astonished to find you alive; and still we cannot say for certain, how long you will be spared to us.' Upon this the young ones said:—'We thought as much; we did see some huge bird falling upon us, and had it not been for that lad there under the tree, we, too, should have been lost to you. As soon as he saw the cruel bird trying to make a meal of us, he got up and killed it, and there lies its carcass. Go down, therefore, and first of all thank him as our deliverer. You must also try and render him any assistance that may be within your power, for he appears to be in great anxiety about something or other.'

"When the gûrûpakhâ and gûrûpakhîn heard these words, they flew down immediately, and found that what their children told them was only too true. They, therefore, thanked the prince with all their heart, and then asked him what was his trouble, that he looked so dejected and care-worn, and if they could be of any service to him in any way. The prince then told them everything: how he had come to that land in search of kambals; how he killed the rânkhas; how he packed the rânkhas' daughter in a box and tied it to the chain of the ship in which he came; how the chain with the box was hauled up; and how he was left behind with little or no chance of his ever getting back to his parents, which thought caused him the greatest pain and anxiety. Upon this the gûrûpakhâ and gûrûpakhîn said to him:—'Is this all you are so anxious about? Order us and we will bear you in a short time to your home in safety. But before you go, take a little present from us. We will each give you a feather. When you wear the feather of the gûrûpakhâ in your turban, at any age, you will look like a person a thousand years old; again, when you wear the feather of the gûrûpakhîn, you will look like a lad of twelve years. Now tell us where you wish to go.'

"Upon this the prince took heart at the opportunity offered him of once more seeing his parents, and told them where he wished to be carried. The gûrûpakhâ and gûrûpakhîn then joined their wings together, and thus made a fine seat, and having seated the prince thereon, bore him in the air, and in a few moments more put him down near the fisherman's house, and went away after again thanking him for rescuing their children, and each of them gave him a feather.

"The fisherman and his wife, who were nearly blind from the effects of crying day and night at the loss of their supposed child, were taken by surprise, as they suddenly heard the prince's voice calling to them as father and mother. They were, of course, very glad to see
him, and asked him where he had been so long and what he had been doing. He thereupon related to them his adventures, from the moment he took leave of them to depart in search of kambals to the moment of speaking. Now that their son was back, they slowly recovered their sight as well as health, and were again themselves.

"And, here, O king, ends the story. And, now that you have heard the whole of it, do let me go."

Just then the king happened to look behind him, when, at once, our hero removed the feather of the gurapakshā from his turban, and replaced it by that of the gurapakshā, when lo! he appeared like a child of twelve years. When the king again turned towards him, he recognised in him his son, and folded him in his arms, saying:—"You are my son, my long lost son." The rākhas' daughter, too, who was close by, also made sure that this was no other than the prince, to whom she promised to be a wife, and she too rushed into his arms, and said:

"This is my husband, on whose account I had made a vow of twelve years."

The prince, however, said:—"No, no, I am the fisherman's son. They brought me up; I am not your son. Let me go to my parents; they must be waiting for me." But the king would on no account let him go, for he was more than sure that he was no other than his son, whose story he had just heard from his own mouth. The king then sent a palanquin to fetch the fisherman and his wife to the palace, and as a reward for their kindness in nursing and bringing up the prince, they were asked to live in the palace. The fisherman and his wife could not but accept the good offer of the king, and lived with the king and their foster-child very happily to the end of their lives. The prince was shortly afterwards married to the damsel of the subterraneous abode, and on this auspicious occasion the king feasted not only his relatives, but all his subjects for several days. The king now being very old preferred a more quiet life; so he made over the reins of government to his son, the hero of our tale, who ruled the vast kingdom with wisdom, dealing justice to all, making the welfare of his subjects his own, loved and respected by every one.12

FOLKLORE OF THE SGAW-KARENS.

TRANSLATED BY B. HOUGHTON, M.R.A.S., FROM THE PAPERS OF SAYA KYAW ZAN IN THE 'SA-TU-WAW.'

I.—How the Karen was the Eldest Son of God.

Here is written what our elders relate of the mighty things that happened in the beginning of time, in order that those who come after may hear, and hearing, understand.

See and consider these things carefully, O ye who come after! May you estimate properly how these matters happened. O fellow tribesmen, do not slumber nor sleep!

What the people of the world say is as follows:—There were three brethren and their father was God2 (Ywa). And the eldest of these three was the Karen, and the second

12 Is it not possible that the rākhas is merely the meat-eating aboriginal, as distinguished from the vegetarian invader of ancient India?—Ed.

1 A Sgaw-Karen periodical published monthly in Rangoon at the American Baptist Mission Press.
2 Yed. This word is used by the Missionaries to translate "God" in the Bible, and it is the word used for the deity in the curious old Karen semi-Christian traditions. My impression is that the Karens, when in high Asia, were converted by the Nestorian Missionaries, and, after the expulsion of these, have retained in a mutilated form the teachings they received from them, in addition to the old fairy-worship, which they had before their probably merely partial conversion to Christianity. If this is so, it is possible that Yed is merely a corruption of the Hebrew Yhwh = Jahvah in our version. I hope to produce evidence in support of this theory hereafter. The present folklore, though not older than the irruption of the Karens into Lower Burma, has, excepting one obvious interpolation (to be noted hereafter), nothing to do with Christianity.

I am glad to see Mr. Houghton take this view, which is that I have always maintained, and it is in accord with the recent tracing back of the once supposed indigenous "Great Spirit" of the North American Indians to the teachings of 17th Century Roman Catholic Missionaries.—Ed.]
was the Burman, whilst the youngest was the 'Kula.' The Karen grew up the biggest, but, if there was any work to do or journey to make, he did not like to do it. The younger brethren did the work and the elder one oppressed them beyond measure.

After a long time the younger brethren could not endure this oppression any longer, and they went away, one to one place and one to another. They could not remain together. But their father, God, thought to himself: "Cannot my children live together? I will remove a little way, and instruct them, and they will live together."

II.—How the Karens procured liquor.

Now there was a good piece of level ground near, and God made the Karen cut a clearing there, and said to him, "Clear this ground thoroughly and well, and your father will plant it nicely with wheat.

And God thought: "If I instruct my children, they will certainly again live together."

The Karen took his dd* and axe and went at once to the level spot. And he saw that there were very many big trees (to cut), and a fit of laziness came over him, and, seeing some pleasant shade, he put down his dd and axe, and slept comfortably.

And one big tree was conspicuous amongst the others, but it was swollen in the middle and there was a hollow in it, in which was water. The latter, being visible, was drunk by various small birds, and those who drank it, becoming exceedingly excited and noisy, fell headlong on to the ground. But some fought and pecked each other on the tree. The excitement was entirely ceaseless. However, the Karen, having awakened from his sleep, looked and saw the great excitement of the birds, and said, "How is this?"

He slept no longer and went quickly to look. He climbed up the tree and saw the water that was in the hollow, and it was transparent and pure and good in his eyes. And the Karen touched it with his hands, and smelt it and tasted it. However, the Karen, not being yet stupefied, took up some more in the hollow of his hand and drank it, saying, "It is very sweet to my taste," and, having taken up and drank some more, he became aware that he was getting drunk! His heart and mind became different, and he became very brave and fierce. He descended quickly to the bottom of the tree. He became very brave until he became stupefied, after which, recovering his senses, he took up his dd and axe and returned home.

He then went to drink of the water of that tree every day. O friends! Thus have our elders related how the Karens first drank intoxicating liquors!

A long time then elapsed and the Lord God, his father, asked the Karen if he had finished cultivating the piece of flat ground that he had sent him to do. And the Karen replied: "Let my father, God, have patience with me. I will work until it is finished, and will then inform my father."

But though the Karen had thus replied, in his inmost heart he did not wish at all to do his father's business. And if his father had sent him to go and do any work whatever, he had no wish for it. He had become lazy from getting drunk from the water in the tree, and did not want to do any work. However, his father said, "This son of mine is of no use at all."

And there was an orphan living with God. And God ordered him to cut down that tree, telling him to go to it by night.

And the orphan replied, "But my father, by night I cannot see, and I cannot cut at all."

And God answered, "You shall most certainly go."

Whereupon the orphan said, "I will go, but I cannot see, as it will be night."

And God said, "Come close to me."

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* Burmese word = Barbarian or Foreigner.
* The universal knife of Burma.
And when the orphan did so, God passed the palm of his hand over the orphan's face, so that he saw as well in the night time as by day. And God instructed him to go to the level ground and look for a tree, which was bigger than the others, and to split and fell it. As soon as the orphan had cut the tree and it cracked, ready to fall, he was to run away quickly and save himself; because, if the lazy man caught him, he would be killed. And the orphan went during the night and cut that tree, so that at dawn it broke and fell. The orphan put down his axe quickly, elenched his fists and made his escape at once. But the great tree cracked, and the entire trunk split and crashed down, all the water being split (on the ground). When the Karen heard the noise his mind was uneasy, as he considered the crash must be that of his big tree. With an evil mind he ran quickly to once to it, and finding the liquor evaporating, he said, "If I see the man who has felled this big tree of mine, I will kill him off hand."

At this time, then, the Karen got no liquor, and was ill at ease, and he went about inquiring for some from this man and that, but no one could tell him (where to get it). However, on his inquiring of Satan, the latter asked him in reply: "O Karen, what is it you are seeking?"

The Karen replied: "O Satan, the sap of the tree that I used to drink was pure and clear, but now there is nothing for me to drink. Have you ever chance to drink from such a tree?"

Satan asked, "What happens if one drinks such sap?"

The Karen answered, "O Satan, if one drinks that water, one becomes exceedingly fierce and strong!"

Satan immediately got up and going to the liquor jar, filled a cup with liquor and gave it to the Karen to drink. After the latter had drunk, he addressed Satan and asked him whence he had procured it.

Satan replied, "O Karen, we know where to make that liquor."

The Karen said, "Please tell me exactly how."

Satan replied, "It is made as follows. Steep some unboiled rice in some water for a short time, and then take it again out of the pot, and pound it up with yeast powder, press it down with a lever and put it aside for seven days; then boil some rice and mix it with it. After letting it settle in water for three days you get a clear liquid, which is the one (you have drank)."

And the Karen did carefully as Satan had instructed him, and brewed some liquor. The Karen drank it and said, "This is indeed the liquor."

He told Satan: "You have been kind to me and I will not forget you. My death I will die with you and my life I will live with you."

Then his father, God, knew that his son was friendly with Satan, and, being grieved, he abandoned again the place where he had been staying.

So God, from dislike at the Karen drinking liquor, left him.

III.—How the Kulás procured boats.

And the Lord God said, "These, my children, are no longer, of any use to me. I will return and go to another country. I will get each of my children to come and accompany me on the way."

And God arose, and going to the Karen said to him, "My child, come and accompany your father on his way."

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6. This is obviously an interpolation by the worthy Sāyō, the object being to father the introduction of drinking liquor on this personage, who is unknown in Karen tradition. Doubtless in the original story it must have been some wā or mā-wā.

Now the Karen was fast asleep by the side of a liquor jar. After God had called him many times, he partially woke up and said, "I cannot go with you. Return in my old sow's trough. I have neither boat nor paddle, only this trough. Do you please go in it, my father, and he dragged the trough down to the water."

God then went and called the Burman. The latter replied, "How can I possibly go with you? Please go and call my elder brother, the Karen."

God replied, "Your elder brother also is not able to go. He only gave me a pig's trough."

The Burman replied, "You could only get the pig's trough, I will give you my paddle, to paddle it with."

So God went to the Kulā and said to him, "My nephew, please come and accompany your father."

The Kulā replied, "My father, have nothing in which to come and accompany you."

God replied, "You can come. The Karen has given me his pig's trough and the Burman his paddle. Come along with your father."

The Kulā got up quickly and followed behind God to the sea. There God grasped the paddle and got into the trough, whereupon the trough became a great ship and the paddle became its masts and sails. Then the ship started forthwith and God came to his own country.

IV.—How the writing of the Karens came to them.

God wrote Karen writing on a piece of leather, Burmese writing on a palm-leaf, and the Kulā's (Foreigner's) writing on a piece of cloth.

And God commanded the Kulā and said to him:—"You, my nephew, have indeed approached near to your Lord. Your father has written for you writing on cloth. But the Karen's writing is on leather, and the Burman's on a palm-leaf. Do you without fail learn your writing carefully until you understand it. Take back also the writing for the Karen and the Burman, and instruct them to learn carefully the writings, which their father has sent them."

And the Kulā answered, "O Lord God, my father, I will do faithfully what you have commanded me."

Then he asked, "How shall I return?"

God replied, "Go into the sow's trough again and remain there. Your father will send you away."

The Kulā went into the trough again and returned quickly. He came first to the Karen, and producing the leather scroll, gave it to him at once.

And he said to the Karen, "Our father, God, has commanded me to tell you to learn your writing carefully. Also please take back your old sow's trough." And the Karen went near to the sea, and seeing that the trough was not as before, said to the Kulā, "My youngest brother, the trough is not as before. Your elder brother no longer cares for it. If you care for it, take it back with you."

The Kulā turned and went back to the Burman. He produced the palm-leaf with the Burmese writing on it and giving it to the Burman, commanded him, saying, "Our father has directed that you must certainly learn your writing, which is on this palm-leaf. Take back also your paddle."
And the Burman replied to the Kulā, "You will have to paddle the trough you are in with this paddle. Take it back with you."

The Kulā went back forthwith, and, coming to his house, he arranged suitably the masses and sails of a big ship. And as the Lord God, his father, had commanded him, he studied and learnt his writing thoroughly.

And the Kulās increased in all that is good, and right, and fair to look upon.

V. — How the Writing of the Karens was lost.

The Karen's country was very pleasant and fair, and if difficulties of any kind whatsoever, or disease, or anything else, came to him, he took medicine, but did not do anything else. And the Karens increased and became very numerous. However, the Burmans did as the Kulā had told them, but not so the Karens. For, although the writing, which the Kulā brought, had reached them, they took no heed of it at all, but put it on a tree-stump, and went on clearing the weeds (in their clearings), nor did they take it away when the rain came and wetted it. At eventide they took the writing, and, returning home, put it on the shelf over the hearth. And as the rice was cooked and chillies were pounded and food stirred up, many times the leathern scroll fell on to the hearth.

And after many goings to and fro, the fowls came up and scratched in the hearth, so that the leathern scroll fell down under the hut. Now the Karens were not of a mind to look after things, and they forgot about the scroll. They did not care about the scroll in the least, and saying, "We work hard and we eat. If we learn writing we shall only bother ourselves. Eating good food and drinking good liquor always suits us," they let the matter drop.

Now the Karen's old sow was under the hut and grabbed up (the ground) diligently all day long, and it grubbed about the scroll, so that it was utterly lost.

Thus the Karens never saw their writing again.

VI. — How Charcoal was first rubbed on yokes.

After a long, long time the homes of the Karens became bad, and their food was bad, and even their wise men did not know how to make anything. If any forest was to be cleared, they had to go and ask the Burman for his ad and axe, and if they wished to cook any food they had to ask the Burman for a pot. And behold, the Burman and the Kulā were happy and became great. There were wise men with them and they multiplied exceedingly. But the Karens were without implements and knew not how to forge them, or how to make pots, and had to ask the Burman for everything.

However, they remembered the former times somewhat, and, resolving to turn over a new leaf, they consulted one with another, but were unable to devise anything. They said to each other, "We must instruct ourselves anew from the writing."

They asked one another for it, and at last some said, "We were weeding, when the Kulās brought us the writing and we put it on the stump of a tree. When the rain came it got wet, and we put it on the drying shelf (over the fire,) and as we were continually pounding and scraping the food for cooking, it was shaken off and fell on to the earth. We neglected to take it up again, so when the fowls came and scratched, the writing was scratched away and fell under the hut. Then the pig came and grubbed it about, and it was utterly lost."

However, some said, "The fowl's feet when they were scratching must have trodden on and knocked against some charcoal. Let us, therefore, take the charcoal and rub it on our yokes. We will cast lots, and when they are favorable, we will unite again."

The Karens did in this manner, and so amongst all people they are distinguished as those who rub charcoal on their yokes!
FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 6. — Princess Fireflower.¹

Once upon a time there was a Raja who had two sons, the elder of whom was married, while the younger was a bachelor. The younger prince used to come for his food to the house of his elder brother, but one day, when he asked for something to eat very early in the morning, his sister-in-law tantalizingly said to him:—

"How can I get up to cook for you? If you want your breakfast so early, you had better marry the Princess Fireflower,² and she can do your cooking for you."

"Well! I will find Princess Fireflower," said he. And off he went on his travels in search of her.

On he went the whole day and in the evening reached the Brindaban Khakhapur³ forest. There he found a faqir, who used to sleep for twelve years at a time and remain awake again for twelve whole years. When the Prince saw the faqir asleep, he began to fan him, so that he soon awoke and said:—

"Son! Thou hast done me good service. Ask now the boon that thou most desirest."

"Father!" replied the Prince, "if thou wishest to do me a service, give me Princess Fireflower in search of whom I have come hither."

"My son," he answered, "ask any boon but this."

"Nay," said the Prince, "through your kindness I want naught else but her. Paramesvar has given me all else I lack."

The faqir meditated for some time and said:—

"Well! If you long so for Princess Fireflower, I will tell you how you can win her. But mind my words, and if you disobey me it will be your ruin. I am going to turn you into a parrot.⁴ Then fly to the island where Princess Fireflower lives, which is across the seven oceans.⁵ This island is guarded by demons (dali) and you can escape them only by watching when they are engaged in playing ball (ghaḍa khāliṭa hain). When you reach the island pluck a flower and fly away with it in your beak. If the demons call you, do not look back. Otherwise ruin will befall you.⁶"

So saying the faqir transformed the Prince into a parrot, and he flew across the seven oceans to the island of Princess Fireflower. Arriving there, he plucked the flower and was carrying it off in his beak, when the demons called out to him:—

"You thief! Come back and pluck one flower more. We will not hurt you."

Hearing this he turned a little back and was at once burnt to ashes.

Meanwhile the faqir was awaiting his return, and when he did not return in two days, he knew that disaster had befallen the Prince. He went in search of him, and when he arrived at the place he found only one of the tail feathers of the parrot, which had escaped the burning.

¹ A tale told by Chhabîndat Mahâ, a Malâ, one of the Dravidian races, resident of Jârâkhâr, Duddhî, Mirzapur District, recorded by Pâşitâ Râmâharib Chânbâ. The number of the last tale of this series, published at pp. 275 ff., should have been No. 5 and not No. 4 as printed.
² Aqâlîkhâl Râfî, the title of the princess means "the flower of blazing charcoal."
³ Brindababan is of course in the Mathurâ District—where Khâkhapur is I do not know. It is not given in Mr. Growse's list of village names in Taflil Mathurâ. Possibly it is merely an imaginary name.
⁴ The word used is Dârâ, a common way of addressing faqirs.
⁵ For many instances of similar metamorphoses see Temple, Widow's Stories, 420 sqq. Tawney, Kathâ Sârit Ságara, II. 214, sqq.
⁶ The "seven oceans," seven oceans, constantly appear in Indian folktales, see Temple, loc. cit. 432.
⁷ For the "looking back" taboo, see Grimm. Household Tales, II. 406: Miss Stokes, Indian Fairy Tales, 292-3, and the legends of Orpheus and Eurydice and Lot's Wife.
Over this he breathed his spells (mantra), and *bringing the Prince to life again, returned with him to his hut.* When they arrived there he said:

"Ask me for another boon. This quest of yours is too dangerous."

The Prince replied:

"Bābā! as I said before, through your kindness I lack nothing but the Princess Fireflower. Only grant me that I may find her."

"Well!" answered the faqīr, "if you will not heed my advice, go again to the island in the form of a crow and pluck another flower. But, take care, look not back a second time, or you will be turned to ashes and then I am helpless to serve you."

The Prince promised to obey, and *in the form of a crow flew again to the island, and on reaching there, plucked a flower which he took in his beak and flew back towards the faqīr's hut.* The guardian demons tried in vain to induce him to look back, but he would not, and came back safe to the faqīr.

The demons followed close behind and, standing at the door, called out:

"Bābā! a thief has robbed us and entered your hut. Restore him to us at once."

Meanwhile the faqīr turned the Prince into a cat, and called out to the demons:

"Come and look. There is no one here but my cat and myself. If you do not trust me, you can come in and search for yourselves."

The demons came in and looked everywhere, but when they found no one there, except the faqīr and the cat, they returned home. When they had gone, the faqīr restored the Prince *again to the form of a man,* and gave the prince a little red-lead box (sindūrdān) and said:

"Take care not to open it till you reach your home."

The Prince started for home with the box, but when he reached close to his father's city he began to think:

"Perhaps the faqīr has cheated me: and my sister-in-law will laugh at me again."

So he opened the box, and immediately a lovely girl, twelve years old, came out, and so beautiful was she that the sun lost its brightness. The Prince made her sit down and was going to a well close by to draw water. She said: "Where are you going?"

He answered: "I am going to draw water for you and for me."

She answered: "Do not bring water for me. If you do, I shall fall into Pātāla. It is my task to serve you, not for you to serve me."

So she went to the well to draw water: and it so happened that at that very time the handmaid of the Rājā came too to draw water. When she saw Princess Fireflower, she said:

"Who are you and where are you going?"

The Princess answered: "I am Princess Fireflower, and the Rājā's son has brought me hither."

The handmaid said: "*Let us change our clothes and see which is the lovelier.*"

The Princess agreed and made over her dress and ornaments to the handmaid: and when she went to the edge of the well to draw water, the handmaid pushed her in. She then filled a vessel of water and took it to the prince who said:

"How black you have grown by walking in the sun!"

He drank the water from her hand, and, believing her to be Princess Fireflower, told her to wait there while he went to the palace.

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8 The Oriental equivalent of our "sweet seventeen."
9 The analogy to Grimm's charming story of the "Goose Girl," No. 89 of the Household Tales is obvious.
When his sister-in-law saw him, she said:

"Well! have you found Fireflower Princess?"

"She is at the well," he answered.

So he took a retinue and brought her home, and lived with her as his wife.

But a month after, a blaze, like that of a lamp, appeared over the well, and all who saw it were astonished; but whenever they went near the well the light was quenched. By-and-by this news reached the ear of the Raja, and he sent the Prince to see what had happened.

At break of day the Prince went to the well, and saw the place ablaze with light. So he threw himself into the water, and found there a flower bud, which he tied in his handkerchief and brought home. For many a day he kept the handkerchief carefully by him, but one day he happened to drop it in the courtyard, and his son, who had meanwhile been born of the handmaid, saw it and took it to his mother. She found the bud tied up inside, and threw it on the dunghill behind the palace.

In one night it grew into a large mango tree, and next morning the false queen saw it and fell ill of fright.

Her mother-in-law asked:—"What ails you?"

"I have fallen ill," said she, "since I have seen this mango tree. Have it cut down and I will soon recover."

Her mother-in-law told this to the old Raja, and he sent for labourers to cut down the tree. The Prince went to his father and said:

"To cut down a green mango tree is a sin. Let me remove it elsewhere, and the princess will not see the cause of her illness and recover."

"Be it so," said the Raja.

So the Prince removed the tree to his own orchard and said to his gardener:

"When this tree fruits, let no one touch it but myself."

By-and-by the tree blossomed and bore fruit, and one of them fell on the ground. This the gardener's wife picked up and laid on a shelf to keep till the Prince should come. Meanwhile she went to buy grain and her cat knocked down the mango, and the moment it dropped, a lovely girl twelve years old stopped out of it.

When the gardener's wife returned and saw her, she was afraid, and said to the girl:

"Stay here, but never leave the house even for a moment."

But one day she ventured into the courtyard, and the handmaid of the false queen saw her and told her mistress. The queen called the keeper of the elephants, and said:

"Go to the gardener's house and crush the girl you will find there to dust under your elephant's feet."

When the keeper of the elephants went to kill the girl, she brought out a great club and beat them and routed all the Raja's elephants.

Then the queen fell ill again and her mother-in-law asked her what ailed her.

"If the heart of the gardener's daughter be not brought to me I shall die," she said.

The Raja sent for the gardener and his wife and ordered them to bring out their daughter.

"We have had neither chick nor child all the days we tended Your Majesty's garden. How can we give our daughter when we have none?" they answered. But the Raja did not
believe them and had their house searched, and finding the girl delivered her over to the executioner. 11

They were about to kill her in the forest, when an old Dom said to the others:—

"What is the good of killing such a pretty girl for the sake of a few rupees. Let us spare her life and reach paradise (nacarja); even if we kill her, the Rājā won't give us his ṛṣī for our trouble. Let us kill a goat and take its heart to the queen and she will be cured." 12 The others obeyed his words and spared the life of the girl. When they took the goat's heart to the queen, she recovered at once.

The Princess Fireflower then went on to Brindaban Khakharapar, and there with her hand she struck four blows upon the earth, when a splendid palace appeared and there she lived. She kept several parrots and used to amuse herself by teaching them to say 'Rām! Rām'! 13

A long time after the old Rājā and his son, the Prince, came into the forest to hunt, and being thirsty came to the palace for water and the Princess entertained them hospitably. At night they slept in the portico, and early in the morning, while they were half-asleep, the parrots began to talk to each other, and they told how the Prince had brought Princess Fireflower, and how the handmaid had cheated him, and became queen, and how the life of the Princess had been saved, and how she had come to the palace. 14

At this the Rājā and the Prince were much astonished, and going at once to the Princess Fireflower, asked her if all this was true. She began to shed tears and told them the whole story from beginning to end. They brought her home in triumph.

Then the Rājā had a deep pit dug and buried the false queen alive. The Prince and Princess Fireflower lived happily ever after, and the Rājā became a Sannyāsi faqīr and made over his kingdom to them.

As Paramēṣar overruled the fate of Princess Fireflower, so may he do to all of us. 15

PROG-WORSHIP AMONGST THE NEWARS, WITH A NOTE ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD 'NEPAL.'

By A. L. WaddeI, M.B., M.R.A.S.

In his work on Nēpāl,1 Dr. (Buchanan-) Hamilton incidentally noted that the Newars worship frogs. I have ascertained some interesting details of this worship.

The Newars are the aborigines of Nēpāl Proper, that is, of the valley in which the present capital Khāirānānḍ stands; and their present tribal name appears to be of territorial origin. The etymology of the word Nēpāl seems to me to be thus accounted for:—The whole of the hill territory of the Gorkhās is called by the Non-Hinduized hillmen of the Himalayas

11 The word in the original is Dom, the most degraded caste, who act as executioners.
12 This, it need hardly be said, is a stock folk tale incident.
13 The common form of invocation and salutation, constantly taught to parrots.
14 These guardian, friendly parrots appear in many of the tales as deśe navānacā; see The Wonderful Ring in Temple's Wide-awake Stories, 295.
15 This is the common refrain of the rustic story-teller. [This tale is interesting as to the following points. It exhibits the spread of the belief in the wonder-working "saint" see Legends of the Panjī, index, e. v. miracle and metamorphosis, for a large number of instances. This wonder-working saint is a counterpart of the wonder-working devil (bhūtā) of Southern India, as will be seen by comparing the tales about to be published in this Journal, under the title of the "Devil-worship of the Tujūvas," with those in the Legends of the Panjī. It also exhibits the wide-spread idea of the "substituted person": see indices to Wide-awake Stories and Legends of the Panjī, e. v. It exhibits strongly the anthropomorphic nature of the folk-tale parrot: see Legends of the Panjī, index, e. v. parrot, and especially Vol. 1, p. 564, where the parrot is a holy personage versed in the Four Vedas! For a number of variants of the tale as a whole see remarks on the Egg-hero in Wide-awake Stories, p. 599 f.—E.D.]
16 An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, &c., by Francis Hamilton, M.D., F.R.S., &c., Edinburgh, 1819.
and the Tibetan Pâl; and the original name of this section of the Pâl country, which contained the home of the Nêwârs, seems to have been Nê, while the people were hence called by the Hindus Nêwâr, or "Inhabitants of Nê." Eastern Nêpâl, as well as Sikkim, is still called Nê by the Lepcha autochthones, and the Lepchas interpret the word as meaning the place of Caves for shelter or residence. Nê in most of the cognate tribal dialects of the Indo-Chinese — to whom, I find, both Nêwârs and Lepchas belong — means 'residence'; the same root also appears with similar meaning in the Tibeto-Burman group; and in Lamasism it is usually restricted to sacred caves and other sacred spots and shrines. It was very probably used in a similar sense by the pre-Lamaist Nêwârs, who were the originators of the so-called Nepalese form of Buddhism, and early gave up the greater portion of their original language for a Sanskritized speech. Some of the Nêwârs are still Buddhists under the title of Būmāmārgis or followers of the Buddhist path, but the vast majority, as is well-known, have lately followed the fashion set by their Gurkâ rulers of adopting the externals of Hinduism and call themselves Saivamārgis or 'followers of the Siva path.'

Now the chief Buddhist nês or shrines in the Cis-Himalayas of any antiquity cie., the Kasuhr, and 'Samâlmāth stôpas, are all situated in the valley (Nêpâl Proper) of the Pâl country. Thus the word 'Nêpâl' seems to mean the Nê (i.e., 'the residence, or head-quarters,' or 'the shrine') of the Pâl country, and is so distinguished from the adjoining Nê country of the Lepchas.

The frog is worshipped by the Nêwârs, not as a tribal totem, but in its supposed capacity of an amphibious (water and earth) divinity subordinate to the Nâga demi-gods, and associated with the latter in the production and control of rain and water-supply. This elevation of so insignificant an animal as the frog to the dignity of an assistant to the Nâgas, is all the more curious in view of the fact that frogs form the chief prey of the hooded cobra — the prototype of the Nâga. But the Nêwârs justify their worship of the frog by pointing to the sympathetic and intimate relation of the frog with water, and saying that frogs, although terrestrial animals, are only found in moist localities, and herald by their appearance and croaking, the onset of the rains. They are also found especially at springs, and also on digging deep down into the bowels of the earth, where lies, according to the Nêwârs, the primary store of water. It is interesting to note here that frogs are also worshipped by the Japanese in the Kiûshû marshes as metamorphosed heroes.

Frog-worship is performed by the Nêwârs at a different season and place from that required for the Nâgas. The Nâgas, of whom the Nêwârs consider Karkôta, the greatest, are worshipped on the fifth day (Nâgpa nâh) of the month of Sàwan (July) at the commencement of the rainy season, when the Nâgas (water-dragons) are thundering in the sky. The site for the worship is selected by preference at a place where four or five streams meet. A Nêwâr priest is needed for this ceremony. On the morning of the eventful day, the priest ceremonially washes his face and hands and collects the following offerings, namely: — whole rice, vermillion for making the jikô mark of beauty on the forehead, milk mixed with an equal bulk of water, rice-flour and water, flowers, ghâ and butter, jaïphat spice, sandalwood

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1 Which in Tibetan means 'wool.' It is doubtful, however, whether the name was really intended to mean 'the wool-country,' for sheep are equally plentiful across the Himalayas.
2 The leading results of these observations I hope shortly to publish.
3 Spell in Tibetan gnos,—but pronounced nê.
5 Vide an account of this stôpa by the present writer in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for December 1892.
6 Bhông, the vernacular word for frog, is an onomatopoetic attempt at reproducing the frog's call.
7 Satow in Murray's Handbook to Central and Northern Japan, 1884.
8 The pre-eminence thus given to Karkôta is evidently due to his being considered the tertiary Nâga of the lacustrine valley of Khânâma, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the saint Mahârâma cutting the southern bank, and the escaping water was thus named the Bhûgmat or 'the fleeing one' — the present name of the river.
and sól resin incense. The priest deposits these articles in the midst of a plate of water, in the above-named order, ignites the incense and spice which occupy the top of the pile, and then chants the following short prayer:—"Hail Paramēśvara Nāgarāja, Paramount King of Nāgas, "and ye Nine Nāgas!" I pray you to receive these offerings and to bless us and our crops."

Frog-worship, on the other hand, is performed on the seventh day of the month of Kārtik (October), and usually at a pool, which is known to be frequented by frogs; although it is not essential to the efficacy of the rite that a frog be actually seen at the time of performing the ceremony. For this service also a Nēvar priest is necessary, who, after careful ablation of face and hands, places in five brazen bowls a dole consisting respectively of rice, flowers, milk and vermillion, ghi and incense, and water. Lighting the pile of ghi and incense the priest says: "Hail Paramēśvara Bhūmīnātha! I pray you receive these offerings and to send timely rain, and bless our crops!"

The title of Paramēśvara is given to the Nāgas, Frogs and all the other Nēvar divinities; but Bhūmīnātha, 'Lord or Protector of the Soil,' is specially reserved for the Frog. Owing to its sacred character, the Frog is held by the Nēvars in special reverence, and every care is taken not to molest or injure it. But despite its semi-divine nature the Nēvars, like other Buddhists, believe that the frog, as well as the Nāga, is within the cycle of re-births.

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THE TRADITIONAL MIGRATION OF THE SANTAL TRIBE.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M.B., M.R.A.S.

It seems to me that the current story preserved by the Santās, or Saontās, of their advance from Ahīrī or Ahīri-pipri, via Chhai and Champa, to their present location is manifestly a record of actual tribal progress, not, as is usually believed, from one part of the Hazārbāgh Hills to another — where indeed there could have been practically no Hindu pressure exercised, — but from the central alluvial valley of the Ganges south-westwards to the hills, under pressure of the Aryan invasion of the valley from the north. For, in this part of the Gangetic valley, I find ancient territorial names in keeping with this story of migration.

Moreover, the names of the Hazārbāgh purānas, which have been indentified with certain of these legendary lands, present many difficulties in the way of their acceptance in interpretation of the story, even as a record of recent hill-migration. Ahīrī could never become corrupted into Ahūria, or vice versa. The Chhai purāna of Hazārbāgh is a remote hilly tract, from which there could have been no desire on the part of the earlier Hindus to dispossess the Santās. Besides, the greater part of it is still under primitive forest, uncultivated, and in the occupation of the Santās. The name is more likely to be a transplantation to their new home of their old country name, from a desire to retain the old home associations, such as is observable in colonists of all nationalities. The Champā purāna of Hazārbāgh is situated on the high central plateau occupied by the semi-aboriginal Uρions and Mūndās, who seem to be the autochthrones of that area, and to which location it is generally believed the Santal tribe never penetrated.

The tracts, which I would identify with those of the story, are the following. The Ahīrī or herdsman-tribe, was the dominant race in the Bhār section of the Gangetic valley in the later pre-historic period. The Ahīrī-country extended from about Benares eastwards to the Kusi river, and lay mainly to the north of the Ganges. The greatest stronghold latterly of the Ahīrī and Gwālā was at Hardi in the Darbhāṅgā District, where their heroic chief Lōrik is

10 Šores robusta.
1 [Saontāl seems to be the correct spelling.—En.
now worshipped as a god, and his exploits still sung by the Gwālīs and Ahirs of Bihār and Northern Bengal. This Hardīgarh may, in fact, be the Haraduttie and Hurredgarhi of Col. Dalton’s version of the legend.\(^2\)

**Pipri** is a very common village name all over Bihār;\(^3\) but a well-known pre-Aryan settlement named Pipri exists near the south bank of the Ganges near Chunār, and was figured by Mr. Nesfield in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1888 in connection with his article on the semi-aboriginal Musūrīs, or Musāhrs. It was originally a stronghold of the Chēras, who were dispossessed by the Ahirs under Lōrik. And this is very probably the Ahri-pipri of the Santāl story; but it would be worth while enquiring from Mr. Grierson, or some other correspondent well-acquainted with the Trans-Gangetic portion of North Bihār, whether there be another famous Pipri thereabouts, near Hardi, specially associated with Lōrik and his Ahirs.

**Chhai** is the old *parāgaṇa* of that name, in the modern Bāghalpur District, 489 square miles in extent, south of the Ahri stronghold of Hardi and bordering the Ganges. From its *jūdr* - traversed aspect it was probably in those days a *ḍéāb*, or an island, between the Ganges and the combined Ganjāk and Ghagra rivers.

Directly opposite Chhai, across the Ganges to the south, is the old kingdom of Champā, now generally corresponding to the Cis-Gangetic portion of the modern district of Bhāgalpur. Champā was one of the earliest Hindu settlements in the lower valley of the Ganges—according to Hiuen Tsang’s account it “was one of the first cities founded in Jambudvipa,”—and it was still the name of the country at the time of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang’s visits in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. It now survives in the name of the old section of Bāghalpur town, which is called Champānagar and Champāpur. The “Khairāgarh” of Col. Dalton’s version, and one of the recorded pass-words of the tribe, is evidently the fortified hill of Khēryā but about twelve miles south-west of Champānagar, and an outlier of the Hazārbāgh section of the Vindhya range.

The Santāl story also tells us that when “the Hindus drove them out of Champā they (the Santāls) established themselves in Saont,” whence they have derived their present tribal name. The migration here referred to was evidently southwards into the adjoining hilly tract, extending from Southern Champā, through the eastern part of the Hazārbāgh District, to the borders of Midnapur District and the Upper Damuda Valley, in the south of which is said to be situated the village, or land, of Saont, though its exact situation does not seem to be known.

It may be worth considering, however, whether this name of Saont is not really related to their holy hill of Sāēt Sikar (the scene of the Jina Pārvanātha’s *nirvāna* and therefore also called by his name), towering high above their holy river, the Damuda.\(^4\) Sāēt is the Sanskritized form in which the name has been fixed in the earlier Hindu books. Saōt may, therefore, not impossibly be the original name of their holy hill, which is in the very centre of their modern location. In this hilly tract, centring around Sāēt Sikar, the tribe remained, hemmed in more and more by Bengali encroachments till quite recent times, when Government interference rendered it possible for the tribe to re-emerge on to the skirts of the Ganges Valley.

Their defied mountain Marang Buru, or ‘the Great Hill,’ is distinctly specified in Colonel Dalton’s version to have been encountered *after* the expulsion of the tribe from Champā, and it is also stated to have been the god of the Mundaś, whom the Santāls found already in occupation of the Hazārbāgh plateau. This pre-eminent hill must surely have been the graceful mountain of Sāēt Sikar (Parasnāth)—the culminating peak of this portion of the Vindhya range, and these savage refugees naturally worshipped the hills which sheltered them.

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\(^2\) Dalton’s *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 307 ff.  
\(^3\) It means the village ‘of the pīsal tree’ (*śeu religiosis*).  
\(^4\) Damuda is a Santāl word meaning ‘the Home Water or Home River.’ The Brahmapas have Sanskritized it into Dāmodar, the only word in their mythology to which it bore any resemblance; and as Dāmodar is a title of the god Krishnā, this river is now held by Hindus to be Krishnā himself!
securely from their Hindu enemies. Their other god's name Morokka, may be the Moroka River, which traverses this area and whose course is beset by numerous hot springs, still worshipped by the aborigines. These in the winter mornings belch forth great clouds of sulphurous steam, marking their site from afar.

I have no doubt that the other minor names of the story, and most of the fort-names which enter into the tribal pass-words, will be found still current as territorial names, or in the traditions of the Ahirs and Gwalas, if only searched for in the tracts here indicated.

It will also be noticed that such a progress of the tribe, as that herein indicated, takes them from the base of the Himalayas to their present location, thus accounting for the 'Turanian' element in their speech.6

MISCELLANEA.

SOME DATES IN THE CHALUKYA-VIKRAMA-KALA.

The Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI. sought to supersede the use of the Saka era by an era which was named after himself the Chalukya-Vikrama-kala and Chalukya-Vikrama-varsha, and the first year of the era which was the first year of his own reign, viz. the Anala or Nala samvatara, Saka-Saunvat 999 current, A.D. 1670-77.

According to Sir Walter Elliot's Caraga-Kotta-Djëka Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 255, the earliest date in this era is one of Chaithra krishna 5, in the first year of it, contained in an inscription, which does not refer itself to any particular reign, at the temple of Kadambesvara at Araleswar in the Hângal Tâiluk, Dhâwâr District. Prof. Kiellhorn has recently calculated this date; with the result that the details, as taken by him, do not work out correctly (page 1 above, No. 8). He took them, however, from the reading which I myself gave (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 41), from the transcript in the Elliot Collection. And I now find, from an ink-impression, that the record is dated, as plainly as could possibly be, - not in the first year of the era, as represented by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist, - but in the sixty-first year of it. The original has - śrînâch-Châlukya-Vikrama-kâlada 6lîcya-Anala-samvatraga-sa-\da Chaitra-bahula-pañchamasa-Mângalâjâvara-Mêsâ\sha)-saṁkrânti-yaunthi-adâ-samvat. And these details work out quite correctly. The year is Saka-Saunvat 1000 current. By Prof. Kera Lakshma Chaturu's tables, the given titiki ended at about 21 gh. 10 p. = 8 hrs. 28 min., after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Tuesday, 24th March, A.D. 1196. And the Mêsha-saṁkrânti occurred, while that titiki was current, at about 56 ghatis, = 22 hrs. 24 min., on the Monday, and, on account of the lateness of the hour, would be celebrated on the Tuesday.

This date is, in reality, one of a few which show that an attempt was made to continue the era after the end of the reign of Vikramaditya VI.

These dates may be divided into two classes: -

A. - Some of them show simply a continuation of the Chalukya-Vikrama-kala. To this class belongs the Araleshwar date, mentioned above. And other instances are to be found in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 193, Nos. 37 to 39, and 41 to 43.

Of these, Nos. 41, 42, and 43, of the sixty-first, eighty-fourth, and ninety-fourth years, are already verified.1 And I can now verify No. 37.

8 [I have referred this article to Mr. Grierson, who seems to disagree with Dr. Waddell. He writes: "I know of no Pipir in North Bihar. There is said to have been a Pipir and a Harij in Gayâ, but they are mythical and sole due to the desire which each Bihar district has of appropriating Lörîk to itself. Harij is really in Balîs. I should say that the Ahirs were more common in South Bihar. I do not remember any place called Harij in Darbhângâ, but it is twelve years since I was there. Lörîk is not much known east of the Gâpkâl. The story is essentially Western Gâpkâl and South Gangetic. Shâhîshlâk and Gayâ are full of it. So also are Sûrâ, Balîs and Benares. The favorite Darbhângâ legend is the Dyshâk one of Sahsâ. There will be a good Âhir legend of South Bihar in the articles now being printed on the 'Lîrîk.' - End.]

1 I mean, to the extent of showing that the records really exist. The point whether the details work out correctly, is not of present importance. - I think that, as a matter of fact, the majority of these dates will not work out correctly. But, as Prof. Kiellhorn has indicated (page 111 above), this is the case with many of the dates of this period. And the records containing them are not necessarily to be stamped as not genuine on that account. From more ample experience of the work of Sir Walter Elliot's copyist, I consider it waste of time and trouble to calculate dates, the details of which depend solely on his transcripts. His versions may be true and correct in the majority of cases. But I have come across too many instances in which he has taken liberties with the texts of the originals.
This record, at the temple of Rámēśvara at Hitro-Muddanur in the Nizam's Dominions (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 700), really does refer itself to the reign of Bhūḷōkamalla-Sómēśvara III., and belongs to his fourth year; but it is, nevertheless, dated (from an ink-impression) - ārīmāc-Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada 56nēya Saumya-samvatsarada Puṣhya-su(ṣu)-12-Sōmāvārad-anudin-uttarāyaṇa-saṃkṛanti-parba(ṛva)-nimmadīṇa. The year is Šaka-Saṃvat 1052 current.

And I can add the following five instances:—

In an inscription on a pillar at the temple of Virāpāka at Kurkotī in the Gadag Tālukā, Dhārwar District, which does not refer itself to any particular reign, the date (from an ink-impression) runs - ārīmāc-Chālukya-Vikrama-kālada Sa-sa-ka-varsha 1048nēya Parābhava-samvatsarada Jyaśhilad-samavāsyē Sōmāvāra 56nēya-grahaṇāda tat-kāḷikādo. The year is Šaka-Saṃvat 1048 expired, — the first year of the reign of Sōmēśvara III. It is also the fifty-fourth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla; but the writer of the record, though apparently intending to quote this fifty-first year, omitted after all to do so.

Another inscription at Arajaswara, on the makara-bōrama of the temple of Kadamēśvara, which does not refer itself to any particular reign (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II. p. 594), contains two dates. The first of these is in the Vihāra saṃvatsara, the thirteenth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla. The second, not fully transcribed by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist, runs (from an ink-impression) - [ārīma*]ch-Chālukya-Vikrama-kālada 56nēya Plavanga-samvatsarada Vaiśākhān-āvuda-[read śuddha]-10-Bri[ṛ]ha-vārad-anud. The year is Šaka-Saṃvat 1050 current, — the second year of the reign of Sōmēśvara III.

In an inscription which is now stored in the Kachéri at Lakshmēswara, within the limits of the Dhārwar District, the date of a supplementary record, which does not formally refer itself to any particular reign, runs (from an ink-impression) - ārīmāc-Chālukya-Bhūḷōkamalla-varshada 56nēya Kila-samvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-su(ṣu)dāda-pamchamī-Adīvāraṃ sōma-grahaṇad-anud. Here two things are mixed up, — the fifty-third year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla, and the third year of the reign of Bhūḷōkamalla-Sōmēśvara III. The year is Šaka-Saṃvat 1061 current.

An inscription, which does not refer itself to any particular reign or reigns, on a beam in the madhyaraṇa of the temple of Sarvēśvara at Nāregal in the Hāṅgal Tālukā, Dhārwar District, contains two dates. The first is in the month Puṣhya of the Visvāvasu saṃvatsara, which was, and is quoted as, the fiftieth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada. The second (from an ink-impression) runs — 56nēya Sādhārana-samvatsarada śrāheya; the words Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada are intended to be supplied from the first date. The year is Šaka-Saṃvat 1063 current, — the fifth year of the reign of Sōmēśvara III.

And a third inscription at Arajaswara, on a pillar in front of the gateway of the temple of Kadamēśvara (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II. p. 601; where, however, the year and saṃvatsara are not given, and Puṣhya is given instead of Jyāhta), contains two dates, of which the first (from an ink-impression) runs — 60nēya Rākṣasa-samvatsarada Jyāhta-(read Jyāhta)-suddha-[read śuddha]-puṇṇami-Sōmāvārad-anud. The record does not refer itself to any particular reign. And the words Chālukya-Vikrama-kālada or varshada were omitted by the writer. But there can be no doubt that the year is the sixtieth year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla, which was the Rākṣasa saṃvatsara, Šaka-Saṃvat 1058 current, and the tenth year of the reign of Sōmēśvara III.¹

With these records we may also class an inscription on a stone built into a moṣḍapa at the Mālāsthānēśvara temple at Nānēḍā in the Narasarāṇvēśa Tālukā of the Kistna District, Madras Presidency. It does not refer itself to any particular reign. But the date (from an ink-impression, which reached me from Dr. Hultsch after the rest of this note was written) runs — ārīmāc-Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada 2nēya Plavanga-samvatsara Bhādrapada su(ṣu) 1 Bri[ṛ]ha-vāra. Here, — unless 2Vikrama is a mistake for Bhūḷōkamalla, which seems, on the whole, not so probable as the other alternative, though the writer very possibly had also the second year of Bhūḷōkamalla running in his mind, — 2nēya is which was the fifteenth year, — or properly the sixteenth, — in the reckoning of the Kalēsvara king Bījīla. And it is possible that the whole record was put on the stone at that time. — In this second date, Sir Walter Elliot's copyist has given 1nēya, instead of the 2nēya which the original has.

¹ The eclipse, of course, did not occur on the specified titki.
² The second date in this record is — 15nēya Khara-samvatsara[da*]Chaitra-su(ṣu)-5-Sōmāvārad-anud. Here, there is no reference to any particular reign; but the Khara-samvatsara must be Šaka-Saṃvat 1094 current,
³ Here two things are mixed up, — the fifty-third year of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla,
B.—The dates of the second class show an imaginary continuation of the reign itself of Vikramaditya VI, as well as a continuation of the era.

Of this there is an indisputable instance in the inscription on a stone lying on the road on the north of Kyasanur in the Hangan Tuluk, Dhárvád District (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 636; and ante, Vol. VIII. p. 193, No. 40). The preamble contains the words śrimat-[T]ribhuvanamahadürwarta vacayaya-vijaya-śrījaya-uttar-āttar-dhivirādikāḥ (read āriddhi)-pravardhānamahad-candrasūri-rātrasvapi bharavi saluttan-nir, which do expressly refer to the reign of Vikramaditya VI. But, as regards the date, the words Chalukya-Vikrama-rākha (sic), which I gave when I first noticed this date, are a pure invention of Sir Walter Elliot’s copyist. What the original really has is (from an ink-impression) simply—
aivat-çpeneya(read aivaty-çpeney) Paridhāvi-samvachcha(ta)sarada Chaitra-sudha-(read śuddha)-panchamī-Brihaspati(read Brihaspati)vărada-ṇdu. The samvatsara was the fifty-seventh year of the Chalukya-Vikrama-kāla, and the seventh year of the reign of Sömēśvara III. And the year is Saka-Samvat 1055 current.

And there is another equally clear instance in an inscription near the large tank at Himagund in the Bankapur Tulu, Dhárvád District. The preamble refers the record, in just the same way, to the reign of Vikramaditya VI. But the actual date (from an ink-impression) is—ārīmac-Chalukya-Bhūlokamalla-varahada Śaṇeya Saumyasaṃvatsara . . . . . . . . . . . . . spativrañcyum-uttarāyana-samkrampa-vyatlāpaṇa kūḍaṁ puṇya-tithiyai. The year is Saka-Samvat 1052 current, which was properly the fourth, not the third, year of Sömēśvara III.

If reliance may be placed on the transcripts, the following records also, though dated in years which fall within the reign of Sömēśvara III, similarly refer themselves to the reign of Vikramaditya VI.—An inscription at the temple of Bhogasvāra at Gobbar in the Raichur Tulu, Nizām’s Dominions, dated in the fifty-second year, the Plavangā samvatsara, in the month Jyāhsya falling in A.D. 1127 (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 628); an inscription at the temple of Hanumanta at Kanapur in the Kollāpur territory, dated in the fifty-fourth year, the Saumya samvatsara, in Vaiśākhā falling in A.D. 1129 (ibid. p. 627); an inscription at the temple of Kallēvāra at Narēgal in the Bopp Tulu, Dhárvād District, dated in the month Panha of the same samvatsara, coupled, not with the fifty-fourth year of the Chalukya-Vikrama-kāla, but with Saka-Samvat 1051 (expired) (ibid. p. 630); and an inscription at the temple of Sāmkrālinga at Kurtaŭṭi in the Gajag Tulu, Dhárvād District, dated in the Paridhāvin samvatsara, coupled, not with the fifty-seventh year of the Chalukya-Vikrama-kāla, but with Saka-Samvat 1054 (expired) (ibid. p. 638). As regards these records, however, I have to remark (1) that I cannot make out such a date in the ink-impression, which I have seen, of the Kurtaŭṭi inscription; and (2) that, whereas the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 626, represents an inscription at Lakshmeshwar as similarly referring itself to the reign of Vikramaditya VI, and as being dated in the fifty-second year, the Plavanga samvatsara, I find, from an ink-impression, that the original refers itself, as plainly as could possibly be, to the reign of Vīra-Sömēśvara IV., and that the Plavanga samvatsara is mentioned as the second year of his reign.

It may be useful, to give here the latest date, known to me, that is undoubtedly attributable to the actual reign of Vikramaditya VI. There are several records dated in his fiftieth year, the Viśvavasa samvatsara, which was Saka-Samvat 1048 current. And the latest of them is an inscription at the temple of Sarvēśvāra at Narēgal in the Hangan Tulu, Dhárvād District (Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 613). The name of the reigning king, in the preamble, is illegible; but there is no doubt that the biruda Tribhuvanamalladēva stood there, in the usual manner. And the date (from an ink-impression) runs—ārīmac-Chalukya-Vikrama-varsha[da]Śoṛnay Viśvavasa-samvatsarasara Māgha-sudhā-(read śuddha)-asaptami-Sōmavār-anīdu samastapuṇya-tithi-galo . . . . . . . . . . . . . The date does not work out satisfactorily. Thus:—The year is Saka-Samvat 1048 current. And the given tithi ended at about 2 ghaṭas, 5 pulas, = 50 minutes, after mean sunrise, on Sunday, 3rd January, A.D. 1126; and so it cannot be connected with the Monday at all. This is the more remarkable, because, though the aśkaraas are now illegible, the tithi was evidently described as an emphatically auspicious one; in consequence of which, one would imagine, special care would be taken to compute all the details accurately. Still, there is nothing else in the record, to lead to its being looked upon as not genuine.

J. F. Fleet.

28th June, 1893.
ASOKA'S SAHASRAM, RUPNATH AND BAIRAT EDICTS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined new edition of the Sahasram and Rúpnáth Edicts has been made according to most excellent materials, rubbings (A) and paper-casts (B) made over to me by Dr. J. F. Fleet. The casts show the letters reversed in high relief and indicate even the smallest flaws, abrasions and exfoliations in the rocks. It is in fact chiefly owing to them that a really trustworthy edition has become possible. Though, thanks to Sir A. Cunninhgam's kindness, a direct photograph of the Sahasram rock and a very fine rubbing of the Rúpnáth inscription were available for the first edition, 1 they could not render the same services. For, the nature of such reproductions makes it impossible to answer a good many questions, which the decipherer must put to himself. They give merely surface-views, and necessarily leave one in doubt regarding the depth of the strokes and the minor details of the state of the stones. Nevertheless, one portion of the old materials, the photograph of the Sahasram rock, still retains a considerable value. For, since it was taken, the rock has suffered a good deal. Pieces have peeled off at the edges of the old exfoliations, and a new one has formed. Thus, to the left of the old exfoliation the letters cānā ṛ have disappeared in line 1, and on its right side the signs -iyāni svachchhā. Similarly line 2 has lost, after sādhika, a stop and the syllable an, and to the right of the exfoliation the letters t-ēnā cha aṅīta. The new exfoliation has destroyed some letters in the middle of lines 6-8. 2

The most important changes in the text of the Sahasram Edict, which the new edition exhibits, are l. 2, svachchhālē for savičchhālē, sah[ā] for the conjectural huna te and l. 8, 'e, i.e., ti, for yi. With respect to the first word it must be noted that the paper cast proves distinctly (1) that there is no Anusvāra after the second sign, (2) that the shape of this second sign slightly differs from that used for vi. The corresponding passage of the Rúpnáth Edict has according to B quite distinctly chhavachhare, which represents exactly the Sanskrit śaḍavasaram, "a period of six years." There is not the slightest doubt that the sign may be equivalent to  and  and that it is possible to read savičchhālē. The form saḍ for Sanskrit śaḍ occurs in the dates of the Pillar Edicts I.—VI., where we have saḍ-uvikaṭi "twenty-six," and it must be noted that the dialect of the Pillar Edicts and of the Sahasram inscription is the same. The forms uḍata (Kálsi, Dhauli, Jaugada X.), dve (Girnār I.), dve (Girnār II.), and dve[ḍasa] (Girnār III., IV.) prove that groups with va are admissible in the ancient Pāli of the inscriptions just as in that of the Buddhist scriptures. 3 Hence the word savičchhālē is also grammatically unobjectionable.

These reasons appear to me sufficiently strong to warrant the assertion that the reading savičchhālē can only be upheld in defiance of the fundamental principles of philology. He who still adopts it, has first to select an interpretation of the second sign which yields a word without any meaning, and next has to emend it as well as the perfectly intelligible form of the Rúpnáth version. 4 I, of course, have to plead guilty to having committed both these mistakes. My excuse must be that in 1876 I was still under the erroneous impression that the Ašoka

1. Anote, Vol. VI. pp. 149f. The facsimile of the Rúpnáth version is an exact reproduction of the rubbing, which has not been touched up or corrected in any way.
2. For further details see the notes to the transcripts.
3. See E. Müller, Simplified Grammar of Pāli, p. 54.
4. It is quite possible that the lovers of emendations will point to the readings savičchhālē or savičchhālē in the Mysore versions, as to prove for the necessity of correcting those of Sahasram and Rúpnáth. I have shown in my paper on the new inscriptions, to be published in Dr. Hultsch's continuation of the Epigraphia Indica, that an and saru may likewise be equivalents of Sanskrit śaḍ.
inscriptions required corrections in every line, and were full of the most absurd mistakes. Thanks to Drs. Burgess and Fleet, it is now evident that they have been well incised and that most of them show only few and trifling mistakes. Moreover, the necessity for, nay the inclination to make, extensive or even more frequent alterations disappears, in the same degree as the character of the language and the contents of the edicts come to be better understood. The retention of the forms sadvachhalō and chasvachhārō with the sense of “a period of six years” has, of course, a most important bearing. With this explanation it appears that the Beloved of the gods had been an adherent of the Saṅgha not about four, but about nine years, and that when the inscriptions were incised his reign must have been longer than those of most of the later Maurya princes.

With respect to the substitution of the reading saniś [a] for Dr. Bhagvanlāl’s conjectural emendation lusnī te, I have to add that M. Senart has vindicated its correctness long ago, and has been the first to recognize that the reading of the Mysore versions samāné, the present participle of the Atmanepada of the verb as, fully agrees. I must also acknowledge that the division of the words līkānāyāh (l, 7) and līkānāyātka have been taken over from his edition.

Turning to the Rūpnāth version the most important new readings are sadīlēkānī for sādīrakānī, adhātīyānī for adhātīsānī, and saṅgha up. for saṅgha-papītī, all in line 1. M. Senart had long ago given sadīlēkānī. Dr. Fleet’s paper-cast shows that the indistinctness of the sign is due to an attempt at correcting the Māgadhī sadīlēkā to sādīrakā, which the ancient dialect of the Central Provinces, no doubt, required. My old reading adhātīsānī, on which I based one half of the historical deductions given in the introduction to my first edition, has been objected to by Professor Oldenberg and afterwards by M. Senart, who have proposed adhātīyānī or adhātīsānī equivalent to Pāli adhātīya or adhātīsānī “two and a half.” The paper-cast certainly makes the second form very probable, and the distinct reading of Mr. Rice’s Brahmagiri version adhātīyānī fully confirms it. With respect to the third change, I must confess that, looking now at my old facsimile, I cannot understand how I ever came to read papītī. The first letter is their clearly an s, not a pa. But, I fear, the recognition of the three has only come to me, after seeing the Mysore versions, where Mr. Rice has at once given correctly upayānī. The paper-cast of Rūpnāth shows up. quite plainly, but it proves also that the vowel attached to the second consonant has been destroyed. There are flaws both to the right and to the left of the top of the pa, one of which in the rubbing has assumed the appearance of an i. But, the real reading of the stone was probably upētī. The new division of the words līkānāyāhavāyā-ta has been taken over from M. Senart’s edition. The text of the fragments of the Bairat Edict has been prepared according to two impressions on thick country paper, likewise sent to me by Dr. Fleet. They shew the shallow letters reversed, and give a faithful picture of the state of the rock, which apparently has a very uneven surface and has been greatly injured by the peeling of the uppermost layer. The letters are very large, between an inch and a half and two inches high, but few among them stand out quite clear.

I am unable to give at present a new translation and discussion of the contents of the New Edicts, since that would necessitate a reproduction of the exact text of the Mysore versions according to Dr. Hultzsch’s new impressions, which I have agreed to reprint only after my article on the Southern edicts has been published in the continuation of the Epigraphia Indica. But, there are two points on which I must say a few words. First, I must point out that the position of those scholars, who deny the identity of the Dēvānārh Piyē of the New Edicts with Dēvānār Piyē Piyaḍaśi, has become exceedingly difficult and precarious since the discovery of the Mysore versions. For, there a brief résumé of Aśoka’s well-known Dhamma is tackled on to a free reproduction of the contents of the Sahasrāṃ and Rūpnāth texts, and the writer gives a

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*[Note: See also, Notes d’Epigraphia Indica, No. 4, p. 11 (Jour. Asiaticque, 1892, p. 482).]*
portion of his signature in the Northern characters, used in Gandhāra and in the Panjāb. We now know that their author, Devānām Piṭḍa, was a king who ruled, from the extreme Northwest of India as far as Magadha in the East and Mahishamaṇḍala in the South, and who not only used in his inscriptions many of the phrases and terms peculiar to Piṭḍa, but also tried to spread those particular principles of morality, which the third Maurya king recommended to his subjects as the Dharmā ensuring endless merit and bliss in heaven.

Secondly, as the heading of Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published with this paper, mentions "the year 256," I think it only right to say a word regarding the question, how the passages with the numerals are to be interpreted, and to state more distinctly, than I have done on other occasions, that neither the objections raised against my translations nor the new explanations substituted for them by Professor Oldenberg and M. Senart, tempt me to give them up. Further researches have, however, taught me that the sentence of Sahāsaram, iyān cha satā[sa]-
vāṇī Vīvuthāna; duve saṁvinādātā vīvuthā ti, may be appropriately rendered into Sanskrit (as Professor Pischel first demanded) by iyān cha śāraṇā [kriṭā] dvē taptā pānchāśada/dhikāśada [varṣadṛṣa] vahṣṭā [iti]. For vahṣṭā, an irregular form of the participle passive of vīvutha, certainly occurs with the sense of "passed away, elapsed." Thus we read in the Gobhihā Gṛihyasūtra II, 8, 8, janānād daivarāt rayvīṣṭā satarāt sāhāṃtārāvādā nāmaśānyam iti "When a period of ten (days and) nights, a period of one hundred (days and) nights, and a year has elapsed, the name-giving (takes place)." Further, I will state that when I render ati by aḍhika, I simply mean to declare the meaning of the two words to be equivalent. Ati appears not rarely for aḍhī in the older language. Thus we have rājāṭrījā for rājāṭrījā, atiṣṭādā ṣaṅkvi "a Sakvari verse with a foot in excess," Mahābhāṣya, Vol. IV., p. 139 (Kielhorn)10 and so forth. Finally, the omission of vānhāpām, which has caused such difficulties to my two critics, appears to me quite in keeping with the character of the ancient Indian prose, where with numerals nouns like "cows, men, pieces of gold" and so forth are frequently omitted, provided that some other word, which occurs in the sentence and is incompatible with the sakya artha, makes it necessary to supply the omitted word by lakṣhaṇā. This incompatible word is in our case vīvutha 'elapsed,' which requires a noun denoting a period of time to be understood.

The new explanations of Professor Oldenberg and M. Senart are made unacceptable by various hazardous assumptions. Both scholars separate satā, which they take to be the representative of satvādh, from the numerals and assume that, among the remaining syllables sapaṁvinādāti, sa stands for sa[tā] (100) and paṁnā for paṁnā[sa] (50). They further emend lā to chhā (6) and explain the final ti by iti. The result is, duve sa[tā] paṁnā[sa] lā[chhā] ti satā vīvutha ti or in Sanskrit, duve satā pānchāśat shaḍ iti satā vahṣṭā iti, which

8 The passage has been correctly rendered by Professor Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXX. p. 57.
9 Professor Knaur's translation, "Ist von der Geburt der sechsten Tag oder der hundertsten oder auch ein Jahr angebrochen," involves two mistakes against the grammar, as daivārātri does not mean "the tenth day" nor satarātri "the hundredth." Moreover the words "Int. ein Jahr angebrochen," i.e. "has a year begun" do not express what the author means to say. The commentators, of course, correctly explain vahṣṭā by atkārṇant.
10 This is the form which occurs invariably on the coins and inscriptions of the Indo-Skythian period, see e.g. Bpigraphia Indica, Vol. I. pp. 386 and 391, No. VIII. and No. XIX.
11 With respect to M. Senart's other objections I may add that he is quite right in saying that "two by-fifty-six-exceeded-hundreds" for "two hundreds exceeded by fifty six" is not a good or correct expression. But the Hindus are very loose in the use of their compounds, and similar bad idioms, where an independent word has to be connected not with a whole compound but only with one of its parts, are not rare. In the second edition of his Sanskrit grammar, para. 1816, Professor Whitney has collected a few examples among which Manu's (VI. 54) dāṃguḍrāṇa cha munāmnayam is the most striking. I have given a few others in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XL. pp. 532 and 544. Among them anāṁkṣaṇiḥ vāṣṭā is from the Pali, where, by the bye, they are even more common than in Sanskrit. In the dates of the inscriptions a good many turns occur, which are much worse than Aśoka's little slip. Thus we have, śrīkramakṛṣṇadhitamastauviśekhupānchāśatiśakṣatātātāt, for Viśkramasenaṃvat 1199, and in the Asa hole inscription, ante, Vol. V. p. 70, in order to express the figure 3736,

12 trisatam trīsahavartkuh khrisāṇāh dānādātā itaḥ i
samtapādokayuktekuh gatipho abhītu paṇchāravāt 1199,
It lasted some time, until the verse was correctly interpreted.
means according to Professor Oldenberg "256 beings have passed (into Nirvāṇa)," and according to M. Senart "256 men have been sent forth on missions."

My special objections against this very unceremonious treatment of the text are, (1) that cardinal numerals are never shortened, in the manner assumed, neither in ancient nor in modern Indian inscriptions, while in those of the seventh and later centuries the first syllable of an ordinal is put occasionally for the whole, see e.g. ante, Vol.-XIII, p. 84, l. 40, and Vol. XV. p. 340, l. 57, where ḍvī occurs for ḍeitīya, (2) that, to judge from the analogies, furnished by the forms saṛ-u-viśinti and ā-sanu-māṃkē in the Pillar Edicts, the form cha is not admissible in the dialect of the Śahasrām inscription, and (3) that the phrase duṣć ca[t]ā pariṇā[sa] [cch]ā d. ti would not be idiomatic, cchā cha being required instead of cchā ti. The meaning, which Professor Oldenberg elicits by his remarkable interpolations and emendations, is more curious than interesting. M. Senart’s translation is on the contrary very interesting, and would make the passage historically valuable, if it could be upheld. This is, however, not possible, because it rests on the same doubtful assumptions as Professor Oldenberg’s, and because the proofs for various minor auxiliary statements, such as, that vīveśa means ‘to depart on missions,’ and visvāk ‘missionary,’ and that the Rūpāṇṭa text has the reading vīvāśatvīyē, have been omitted. Under these circumstances I can only adhere to my former interpretation, which makes it unnecessary to do violence to the authentic text. And it is a matter of course that I still hold the passage to refer to the time elapsed since Buddha’s death and the 257th year after Buddha to coincide with the last of Āsoka’s reign. As according to the beginning of these edicts Āsoka’s connection with the Buddhists had lasted upwards of eight years, his conversion falls about the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

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11 Professor Oldenberg adduces bāti as an abbreviation for bātīmānas from the Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As; Soc. Vol. V. p. 158. Dr. Stevenson’s reading bāti 22 is erroneous. The inscription has bāti 2, see Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. No. 10, p. 36, and Reports, Vol. IV. p. 113. The abbreviation di for diṣṭe and similar ones, to which Professor Oldenberg also refers, do not prove anything regarding the treatment of the cardinal numerals.
### The Sahasram Edict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jyām</th>
<th>Vivu-</th>
<th>Lēkhpēta — vālata hadha&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thēma</td>
<td>duvē</td>
<td>sāpanāmāla-cha [..]Athi [4]silāṭhubbhā-sa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-[6]</td>
<td>satā&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt; vīvuthā-ti sū lāthambhaisi — lēkhpētavaya&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na phu</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>[..] lma, cha ta-&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt; Ertā — cha — yava-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṭham</td>
<td>pavadēsu [1] .. jācenā-yāvātakatu paka-ahāle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yāttā</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>[yā] a-[7] savara vīvasā — tavā[yu]ti&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt; [..]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thī hētā</td>
<td>silāṭhambhā</td>
<td>Vyūthēnā-sāvane-kacā&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt; (sū na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. B shows that the last syllable is kē, not kō, as A and the facsimile might suggest. The direct photograph used for the first edition has clearly -iyāni samevachhalūni, before anī upāsukē and kēvau a at the beginning of the line.

2. The upper half of the vertical stroke of na is injured, and the reading may have been no.

3. Neither A nor B shows any trace of an Anusvāra after the second syllable. But B shows a deep abrasion to the right of the ra, extending about a third of an inch from the circular portion and the vertical stroke as far as the horizontal line at the top of ra. It is deepest close to the abhāra, but the outlines of the latter are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. From the right end of the horizontal line at the top of the ra issue a vertical one, which is longer than that of the vowel i. For this reason and because the Rūpāṇā edict has clearly chuv-achhare, it is necessary to read satvachhare instead of savichhare, which latter form besides makes no sense. The mistake was originally mine, but has been adopted by all my successors in the explanation of the edict. The photograph has sādhihē i anī and after the break t ētīnā cha mūrtācēa.

4. The ʿstroke is not certain, and the reading may have been also saūtana or sauṭa, which both are equally admissible. The new materials make Dr. Bhagvānlal’s conjecture kushtē, which I adopted in my first edition, absolutely impossible. Before sa has stands only the stroke marking the division of the words. The photograph has in line 3 munīsā mūstā deva kṣēṭa pala, after the first break [k]: i iyā phake, and after the second yau mahatātē, etc.

5. The space between the vertical stroke of ki and the right hand stroke of g is about an inch and a quarter, and just double the size of that between the vertical stroke of ki and the left side of ye. It is, therefore, most probable that a letter, either sa or cha, has been lost, the restoration sakīyē or chakīyē being required by the sense and the parallel passage of the Rūpāṇā edict. The photograph has dū before the break.

6. Read sāvakē. As the apparent ʿstroke of the second syllable is rather short and running off into a point, it is possible that it is due to a flaw in the rock.

7. There is no Anusvāra after cha, but there is a rather deep abrasion, which extends all along the upper half of the vertical stroke.

8. The photograph has plainly chiṭhithūkē. The last two vowels are now injured.

9. The photograph has plainly atē, the second syllable of which is at present almost entirely gone.

10. The photograph has distinctly iyān cha savanē. Possibly saunādāhātisatū to be read.

11. The photograph has distinctly līkhapayāthā and līkhapayatha. The word pi stands above the line. Of the last syllable of the edict nothing has been preserved, but the upper part of a vertical stroke to which the vowel i, is attached. The yō, which Sir A. Cunningham and I have given formerly, does not exist. B shows clearly that peculiar shape of the edge of a large exfoliation, by which the real consonant has been destroyed, has produced the mistake. The last consonant no doubt was ta and the reading ti, as M. Senart has suggested. The correct division of the words līkhapayāthā and līkhapayatha has been first given by M. Senart.
12. According to the new materials it would seem that first sūrīkānī was incised and then partly erased, a va being at the same time placed before it. No doubt the clerk copied sūrīkānī, the Māgadhī form, and then wanted to put in sūrīkānī, as the vernacular of the Central Provinces required. In the transcript of this edict the horizontal lines between the words indicate that they stand close together in the original.

13. According to the new materials the reading adhatiṣṭhāni, which is possible also according to my facsimile, is more probable than adhatiṣṭhāni. The dh of my first edition is simply a misreading.

14. M. Senart's rasa is a misreading, the new materials giving va-yae-sunui as plainly as the facsimile attached to the first edition.

15. Read bākā; the stroke, intended for the curve of the first consonant, has been attached by mistake to the top.

16. Both according to A, and B, especially according to B, the first letter is an imperfectly formed sa, exactly as it looks in my facsimile. B seems to shew before ke the somewhat indistinct outlines of a vo, while A has a blurred sign exactly like that on my facsimile. Though there is no trace of a letter in the blank space, the possibility that the reading may have been upāsaka, is not absolutely precluded.

17. M. Senart's bākā is neither supported by my old facsimile nor by the new materials, which all show short vowels. The Anuvāṇa stands low at the foot of the ka.

18. B shows ghā plainlv, sa more faintly, while A agrees exactly with my old facsimile. The reading may have been sa[y]hā, sa[ŋ]hā, or sa[ŋ]hā.

19. The first letter is undoubtedly u according to the old and the new materials, and the third te. The vowel, attached to the second, is not distinguishable in A and B, and the reading may have been either upāṭe or upāṭe.

20. B shows that the real reading is bāḍhi not bāḍhī, as M. Senart has, the dot after dh being much too small for an Anuvāṇa. Chu for cha (my misreading) is distinct on all the materials, especially on B.

21. The horizontal vowel-stroke, attached to ya, has according to B on the right a portion of an upward line, and the correct reading seems, therefore, to be yi (not yā); compare bāḍhi for bāḍhī and pavoṭṭu for pawoṭṭu.

22. Both A and B shew somewhat faintly mi and to the right of the upper portion of the vertical stroke of sa a deep abrasion. It must remain uncertain, whether the reading was misū or misū.

23. The initial ē of ēdā consists of an acute angle and is open at the base, the third line having been left out, I suppose, accidentally.

24. The new materials, especially B, shew hi ka pi paramaṃśuṇa, which, as I have proposed formerly, must probably be altered to hi kiṇā pi pokamaṃśuṇa. Ka might, however, stand, if it were possible to assume that the Pāli had preserved the ancient neuter kād. B makes it probable that va was originally ka and that a very short portion of the crossbar has been lost accidentally by an abrasion on the left. B shows distinctly that the last syllable is not na but sa, the apparent a-stroke being due to a flaw in the stone.

25. The first letter of vipulē is slightly injured, but the reading given is even according to B more probable than vypulē. The form need not cause suspicion, as the sporadic change of va to pa is not uncommon in the literary Pāli and in that of the inscriptions.

26. Read ārāḍhaṇē. The ro is certain, but the apparent stroke before dha, which M. Senart believes to be an ē is not connected with the consonant and clearly due to a flaw in the stone.
27. Itiya must not be changed to etiya, as M. Senart proposes; it is the dative of the feminine stem eti, which appears in etisā, etisama, and so forth. The use of the feminine for the masculine is common enough in these inscriptions; compare e. g. above l. 2, imāya balāya.

28. B proves most distinctly that atā not akā is the reading. The form atā for māna occurs also in the Kālī Rock-Ed. XIII. 2, 6, atēsu, and is protected by numerous analogies like māghala for maṃghala, kiti for kiṃti, and so forth.

29. The vowel of this word is not distinguishable. It probably was pakare, and may be a mistake for pakamā, as M. Senart thinks, or equivalent to pakāre, "manner" (of acting).

30. Read vaḍhisati.

31. The n-stroke of the last syllable of paratessu is very short, but unmistakable, especially in B. The correction paratessu, which M. Senart proposes, seems to me unnecessary, as in Pali ī frequently appears for Sanskrit ē.

32. Hodha is either a mistake or a vicarious form for kiḍha. The words lekkhāpetava-vālata are as plain as possible on the new materials, and B shows that the rock has not been worn away. On the supposition that vālata stands for ālata, i.e. paratra, with the in Pali not unusual softening of the pe, the clause may be translated: "This matter has been incised by my order in the far distance (in the districts) and here (in Magadha"). The last words remind one of the phrase in Rock Edict V, hīna bākile pātā palli, (K. 1. 16). With this interpretation the sense is unobjectionable, but it may be urged that the parallelism of the next phrase and the corresponding passage of the Sahasrām edict make it probable, that there should be a future participle passive instead of the past participle passive. If that seems indispensable, it will suffice to insert one single syllable and to write lekkhāpetava-vālata. Lekkhāpetava, i.e. lekha petavas is as good as lekha petavasya. M. Senart's extant changes seem to me neither necessary nor even advisable as they destroy the sense of the passage.

33. In B the dental tha and the final ī of aukhi are perfectly recognisable. In A these signs look exactly like those of the old facsimile. Cha has been inserted as a correction. Silāṭkabhā is not very plain on the old facsimile, but unmistakable both in A and B. The change of a to u has been caused by the influence of the labial; compare E. Müller, Simplified Pali Grammar, p. 6.

34. Read lekkhāpetavasa. With the termination vasa for vasa compare such words as apratāday, apratādaya, and so forth. The final ta stands for ti, i.e. iti. It is, however, not absolutely necessary to correct ta to ti, as M. Senart does. For, the Mahārāṣṭrī vā, which appears for iti in the beginning of a verse or of a sentence, points to the former existence of a vicarious form ita, which might be shortened to ta.

35. The vowel of the penultimate syllable, which is much injured, is doubtful; that of the antepenultimate is clearly ā, not ī, as M. Senart's transcript makes it.

36. Vyanata, not Vyanāta, is the reading; but the n-stroke is very short, and the semicircular stroke of the ya very thick.

37. The final ī of vashnī is at least probable, and it is certain that there is no Anuvāna after the na. Possibly yāna kakaśi to be read.

38. The Anuvāna of samśhā is not certain. Both the impressions have clearly upayātī not upayāte.

39. The second syllable of amś or stands above the line. The following syllable may have been naḥ, but the stone is just here very rough. Devāhi, now known as the reading of the Mysore versions, is tolerably distinct with the exception of the last consonant, which is rather faint.
40. Chakiyé not chakayé is the real reading. The first sign of kamaminéná is half gone. There is no ya after it.

41. Chakayé looks almost like takayé, because the cha has been made triangular and the lower line is fainter than the two others.

42. The Anuvára of aútá is not certain, the other two signs are faint, but recognisable.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 17.—A Cinderella Variant.¹

Once upon a time there lived a king with his queen and two children, the elder a daughter of about ten or twelve years of age, and the younger a boy about seven years old. At this time the princess and the prince had the misfortune to lose their mother. The princess supplied her place, in the way of taking care of her brother, and other domestic affairs; and everything went on smoothly, so much so that the king forgot his affliction, and made up his mind not to marry again, for fear his second wife should ill-treat his daughter and son.

Now it happened that there lived close to the palace a widow, who also had a daughter of about the same age as the princess, and so like her that little or no difference could be seen between the two. The princess, after she had finished her domestic duties, was in the habit of visiting this widow and spending some time there. The widow, too, took a great liking to the princess, and every time she was visited by the girl, she would dress her hair, deck her with wreaths of flowers and show her much kindness. While treating the princess in this manner, she would often say:

"My dear princess, are you not tired of your life, cooking and doing all the household work? You must ask your father to marry again, when you will have less work to do, and be more happy."

But the princess would say: "I like to do the household work, and my father loves me the more for it. As for his marriage, I cannot tell why he does not marry."

Things went on like this for several months, and the widow said the same thing every day to the princess. So one day the princess said to her father:

"Father, why don't you marry another wife?"

The king, however, said: "My dear child, I do not want to marry for the sake of you and your brother. There is every probability that your step-mother may ill-treat you, and injure you."

The following day, when the princess visited the widow, she told her what the king said, but the widow said to her:

"Oh, what an idea for your father to have. Do not believe a word of it. Ask him again to marry, and if he says that he is afraid of your being ill-treated, say it will not be so."

So in the evening, at supper, the princess, again, said to her father: "Why don't you marry again?"

And the king repeated the same reason. Upon this the princess said: "No, no, father, it will not be so. On the contrary, it will be a relief to me in my domestic duties."

But the king seemed to pay no heed to the princess's words, and so the widow resorted to other tricks.

One day, as the princess was cooking something, she happened to leave the kitchen for a little while, and the widow came and put in the pot a handful of sand. Another day, she came

¹ [It must be remembered that this is an Indian Christian tale.—Ed.]
in the same way and put in a great quantity of salt. On a third day she put in a lot of earth. And so on for many days. The king used to be surprised to find his food cooked in such a way, and thought that, because he would not marry a second time, the princess was doing it on purpose to vex him and to force him to marry. However, he thought it best to make himself sure as to who was really doing the mischief. So one day he left the house in the presence of the princess, and, returning quietly by another door, hid himself in such a position as to watch everything that was being done in the kitchen. The princess put a pot of rice on the oven to boil, and went to a well close by to fetch water. In the meantime the widow, who had seen the princess going to the well, came in and threw in the pot a lot of sand, and went away. The king, who had seen everything, now came out of his hiding place, and, after the princess came back with the water, he returned to the house, as if he had come from a distance.

In another half hour the dinner was ready, and the princess laid it on the table, and they sat down to partake of it. While they were eating, the king said: —

“My dear daughter, now tell me, who is it that tells you to say to me that I must marry? Is it your own idea, or has anyone else suggested it to you?”

The princess replied: — “Father, it is our neighbour, the widow, who tells me to speak to you in that way. And I think it is only reasonable that you should marry.”

“But,” said the king, “as I told you before, your step-mother may treat you very badly.”

And the princess said: — “No, father, it will not be so.”

The king then said to her: — “Very well, I will marry again; but should you complain of any ill-treatment at the hands of your step-mother, I will pay no heed to it. In fact, I will not even look at you.”

Thus said the king, and it was settled that the king should marry again. And it happened that his choice fell on the widow, who was so kind to the princess.

Preparations were now made for the grand occasion, and on the appointed day the king was married to the widow with all possible éclat, and henceforth she must be called the queen. The queen continued to treat the princess with the same kindness as before for a few days, and then, as is usual with step-mothers, began to ill-treat her. She made her own daughter wear all the nice clothes of the princess, and do nothing all day but sit idle and eat sweets and such like things; while the princess had to go in rags and bear the drudgery of the cook-house and other domestic work. The prince, too, was, under plea of being a mischievous child, sent to some school, where he was kept like an orphan.

Day after day the queen took a greater disliketo the princess and ill-treated her further. Her hatred went so far that she could not even bear the sight of her, and she, therefore, began to devise means to keep her out of sight, if not altogether, at least during the day. So she one day told the king to buy her a cow. The king, at first, refused to do so, saying they had no business with a cow, but the queen insisted on having a cow, and, at last, the king was persuaded upon to buy one. As soon as the cow was bought and brought home, the princess was ordered by her step-mother, the queen, to take her out to graze every morning, and not to return home till dusk. For her own food during the whole day she was given bread made of bájri.2 The poor princess had no alternative but to obey. In fact she was only too glad, for it would keep her away the whole day, and save her the abuse she was wont to receive from her step-mother.

Every day, as soon as she got up in the morning, the princess could be seen with a bundle of bájri cakes in one hand and with the other leading the cow to the grazing ground some miles distant from the palace. Now it happened that the princess daily fed the cow with the bájri

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* Bread made of bájri is eaten only by the very poor classes.
cakes that were her own food, and the cow, after eating them, deposited bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs, with which the princess fed herself, and thus grew strong and stout. This change in the condition of the princess (for, it must be remarked, she was reduced to almost a skeleton while at home) excited the curiosity of the queen, who wondered what could be the cause of it.

One morning she sent the princess with the cow, without the bājīj cakes, telling her that they were not ready, and that her sister (for so the princess addressed her step-mother’s daughter) would bring them to her, when prepared. The object of the queen was, of course, to send her daughter to watch the princess, as to what she did and ate that made her so stout. Accordingly, an hour or so after the princess had gone, her step-sister followed her with the bājī cakes, which she gave to the princess, and, pretending to return home, hid herself close by, so that she could see everything that the princess did. The princess little suspected that her step-sister had concealed herself, and that she was watching her actions. So, as usual, she untied the bundle of bājī cakes and fed the cow. No sooner had the cow finished the last morsel than she deposited bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs, and with these the princess appeased her hunger and thirst. The queen’s daughter, who had seen everything from her hiding place, now went home. Her mother asked her if she and seen what the princess did to make her so stout and strong. The girl said:

“O mother, it is not surprising that the princess is getting so stout and strong. As directed by you, I gave her the bājī cakes, and, pretending to go home, I concealed myself so as to see everything. The princess thought I had gone home, and she untied the bundle of bājī cakes and gave them to the cow; and on eating the cakes the cow deposited bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs. O what sweet a savour they sent forth! In truth, I was half inclined to come out from the place of my concealment and to ask for a share. The princess ate the bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs; and that, I am sure, is the reason why she gets so stout and strong.”

“If that be the case,” thought the queen to herself, “surely, it is better that I send my own daughter to graze the cow.”

Thus it was decided that from the following day the princess should stay at home and that her step-sister should take the cow to graze. So, on the next day, as the princess was about to take the cow to the grazing ground, her step-sister came up to her and said:

“Sister, let me take the cow to graze. You must have been disgusted and tired, going with the cow daily. I wish to relieve you for a few days.”

The princess little thought of the true reason of her step-sister’s anxiety to take the cow to graze, and so allowed her to go with the cow; while she herself stayed at home, not in the least relieved of any troubles, as her step-sister had said, for she was shewn into the kitchen, where she had to work all day.

The queen’s daughter, taking the bundle of bājī cakes, led the cow to the grazing-ground. When she reached it, she untied the bundle and fed the cow with the bājī cakes, every moment expecting to see the cow deposit bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs, but to her great annoyance and disgust the cow discharged dung! The girl, however, consoled herself with the thought that, being her first day, she must not expect bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs. But the same thing continued for many days, and the girl was reduced almost to a skeleton for want of food. So she told her mother how she had been disappointed, and that she was determined not to go again.

This affair was the cause of further hatred on the part of the queen towards the princess, and she made up her mind to somehow or other get rid of her. The queen, therefore, now and again, told the king that the princess was now grown up, and that he must dispose of her in marriage; but the king paid no heed to what the queen said.

3 Lārūs are sweetmeats made into balls, and the bhūklārūs and tānūlārūs of the text were supposed to appease her hunger and thirst: bhūk means hunger, and tān thirst.
About this time it happened that the king of a neighbouring country had an only son, whom the father desired to get married, but the prince said that he wished to select his own wife. For this purpose he told the king to get up a dance and to invite to it all the neighbouring princesses, as well as other big folk. The king, therefore, appointed an evening for the dance, and hundreds of princesses and the daughters of nobles were invited.

Milliners were at once called into requisition, and the girls vied with each other in choosing out dresses and slippers for the occasion. Our queen, too, got a very nice dress for her daughter, also a beautiful pair of slippers. The day appointed for the dance was fast approaching, and all the girls were anxiously waiting to go to it, and were impatient to know who would be selected by the prince for his wife. This was, however, a cause of great misery to our princess, for she thought to herself:

"All the girls will soon go to the dance, while I must sit at home. Oh that my mother were living! Would she not get me a new dress to enable me to go too? Even, though my mother was dead, my father would have done everything for me; but he takes no notice of me now, and it will be useless for me to speak to him, for has he not warned me that, should anything go wrong, I must not complain, and also that he will pay no heed to what I may say or do? Cursed be the hour when I insisted upon and persuaded my father to marry a second time!"

Thus she thought, and burst into sobs and cries, and from her eyes ran a stream of tears. While the princess was in this mood, her godmother, who had been dead for some years, appeared to her, and asked her what was the matter with her, and what she wanted. The princess told her of her misfortunes since her mother's death, how she was ill-treated by her step-mother, and every thing else that had occurred. She then told her that she wanted a dress and a pair of slippers to go to a dance, which a neighbouring king had got up to enable his son to select a wife.

"Oh! is that all?" said the princess' godmother. "Do not fret about it: make yourself easy. You will have every thing you want in time."

Thus she said and disappeared.

In due time the day of the dance came, and hundreds of girls, each dressed in her best, with bright and variegated coloured slippers, could be seen making their way to the palace of the king who had given the dance. The queen also sent her daughter handsomely dressed, thinking perhaps the prince might take a liking to her. At the appointed time dancing commenced, and the prince was seen dancing with several girls alternately. Our princess, who had seen all the girls going, and not yet having received the dress her godmother had promised, thought the vision was merely a dream, and again burst into tears, when, she immediately saw a very handsome dress and a pair of golden slippers. Having dressed herself hastily she entered the king's palace, and went into the dancing hall, when every body's attention was at once rivetted on her — dancing ceased for a short time, and all admired the very beautiful dress, and the more beautiful features of the new-comer. All were at a loss to know who the stranger was. Even her step-mother and sister did not recognise her. In a little while dancing commenced with renewed vigour, and the prince, who was quite enamoured of the princess, danced with no one save her. The merriment continued till the small hours of the morning, when all the guests left one by one. The princess, whom the prince tried to stop, made her escape and left before every body, and going home resumed her usual dress, which was not much better than rags.

Soon all the guests were gone and day dawned, and the king asked his son if he had made his choice. The prince said he had, but that unfortunately he could not tell her name, nor did he even know whence she came, and that he was, therefore, very unhappy. The prince now asked the king to give another dance, when, he said, he would take more care in making a
proper choice. The king, who was very fond of him, agreed to do so; and, a month or so after, again sent invitations to different countries, stating the object he had in view in getting up the dance.

The people, that had come for the first dance, now thought that the prince had not made his choice. They, therefore, ordered better dresses and slippers than on the first occasion, thinking that this time at least their daughters might succeed in winning the prince's love. On the appointed day hundreds of ladies with their daughters proceeded to the palace with beautiful dresses, flaunting the best silks and displaying their very best jewellery. A few days before this, the princess, again began to think of her inability to go to the dance, and burst into tears, when her godmother again appeared to her and comforted her, telling her that she would, as on the first occasion, get a dress and slippers in time for the dance. She then asked her what was the result of the first dance, and the princess told her godmother all that had occurred: how she went somewhat late; how dancing ceased for a while, and all the people began to admire her; how she remained unrecognised by any one, particularly by her step-mother and sister; how the prince danced with her alone; and how, when she was going home after the dance, the prince tried to stop her, but she escaped from his grasp and went home before every one, and thus kept her step-mother and others in ignorance about her being at the king's palace. Her godmother, upon this, said:

"My dear child, I am very glad to learn that the prince was enamoured of you, which I gather from his dancing with you alone; but, I think, you did not act rightly in making your escape from him. On this occasion you must behave differently. I am sure that, after dancing is over, the prince will try to keep you, but you must, in making your escape, leave behind one of your slippers, which will be the surest means of the prince's being able to find you. In the meanwhile, compose yourself and be cheerful." Thus spake the godmother and disappeared.

On the appointed day, when hundreds of guests had already gone to the palace, the princess was seated alone in her father's house, anxiously waiting for the dress and slippers, and began to doubt the sincerity of her godmother. While she was yet thus thinking, she saw before her a very handsome dress, — even more handsome than that she got on the first occasion, — and also a pair of golden slippers, studded with gems of the first water. Thus equipped the princess went in all possible haste to the king's palace, and as she entered the hall wherein the guests were assembled and were already dancing, all the people were struck dumb at the grandeur of the dress and the brilliancy of the slippers, and also at the noble demeanour and the handsome appearance of the new-comer. As on the first occasion dancing ceased for a while, while the people kept admiring the new guest. When dancing was resumed, the prince, who was bewitched by the beauty of the princess, would take no one except her to dance with him. They kept up the dancing till near dawn of day, when the guests began to leave, one after another. This time the prince tried to stop the princess, but she managed to free herself from his grasp, and in the struggle to escape she let one of her slippers come from her foot, and ran away with all speed, so as to be at home before the others. She reached her house and resumed her ragged clothes; and when her step-mother and sister returned home they little dreamt that the fair person they saw and admired so much was the one they had so ill-treated.

The guests all went to their respective houses, but the prince snatched the slipper, and went unobserved and threw himself down in his father's stables, thinking how to find out the owner of the slipper, whom alone he wished to marry. The king and his servants searched the whole palace and then the whole town for the prince, but he was nowhere to be found.

The night passed and in the morning the maid-servants (butkînî, sing. butkînî) took some grain to feed the horses; but instead of giving the grain to the horses they ate it themselves, throwing the husks to the horses. This the prince saw, and reproached them for
their deceit. As soon as the voice of the prince fell upon the ears of the maid-servants, they said:—

"Oh dear prince, what are you doing here? The king is searching for you all over the country, and, being unable to find you, he has become sick."

But the prince said:—"Away, you humbugs. This is how you do your work: you eat the grain yourselves and give only the husks to the horses. No wonder you are becoming fatter day by day, while the horses are becoming leaner and weaker. Go away now; but take care of yourselves if you say a word about me to any one, at any rate to my father."

The maid-servants went away, but paid very little heed to the prince's threats, and went and stood before the king, saying:

"Rájá Sáheb, Rájá Sáheb, ákál té barí góst hái; Sir King, Sir King, if you will listen, there is a good story (news)."

Upon this the king roared out:—"Ká hái? Támín khárta há ání rañtú há! Ká sáňgta té sáňgta bégíin. What is it? You are always eating and always crying! What you have to say, say quickly."

The maid-servants answered:—"Good news, Rájá Sáheb, our prince is in the stables."

The king, however, would not give them credit, and therefore said:—"Oh, get away! You are always telling me lies! Why don't you say something?"

But the maid-servants swore that they did not want anything, and that they were telling him the truth, for they saw the prince with their own eyes.

Thereupon the king went with the maid-servants to his stables, and he saw, as the maid-servants had told him, the prince lying on the floor. The king thus spoke to him:—

"Ká hóti té Já? Kanéchan dák khí ralál gm táñ bón bón taňbá tóinkuk n lá? Sáňg mála. Kónin bón tálikalém távar, tóinkuk há jhén; kónin páin tálikalém távar, tóinkuk páin jhén; kónin dólta tálikalém, tóinkuk dólta hárín. Ou sáňg, ká pújé tálá tén paída hárín. Ou sáňg, ká pújé tálá tén paída hárín. What ails you my son? What trouble has come upon you that you have concealed yourself in the stable? Has any one threatened injury to you? Tell me. If any one has lifted up his hands against you, I shall take (cut) his hands; if any one has used his legs to do you harm, say, and I will take (cut) his legs; if any one has looked on you with an evil eye, say, I will pull out his eyes. Or, say what you want, and I will see that you get it."

Upon this the prince said:—"Father, nothing ails me; nor has any one threatened me. My grief is this. Look at this slipper. If you can get the owner of this slipper to marry me, I will have everything and I shall be happy; otherwise I will put an end to my life by starving myself."

The king then said:—"Is this all that you are so grieved about? Your desire shall be fulfilled at any cost. In the meanwhile, come, leave the stables, and take your meals."

The prince got up and followed his father, resuming his usual mood. The king then sent servants with the slipper the prince had picked up, with instructions to go from house to house through all the town and even to neighbouring countries, and try it on the foot of every girl they saw and whatsoever girl's foot it fitted, that girl was to be asked in marriage for the prince.

Away went the servants from village to village and city to city, and inquired from house to house if there were any girls. Hundreds of girls were shewn them, and they tried the slipper on every one of the girls' feet, but it fitted no one. At last they came to the house of our princess, and on inquiry from the servants if there were any girls in the house the queen shewed them her daughter. The servants tried the slipper on her feet, but it did not fit her; so they asked if there was another girl, but the queen said there was no other girl besides her daughter. The servants now went and searched the houses over again, but with no success. For
a second time they came to the princess’ house and asked to be shewn any girls that there might be in the house. This time, too, the queen produced her daughter, but in vain. The servants again asked if there was no other girl in the house, and the queen again said there was none besides her daughter. The servants were about to go away when, as Providence would have it, they chanced to see the princess in the kitchen, and asked the queen to call her out. But the queen refused to do so, saying she was only a servant in the house, and, therefore, it would not be worth while trying the slipper on her feet. The servants, however, insisted on the girl in the kitchen, whoever she might be, being called out, and the queen was obliged to call her out, which she did with the greatest reluctance. The princess was soon in the presence of the servants, who asked her to wear the slipper which they gave her, and which fitted to her foot exactly; and what wonder, did it not belong to her? The servants next asked for an interview with the king, our princess’ father, with whom it was arranged that he should give his daughter in marriage to the prince, the son of their master, the king. The king gave his consent to the marriage, and thus it was decided that the princess should marry the neighbouring king’s son, and a day, a few months after, was appointed for the auspicious occasion.

During the interval from this date, which we may call the day of betrothal of the princess and the prince, and the day of their marriage, preparations were being made on the grandest scale imaginable. Rice was ground for making pôlé⁴ and òrê,² and all sorts of provisions were made ready for the great event. In due time the appointed day came, and the marriage of the princess with the prince was celebrated with great éclat and guests were feasted for several days by both parties. This was, of course, an event of great jubilation for the princess, and for two reasons: — firstly, because she had been fortunate in obtaining a prince for her husband, for it must be remembered that, had it not been for the dances that were given by the prince and the timely aid of her godmother, she would never have been married to a prince, as her father never paid the slightest attention to her; secondly, because she had, at length, escaped from the drudgery of the kitchen, and more so from ill-treatment at the hands of her step-mother. On the other hand, it was the greatest mortification to the queen, her step-mother, who was frustrated in her attempts to get her own daughter married to the prince. She could not, however, do anything now, and so she pretended to like what had happened, and shew every possible respect for the princess’ husband, and treated him and also the princess with apparent kindness.

After spending a few days at his father-in-law’s house, the prince taking his wife went and lived at his own house. When several months had passed after their marriage, the princess became enceinte, and in due time, when nine months had elapsed, she brought forth a beautiful child, a boy.

In the meanwhile the princess’ step-mother, who was still bent upon mischief, kept on devising plans to get rid of her, and to get her daughter in her place. With this view, she one day asked her husband, the king, to invite his daughter and son-in-law to spend a few days with them. The king accordingly sent an invitation, which invitation his son-in-law accepted, and came with his wife and child. The queen treated them with great kindness, and pretended love for the princess like her own daughter. When a few days passed the prince asked permission to go home, but the queen asked him to stay a few days longer. The prince, however, said that he could not stay any longer, as he had to attend his father’s darbâr. The queen then said that, if he could not stay, he might at least allow his wife to remain a few days, and asked him also to come again on a certain day, when he could go home with his wife. The prince saw no objection to keeping his wife at her father’s house, especially after so much entreaty from the queen, and, little suspecting the mischief she was up to, he allowed his wife to stay

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⁴ For description of pôlé, sing. pôlé, see the tale of “Bîpakhâli” ante, Vol. XX. p. 143, note 3.
another week or so, and, promising to come on a certain day to take her home, he went away. When the prince was gone the queen still showed the same kindness to the princess.

One day, the queen called her daughter aside and said to her:—"When you go to the well to-day to fetch water, the princess, as is her wont, is sure to come to help you. If she happens to draw water from the well, you peep in and say to her - 'oh, how beautiful your reflection is in the water!' Then ask her to let you wear all her jewels, which she will certainly not refuse you to do, and ask her how you appear with all the jewellery. When she again stoops to draw water, hold her by her legs and throw her into the water, and come home sharp."

The girl promised to do exactly as her mother said.

During the course of the day the girl took up a vessel and told her mother she was going to the well to fetch water. Upon this the princess also took up another vessel and followed her step-sister to the well. Now, while the girl was rinsing and washing the vessels the princess began to draw out water from the well, upon which the girl also peeped inside and said:—

"Oh, sister, how beautifully you reflect in the water! Suppose I put on your jewels, shall I also look as beautiful?"

The princess, who did not, in the least, suspect any foul play, stripped herself of all her jewellery and put it on her step-sister, who then went and looked in the well, saying:—"Oh, sister, I do, indeed, look very beautiful with all the jewellery, but, I must confess, your beauty beats mine hollow. Come, remove the jewels from my person and wear them yourself. Who knows, I may lose some, or some of them might drop into the well."

The princess, however, said there was no necessity to be in such a hurry to remove them, but told her to keep them till they went home. The girl was only too glad that the princess was careless about the jewels. The princess now again began to draw water, and as she stooped to draw a bucket from the well, the wretched girl caught her by her legs, and, throwing her in, ran away, carrying the vessels they had brought for water. The poor princess was soon at the bottom of the well and was dead.

A few days passed after this and the prince came to take his wife, the princess, home when the queen ushered in his presence, her own daughter, as his wife. Now, as we said before, this girl was about the same age as the princess, and in appearance, too, there was little or no difference, and even her voice did not betray her. The prince, at first sight, had some misgiving about her, but thought that some circumstance or other might account for the very slight difference he perceived in her. He passed the day at his father-in-law's, and, taking his supposed wife with his child, went home. Before leaving the queen put in the place of her daughter's breasts cocoanut shells, which made them look bigger, and thus deceived the prince thoroughly. When they had reached home the girl behaved to the child exactly as a mother would, that is, she would give, or pretended to give, suck to the child, bathe him, and so on. But the child always kept crying, particularly during the day, for want of milk.

Now it happened that during the night, when all used to go to sleep, the princess, though she was really dead, used to come to her husband's house, and by some charm, put every person to a sound sleep; and entering the bed-room, she used to give suck to the child, and this kept the child from crying much in the night. After giving milk to her child, the princess would sit on the hāṭā in the outer verandah, and sing:—

"Urphañi chōli, thanāi kārāṅi, hāi kāi gō māṅi bharṭārā sōgī?
Urphañi chōli, thanāi kārāṅi, hāi kāi gō māṅi bālā sōgī?
Urphañi chōli, thanāi kārāṅi, hāi kāi gō māṅi kursādā sōgī?
Urphañi chōli, thanāi kārāṅi, hāi kāi gō māṅi hāsā sōgī?

* The hāṭā is a cot suspended by four chains or ropes tied to the four corners, on which people sit and swing about with their feet. It is a favourite article of furniture in the houses of natives, and those of the Bombay East Indians in Salsette. It is generally suspended in the outer verandah.
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my husband?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my babe?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my father-in-law?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my mother-in-law?

After repeating this song several times the princess would disappear. This continued for many days, but no one in the king's palace was aware of it, except an old woman, who lived in a hut close by, and used to hear this song nightly, wondering what it meant, or who the person was that sang it. One day, the old woman saw the prince passing her hut, and stopping him she asked him who it was that sat on the hiádlá in the night and sang.

The prince was surprised to hear that someone sat on the hiádlá and sang when all were asleep. "Who can it be?" he thought to himself. "Everyone in the house goes to sleep as early as possible."

Thus thinking, he told the old woman he could not believe such a thing. The old woman, however, swore that she heard some one singing every night, "but to make yourself sure," said she to the prince, "don't go to sleep to-night, and keep yourself concealed near the hiádlá, and then you can find out for yourself whether what I tell you is the truth or a lie." The prince agreed to do so, and went away.

In the evening, after taking supper, all the people of the palace went to bed, but the prince kept awake and hid himself close by the hiádlá. About midnight he saw the figure of a young woman come and enter the palace, though the doors were all closed. The woman entered the bed-room, and after giving suck to the child, she came out and sat on the hiádlá and sang:

"Urphándí chöllí, thaniá káráástí, hás kaá go mánjé bharárdá zójí?
Urphándí chöllí, thaniá káráástí, hás kaá go mánjé bálá ažájí?
Urphándí chöllí, thaniá káráástí, hás kaá go mánjé sárúdá zójí?
Urphándí chöllí, thaniá káráástí, hás kaá go mánjé súáá zójí?

Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my husband?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my babe?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my father-in-law?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my mother-in-law?"

The prince now believed that what the old woman told him was true. He waited till the princess had repeated the song three or four times, upon which he left his hiding-place and seized the princess by her hand; and asked her who she was, and what her song meant. She then told him that she was his wife, who was drowned in a well by her step-sister, while she had been to her father's house. She next explained how it had all happened.

When the prince heard the whole story of the princess, his oft-recurring suspicions about some fraud being practised on him were now confirmed. He seized the princess by the hand and begged of her not to leave him, but to stay with him, which she did. He next got into a rage and went and cut the pretended wife into three pieces: two pieces of the trunk he hung up on two roads, and the head (the third piece) he buried with mouth open in a latrine, the meaning being that she should eat human excreta as a punishment.
Some time after this, her mother, who was not aware of all that had occurred, happened to pay a visit to her son-in-law’s, but was surprised to find her daughter absent, and she was the more confused to see the princess, who was known to be dead, alive, and in the palace. She, however, dared not question any one as to the true state of affairs. During her stay there, she had occasion to resort to the latrine, when she heard the words: “Ah! mother, will you also be so cruel as to evacuate into my mouth?” The mother was struck dumb as the words fell upon her ears, for she recognised the voice of her daughter, and looked about to see whence it came, and she caught sight of the head of her daughter. She asked her what it all meant, and the daughter told her everything: how the princess, though dead, used to come in the night and give suck to her child; how she used to sit on the khidli and sing the song which led to the discovery of their fraud; and how the prince, in his rage, killed her and cut her into three pieces, two of which he hung up on two roads, and the third, her head, he had buried in the latrine as a punishment. The poor mother, without another word, and not even staying to say good-bye to her son-in-law, made her way home, with shame and confusion in her face.

The prince and the princess, who, as we said before, had consented to stay with the prince, then lived very happily to a very old age. 7

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 19. — Sûrya and Chandrá.

Once there was a Râjâ, who was very fond of going about his kingdom in disguise, and acquired, by that means, knowledge of a good many things happening in every part of it.

One day standing under the shade of a tree near a well, he noticed a group of girls, all in the first flush of womanhood, chattering away and imparting to one another all their little hopes and fears, prospects and designs, as girls of the same age are wont to do, when they get together. The Râjâ felt interested, and stood quietly listening, as one of them said: “Now, sisters, I propose that, instead of wasting our time in idle talk, we tell one another what special qualification each can boast of! For my part I can do a good many things that other girls cannot. Likewise, but there is one thing in which I excel all others, and what do you think it is?”

“We really cannot say,” replied the others laughing; “pray, tell us what it is that you excel all other girls in?”

“Why I,” said the first speaker, who was, by the way, a betel-nut seller’s daughter, “I can divide one small betel-nut into so many fragments, that after each member of a large assemblage — say, the largest wedding party — had one, there would still be some to spare!”

“Ha, ha, what does that signify?” laughed one who was a pan-leaf seller’s daughter, “I can divide one pan-leaf — one small pan-leaf you know — “ into as many pieces, as you can your betel-nut, and I am sure my friends here will agree that that shows greater skill!”

And so the girls went on and on, till at last one, who looked not only prettier than the rest, but was also considerably superior by birth and breeding, outdid them all by the very magnitude and nature of her boast!

“I,” said she, when her friends called on her to speak and tell them what special qualification she had, “I am destined to give birth to the Sun and the Moon.”

Her companions were taken aback at this strange declaration, and while some giggled, others laughed at her as a dreamer. But the Râjâ, who had watched her with special interest,

7 [This story is very interesting as being the result of the telling of European tales to Indian children. Cinderella has become naturalised fairly among native Christians, but the European ghost appears in a very strange form.—Ed.]
was so struck with the force of her strange words, that he was seized with an eager desire to win her in marriage, and thus to share her destiny of bringing the Sun and the Moon in human shape upon earth!

So, when the girl separated from her companions, he followed her up to her house, unnoticed, and found that she belonged to a very respectable Brahman family!

This proved, however, no bar to his wishes, for he sent messengers to her father to ask him, or rather to bid him, give his daughter in marriage to him, and where was a subject that had the courage to refuse what royalty marked for his own! So, despite the difference in their castes, the Brahman lady was married to the Kshatriya Rajah amid great pomp and rejoicings on both sides.

Now this Rajah had three other wives, but his Brahman bride was placed above them all on account of the strange and interesting destiny she was reputed to be the means of fulfilling. Consequently, the others grew jealous of her, and now and then devised plans for bringing her into disfavour with the Rajah, but, for some time, without success.

Things went on like this for some time till it was whispered in the household that the Rajah was enciente, and soon the news got wind, and there were great rejoicings throughout the kingdom, for the Sun and the Moon were soon to be born upon earth! But the Rajah knew how much he had to fear from the jealousy of his other Rajahs, and had constantly to be on guard lest they should find means to harm his favoured wife or her expected progeny in some way.

Now, unfortunately, it happened that war broke out with a neighbouring power just when the time of the lady's delivery came near, and the Rajah had to go out himself at the head of his large army to fight the enemy. So he cautioned his Brahman wife against the wiles of her co-wives, and giving her a large drum, told her to beat it with all her might as soon as she was seized with the pangs of maternity, assuring her that the sound of that miraculous instrument would reach him wherever he was, and soon bring him back to her!

As soon, however, as the Rajah's back was turned, the three crafty and jealous women set to work, and by their wiles and flattery succeeded in inducing the simple Brahman girl to tell them all about the drum, and the wicked Rajahs lost no time in cutting it right through! When the time came for the poor lady to make use of it, she beat it with all her strength, but it would give out no sound! She was too simple, however, to suspect her co-wives of having tampered with it, for she thought all along that they were her well-wishers, as they kept constantly near her and made much of her! She was more over indiscreet enough to ask them to be near her when her expected twins were born,—the Sun represented by a divinely handsome boy, the Moon by a bewitchingly lovely girl! And now the crafty women had their opportunity. As soon as the little twins came into the world, they covered up the mother's eyes on some pretext or other, and taking away the dear little babes, deposited them side by side, in a little wooden box, and set it afloat in the sea! In the meantime the midwife, whom they had completely bought over to their interests, put in the twins' place, by the mother's side, a log of wood and a broom, and, then calling in the ladies and the officers of the court, told them to see what the lady had given birth to! The poor lady herself, however, refused to believe the beggar's story, and suspected foul play, but had not the courage to speak while the Rajah was absent.

The Rajah, on his part, had been counting the days as they passed by, and expecting every moment to hear the sound of the drum; but as several days passed and he heard it not, he could no longer control his impatience; so throwing up the chances of war, he at once bent his steps homewards. But what was his surprise on arriving there to see that the courtiers and others who had come forward to meet him, wore long faces, and while some sympathized with him, others laughed at him for being duped by a cunning woman, who had devised that plan of
inveigling him into marrying her! The Rājā was beside himself with rage at this, and when he went into the presence of the Rāni, and the broom and the log of wood were produced before him, he struck the poor lady in his anger and forthwith ordered her to be cast into prison.

And what a prison her enemies contrived her to be consigned to! It was a firey little room hemmed in between four massive walls, with just one small window in one of them to let in the air. Some coarse food and water was all that was given to her each day through that small window, and that, too, was barely enough to keep body and soul together; and in this wretched state the poor creature had to pass endless days and nights. Hope, however, sustained her through this trial, for she knew that she was innocent, and that a day would come when those who had brought about her ruin would be exposed.

While these events were taking place, the wooden box which contained the two little babes floated calmly on the surface of the ocean, till at last it was cast on a distant shore just at the feet of a poor devotee of the Sun, who lived by begging, and spent his days and nights on the desolate beach, worshipping the Sun and the Moon by turns. He eagerly picked up the box, and on opening it, was no less surprised than delighted to see what it contained! The cry of hunger, which the dear little things gave just as the box was opened, awakened a feeling of the deepest love and tenderness in his breast, and he wished he were a woman and could suckle them, for he had with him then neither milk nor any other kind of food which he could give them. In sheer desperation, therefore, if only to keep them from crying, he put a finger of his into each of the little mouths, when lo! the poor hungry babes began to derive sustenance from them and were soon satisfied. The devotee was delighted at this, and, taking the little ones into his hut, fed them in this strange manner whenever they were hungry, and soon found that they thrive beautifully on the nourishment they derived from his fingers!

After a year or so, when the little ones were able to eat solid food, he would put them in some safe place, and, going into the neighbouring town, beg food for them in the name of the Sun and the Moon. The people all reverenced this good man, and cheerfully gave him what they could spare, and he would return to his hut and divide what he thus got with the little ones, just as a loving mother would do. Now the devotee, by means of his occult powers, had found out who his little charges were, and had consequently named the boy Sūrya and the girl Chandra. When Sūrya and Chandra were about seven or eight years old, the good old man felt that his end was approaching. So, one day he called them to his bedside and gave them two things, a stove in which he had constantly been in the habit of keeping a fire burning, and a stick with a rope attached to it. He told them that if they wanted for anything after he was dead, they had only to burn some incense on the fire in the stove, and they would get it. As for the stick and the rope, he told them that, if ever they wanted to chastise or punish any one, they had only to whisper their instructions to the stick and the rope, and they would immediately set to work and give the culprit as good a thrashing as ever was given to anyone.

Soon after the good old devotee had gone to his rest, the two young people thought of going forth into the world and finding out who their parents were, for they had learnt from their late benefactor how they had been discarded and entrusted to the mercy of the waves.

So, as a first step, they expressed to the stove a wish to have a beautiful garden, and in it a golden palace, such as human hands could never build, in a place they chose for themselves. And soon they found themselves in a gorgeous golden palace whose walls and roof shone so brightly against the Sun, that they cast a strong reflection on their father's palace which was, as chance would have it, situated at the distance of about ten miles from it! The Rājā was surprised at this, and sent forth his men to make inquiries as to the source of that strange light, when he was told that a lustrous palace of pure gold had risen up in the midst of the jungle, and was occupied by a beauteous lady and her brother. At this mention of a beauteous lady, the Rājā was seized with an eager desire to see her, and to win her favour, and
offered a large reward to any one who would undertake to persuade her to let him have just a look at her.

Several persons came forward to compete for the reward, but the Rājā selected out of them one, a shrewd old hag with a glib and flattering tongue, and sent her forth on her errand.

By bribing the servants of Chandrā, the fair lady of the golden palace, this old hag succeeded in getting admitted into her presence and soon ingratiated herself into her favour. As poor Chandrā was often left by herself all day long, while her brother was engaged in some outdoor pursuit, she gradually began to like the company of the old hag, who frequently found means to visit her when alone, on some pretence or other. Soon the shrewd woman succeeded in wheedling the innocent young creature into telling her all her strange story, and then set about devising a plan to get rid of Chandrā's brother. So, one day she said to her: "Fair lady, you have got the best garden the eye ever beheld, all the large trees in it are both beautiful and rare, and is it not a pity, therefore, that such a magnificent collection should lack that rarest of all trees, the sandal-wood tree, which is found at bottom of the well of Chandan Pari!"

"Ah!" sighed Chandrā, "I should so like to have it!" and the cunning woman, seeing her opportunity, enlarged so much upon the merits and the beauty of the tree, that Chandrā was seized with an eager desire to possess it, and would not let her brother rest, till he promised to go and bring it for her! So one morning Sūrya set out in the direction indicated by the old woman, determined to procure the sandal-wood tree. He travelled on and on for many a day, till one day he perceived a most lovely fairy sitting on the brink of a well in the midst of a very dark and deep jungle. But just as Sūrya's eye fell on her the little sprite hid her face with her hands and dropped swiftly into the well! Sūrya threw himself in after her, and soon found at the bottom a dry path, leading into a large palace situated in the bowels of the earth. He entered it, and the same sweet little fairy again greeted his sight. She would have run away from him this time also, but he speedily took hold of her hand, quieted her fears, and succeeded in getting her to converse with him. They sat talking, till the time came for the return home of the rākshasa, whose daughter the pari was, when the pari converted Sūrya into a fly, in which guise he remained sticking to the ceiling right over the lady's head. The rākshasa soon entered, with a number of dead bodies of men and women slung over his back, and began sniffing about and calling out loudly that he suspected the presence of a human being in or about the palace. But his daughter said: "Do not be so angry, dear father, without cause, for the smell of human beings that pervades this place proceeds only out of the dead bodies you carry on your back!" The rākshasa, however, continued fretting and foaming, and made things very unpleasant for his poor daughter that evening. When morning came, the giant again went out, and the pari soon restored Sūrya to his original shape. This went on for some time, till the two became fast friends. So one day Sūrya persuaded his fair companion to tell him whether she knew how her father was to come by his death. Now, the pari had learned from her father that there was a pair of doves living in a niche in a well, one grey and the other milk-white, and that milk-white dove held his life in its bosom, so that, if it were destroyed, the rākshasa would fall where he stood, and instantly come by his death. The simple little pari repeated all this to her admirer, and he lost no time in profiting by the information he thus obtained, and one morning as soon as the rākshasa went out, he went to the well, and pulling the two doves out of the crevice, flung the grey one away into the air, and instantly broke the neck of the milk-white one.

The rākshasa, who was somewhere about, gave a tremendous yell as he felt his own neck wrung violently, and fell down dead with a heavy thud. Instantly, there sprung up around Sūrya a host of other rākshasas, fierce, strong, and wild, who would have instantly killed
him for having destroyed their chief, but he forthwith drew out his miraculous stick and rope, which he always carried with him, and bid them tie up all the rākshasas and give them as severe a thrashing as they could. The stick and the rope speedily set to work, and the rākshasas received so severe a thrashing that they all roared out with pain and begged of our hero to have pity upon them, and promised in that event to become his slaves and remain so all their lives.

"Very well, then," said Śūrya; "do as I bid you. Bring the pari and the Chandan-tree, that is the boast of her garden, out of this well, and follow me." The rākshasas were nothing loath, for one of them jumped in and brought out the pari, all trembbling and disconsolate at the loss of her father, while the others went into the garden, and cutting out a portion of the ground on which the Chandan-tree grew, followed Śūrya and the pari to the palace of gold.

Chandrā was in ecstasies, not only to see her brother alive and well, but also the Chandan-tree she had been longing so much for, and the pretty little Chandan Pari as well.

The old hag, however, who had never expected Śūrya to come back alive, was disconcerted at his sudden arrival, as it interfered with her plans regarding his sister. She, however, stifled her disappointment as best she could, and, putting on a pleasant smile, welcomed our hero with every manifestation of regard and admiration, and congratulated him on having attained his object. Śūrya then persuaded Chandan Pari to forgive him for having caused her father's death, and to give him her hand in marriage, and the three lived happily together in that magnificent palace for some time, Chandrā and the pari having become fast friends. But the old hag, who was bent upon Śūrya's destruction, again devised a plan to get rid of him, and one day, while he was talking to his sister and extolling the charms of his fairy wife, the old wretch, who was present, craftily put in, by way of a remark, that he thought his Chandan Pari beautiful, only because he had not seen the world-renowned Pari of Unchhattrā, who lived under the magnificent tree called Unchhattā.

Śūrya at once fell into the trap, and expressed his determination to go in search of this new pari at once. Now this pari, as the hag well knew, was as cruel as she was beautiful, and all those that went to win her came back no more! She had a magic comb, which she kept constantly with her, and as soon as any one rode near enough to lay hands on her, she turned up her hair with it, and, in the twinkling of an eye, both horse and rider were transformed into stone! Our hero, however, who knew nothing of this, put a pinch of incense over the fire in the magic stove, and wished that he might be provided with a fleet steed, such as would traverse the longest distance in the twinkling of an eye, and lo, there presently stood before him just such a horse!

Śūrya was delighted, and soon taking leave of his pari-wife and his beloved sister, he mounted the fiery charger, and galloped away like lightning. The gallant charger seemed to know the abode of the pari of Unchhattrā, and to be aware also of the trick of the comb, for, as soon as he spied her sitting under her favourite tree, he leapt almost right into her lap, and, before she could raise her hand and put the comb to her hair, Śūrya seized her by the wrist, and wrested it away. Unchhattrā, finding herself thus suddenly deprived of her magic power, fell down at the feet of her valiant conqueror, and swooned right away. Śūrya promptly dismounted, and, raising her head on his lap, tried every means to bring her round. As soon as she was restored to her senses, and was able to speak, she acknowledged Śūrya's supremacy over her, and promised to be his slave and servant all her life. The only favour, however, which she asked of him, when he had assured her of his forgiveness, was to be allowed to make use of her comb once more, not to do harm to anybody, for that power was now lost to her for ever, but to undo the mischief it had already caused. Our hero consented, and restored the comb to her, and she immediately turned her beautiful golden hair downwards with it, when, in a moment, several large stones, that were lying scattered about here and there, began to assume strange shapes, and soon numberless young men and horses were seen "to rouse and bestir themselves
ere well awake.” The pari asked pardon of all the young men for having allowed them to lie there so long, bereft of sense and motion, and they willingly forgave her, and, seeing the coveted place by her side already occupied by one who appeared far above them all, both in looks and bearing, they bowed low their heads to Sûrya and went their different ways.

Our hero then went home with his new pari and her Unchhatta-tree and soon there was another wedding at the golden palace, and both the pari’s, being very sensible young ladies, lived harmoniously together as co-wives. But the old bug, who, up to this time, had been doing her best to lure poor Chandrâ to destruction, although without success, began now to find the place too hot for her, for the pari of Unchhatta, who was as clever as she was beautiful, saw through the flimsy veil of friendship under which the wretch had been hiding her black purpose, and persuaded her husband to send her to the right about. So the crafty old woman had to return crestfallen into the presence of the Râjâ, who immediately consigned her to the tender mercies of the executioner for having failed to perform the task she had undertaken.

Now the good pari of Unchhatta, who was blessed with the faculty of knowing the past, the present, and the future, one day told Sûrya and Chandrâ all the strange history of their birth and parentage, and they were agreeably surprised to learn that their father was a Râjâ, who lived in a city only about ten his 1 distant from their palace. The pari then advised them to arrange a grand feast, and invite the Râjâ and all his subjects to it. Sûrya and Chandrâ did accordingly, and asked of the fire in the magic stove to erect for them a row of mandapas, stretching from the palace almost to the gates of their father’s city, provided with every comfort and luxury, and soon there rose up in the jungle as magnificent a line of canvas structures as human eyes ever beheld before! Separate mandapas were set apart for each different caste of people, so that not only were the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas provided for, but even the poor down-trodden Sûdras were not forgotten! They, too, had a group of mandapas to themselves, fitted up and decorated in such a sumptuous style that the Râjâ, as he came to the feast with his three wives and a gay train of courtiers and followers, was nearly walking into one of them by mistake, and thus polluting himself! What then can we say of the range of mandapas that were set apart for the Râjâ himself and his Râjâs! The ceiling was formed to resemble the lustrious concave of the sky, and was spangled with the brightest diamonds and sapphires to represent the Sun and the Moon and the Stars! The furniture and fittings also, which were of gold, silver and diamonds, were in perfect keeping with the magnificent ceiling — in short, there was nothing left to be desired.

Now the object of the pari of Unchhatta in getting her husband to invite the Râjâ to the feast with all his subjects, high or low, so that not a dog should be left behind, was, by that means to oblige him to bring also his discarded wife—the mother of his twin children, and therefore his most rightful Râjâ. But when she was told that he had the effrontery to come without her, leaving her behind hemmed in between the four walls of her prison, when the whole town had turned out to the feast, she instantly ordered that but two seats, or rather mansads, were to be placed in the midst of the royal mandapa, and stood by watching as the Râjâ entered with his three wicked Râjâs. Sûrya and Chandrâ lovingly escorted him to one of the seats of honour, and, as the elder of the Râjâs, who had taken the principal part in bringing about the ruin of the Brahman lady, and was now high in the Râjâ’s favour, moved forward to take the seat beside him, Unchhatta pulled her back, and demanded of the Râjâ whether it was she who had the right to occupy the seat of honour by his side! The Râjâ was nonplussed at this and said nothing, but, as the pari insisted upon knowing the truth, he had to confess that there was another, who had once a better right to fill that place, but had forfeited it when she was found out to be an impostor. Unchhatta then called upon him to explain what imposture it was that she had practised upon him, and he related how she had inveigled him into marriage with her by boasting that she was destined to be the mother of the Sun and the

1 About 20 miles.
Moon, and how, instead of giving birth to those luminaries, she had brought forth a broom and a log of wood, and how she had been consigned to prison in consequence. But the parśa, who, as we said, was cognizant of the whole story, related to the assemblage the trick the elder Rāpi had played upon the poor unoffending Brāhmaṇ girl, and the way in which they had mercilessly cast adrift her new born babes, and called upon the midwife, who was standing among the crowd around, to testify to the truth of what she said. The midwife, seeing the turn things had taken, made a clean breast of everything, and the whole assemblage thereupon heaped reproaches upon the heads of the offending Rāpis for having so sinfully misled their lord and master and encompassed the ruin of the mother of the most illustrious twins ever born!

Unchhatrā then introduced Sūrya and Chandra to their father, and so great was the rage of the Rājā at the treatment they and their mother had experienced at the hands of the wicked co-wives, that he ordered a large pit to be dug near the city gates, and had them laid in it waist deep, and left there to be torn alive by beasts and birds of prey.

Sūrya and Chandra, in the meantime, had hastened to the city with some of the Rājā's attendants, and, breaking open the walls of the prison, brought out their poor long suffering mother! Just a spark of life was all that was left in her poor emaciated frame, but by care and attention she was soon brought round, and who can describe her joy, when she learnt that it was her own dear son and daughter, who had been the means of bringing about her deliverance from what had been to her but a living death.

She embraced her dear twins again and again, and forgot all her past misery in the joy of meeting them.

At last, when she was apprised of the fate of her cruel tormentors and was told that the Rājā repented of his conduct towards her, and asked to be forgiven, the good Rāpi shed tears, and wished to be united to him once more. There was nothing but joy and rejoicings all over the kingdom, when the news went forth that the Rājā had, after all, had the proud distinction of being the progenitor of the Sun and Moon in human shape upon earth.

FOLKLORE IN HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C. S.

No. 7.—Why the fish laughed. A fisherman was once hawking his fish through the city of Agra and came in front of the palace of Akbar Badshāh. The princess heard his cries and sent for him into her presence. The moment she looked into the basket, every fish in it began to laugh at her. Now she was her father's only daughter and much loved by him. So she went to Akbar and said:

"Father, I have seen dead fish laugh to-day. I must know the reason or I shall die."

Akbar replied: "Do not distress yourself. I will discover the meaning."

Akbar sent for Birbal, and told him that he would have him executed, if he did not explain why the fish laughed. Birbal asked for time and went home. There he lay down on his bed in sore distress and would tell no one the cause of his trouble. At last his eldest son induced him to tell what was the matter. He promised his father that he would find out the secret, if his father would give him five thousand rupees for the expenses of his journey.

He got the money and started. On the way he met an old man, who asked him where he was going. He replied that he was going in search of employment. They went on together and at last came to a river. As he was going into the water, young Birbal put on his shoes, and took them off when he reached the other side. Then as they passed under a tree the young

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2 [This story appears in part to have been subjected at some time to Western influence, as the Moon is feminine throughout.—En.]

1 A folk tale told by Dwārika Prasād, PākHz Brāhmaṇ of Bithalpur, Pargāṇa Kariyāt Bikhar, Mirābār.
man raised his umbrella over his head. They went on farther and came to a village where there was a fine crop of barley standing in a field.

"I wonder if this barley has been ground or not yet?" the young man said to the villager.

When they came to the old man's village he invited his companion to put up at his house, and he agreed to do so. When the old man went into his house he said to his daughter:

"Our guest is the greatest fool I ever saw in my life. He goes barefoot on dry land, and puts on his shoes when he walks in water! When he goes under a tree, he holds up his umbrella! When he sees a barley field, he asks if the grain is ground or not!"

"Whoever he may be, he is not such a fool as you think," the girl answered. "He puts on his shoes in water, because he cannot see the thorns as clearly as he can when he walks on land. He holds up his umbrella under a tree, because he is afraid lest a bird should throw down some dirt on his clothes. When he asked if the barley was ground or not, he meant to enquire whether the owner had borrowed the seed or not, and if the crop belonged to him or to the mahájan. This is a wise man; you must get me married to him."

So they were married, and the young man returned with his bride to Ágrá. He told her the business on which he had set out, and she said:

"I can explain the riddle!"

When she reached Ágrá, she wrote a letter to the princess:

"Be cautious and think over the matter in your mind."

When the princess got this message, she was wrath, and said to her father:

"It is time that Birbal was forced to rede the riddle or bear the consequences."

When Akbar sent for Birbal, he sent back an answer that his daughter-in-law would explain the matter. So she was called into the sanána, and Akbar was present. The girl said:

"The box of the princess must be opened before the mystery can be explained."

"My box shall never be opened," the princess screamed.

"Let it be opened at once," shouted Akbar.

And lo and behold! When it was opened out bounced four strapping young men!

"Now you see why the fish laughed!" said the girl. Akbar was confounded and had the princess and her lovers buried in the ground with their heads exposed and shot at with arrows till they died.

NOTES.

This tale is in many ways instructive. A story very similar is recorded from Kásmir by Mr. Knowles (Folktales of Kásmir, pp. 484-90). The queen of the Kásmirí story has been localised at Ágrá, and the whole tale has been brought home into the familiar Akbar-Birbal Cycle. In the Kásmirí tale, the youth asks the old man to give him a lift, meaning that he should beguile the road by telling stories. They are refused food in a city, and given some in a cemetery. The corn incident is in both, as well as that of the shoes. The youth asks the old man to cut two horses with a knife, meaning sticks, and he enquires if his ridge beam is sound, meaning to ask if he can afford to entertain a guest. The message to the queen is much more mysterious, and a young man disguised as a female slave in the sanána, is discovered by all the servants being made to jump over a pit.

Mr. Jacob's remarks (Indian Fairy Tales, p. 250 sq.) may be quoted: "The latter part is the formula of the Clever Lass who guesses riddles. She has been bibliographised by Prof. Child (English and Scotch Ballads, L 485); see also Benfey, Kl. Schr. II. 156 sq. The sex test

[The ignorance of the rich and great as to agricultural matters is a standing joke among the Indian peasantry.—Ed.]

[We are now launched on an interesting set of those stock riddles, which perhaps represent what remains of an ancient form of divination.—Ed.]
at the end is different from any of those enumerated by Prof. Köhler on Gonzenbach. (Suzil. Mahr. II. 216.) Here we have a further example of a whole formula, or series of incidents, common to most European collections, found in India, and in a quarter, too, where European influence is little likely to penetrate. Prof. Benfey in an elaborate dissertation (Die Kluge Dirne in Ausland 1859, Nos. 20-25, now reprinted in K. Schr. II. 156 sq.) has shown the wide spread of the theme in early Indian literature (though probably there derived from the folk) and in modern European folk literature."

The old village Brahman, of Mirzapur, who told the story was certainly ignorant of any European folklore, and the change in the incidents and its localization between Kaśmir and the North-West Provinces are most instructive."

No. 8. — The Princess who loved her Father like Salt.

There was once a king who had three sons and five daughters. One day he called them into his presence and asked each of them how much they loved him. One said that she loved him like sugar, another like sweets, and so on; but the youngest princess, who had lately been married, said that she loved him like salt. He was very angry and said, "Bitter love is no love at all." So he ordered his men to take her and expose her in the jungle.

When she found herself alone she feared the wild beasts, and began to weep, and as she wept she began to scratch the ground with a piece of stick. Immediately she saw a staircase of gold and when she scraped away some more earth she saw a golden tank beneath the ground. She then sent for masons and made them build her a palace all of gold, and there she lived until her son was born.

One day her father dreamed that he was sitting on a platform of silver, beneath a tree of gold whose leaves were made of the topaz; and among them sat a peacock. In the morning he went to his court and told his courtiers of his dream. "Whoever will shew me the things I have seen in my dream," said he, "to him I will give half my kingdom." Many soldiers tried to perform the task and failed; at last the princes undertook it, and rode away on the quest. By chance they came into the jungle where their sister lived. She was sitting on the balcony, and recognised them. She said to her son, "Your uncles are passing by; go and call them." When they came in they were astonished to see such a splendid palace in the jungle. At last they came to think that it must be the abode of Thags, and in fear and trembling they went inside. The boy made them sit down and brought them food; but they feared that it was poisoned and would not eat it, and buried it in the ground. Soon after the boy returned and asked them where they were going. They told him their mission, and he asked them to let him accompany them. They thought to themselves that the boy was a Thag, and wished to join them in order to rob or murder them. So they thought it best to start at once and not to take him with them.

When the boy returned and found that they had started without him, he told his mother what they had said, and then set out in pursuit of them. When he came up to them he said: "Why do you distrust me? If you let me go with you, I will help you in your enterprise." So he went on with them, and after some time they came to a well and they told him to draw water for them. When he looked into the well he saw a gate; and he called out: "I see a gate in the well. I am going in to see what is there. Wait here six months for me." He jumped into the well, passed through the gate, and came into a lovely garden in which was a splendid palace. He went inside and looked about and on a couch in one of the rooms he saw a beautiful fairy; but her head had been cut off and was laid at her feet. He hid

4 [I would throw out, as a hint for the ultimate solution of the origin of such tales, the fact that riddles are still used as a form of divination precisely in the manner in which we find them employed in Indian folktales. See Golden Bough, II. 162; ante, Vol. XX. p. 196.—Ed.]

5 Told by Shuddas Chamak of Chaukiya, Mirzapur.
himself close by, and in the evening a Deo arrived. When he came in, he joined the fairy's head to her body, and gave her a slap on her right cheek, when she revived, and they began to talk and laugh together. Then she got up and brought food for the Deo. When he had eaten, he slept beside her, and in the morning he started off in search of his prey.

When the boy saw that she was alone, he went in and revived her as the Deo had done. She asked him how he had found his way there. "If the Deo finds you here," said she, "he will eat you." "As I am here I will stay here," he said; and as he was very handsome, the fairy allowed him to remain. Towards evening when it became time for the Deo to return she taught him a _mantra_ and said, "I am going to turn you into a bug. When you please you can regain your original shape by repeating this spell." So he became a bug, and she put him into her own bed. When the Deo arrived he called out, "_Khanmansayan, khanmansayan,_" that is to say, "Fee fi fo fum! I smell a man." But she pacified him and said, "There is no one here but me." And he lay down and slept till morning, and, as usual, cutting off her head he went abroad. The boy then turned himself back into his original shape and revivified the fairy. She asked him why he had left his native land, and he told her the whole story. "We are three sisters," said she; "my name is Chândi Pari (Silver Fairy); the second is Sôna Pari (Gold Fairy); and the third is Zamurrad Pari (Topaz Fairy). We are all in the hands of this Deo. If you go to Sôna Pari your object will be accomplished."

So she gave him a letter to Sôna Pari, and he took it to her. He found her in the same state as Chândi Pari, and he brought her to life in the same way. When she read her sister's letter she received him very kindly, and when the Deo came she also turned him into a bug. Next day she gave him a letter and sent him on to Zamurrad Pari, whom he also found in the same condition as her sisters. He began to plot with her how he could manage to release the three sisters. He said, "If you agree to accept my aid, when the Deo comes, tell him that, when he goes away, you are very lonely and frightened here all by yourself, and that it would be a good thing if he would bring your sisters here." When the Deo came that night he began to boast and said, "The world does not hold the man who can take my life. But, of course, I would die if my pigeon were killed." "Which pigeon do you mean?" she asked. "In Fulân jungle," he said, "there is a banyan tree, and on it hangs my pigeon in a cage. If any one were to get my pigeon I am ruined." She then induced him to bring her sisters to her, and he repeated a _mantra_ and the three came together. After some time the boy asked leave from the fairies to go home, and they said, "All three of us love you, and you shall not go without us." Further they said, "You must go to Fulân jungle and find the banyan tree, open the cage that the pigeon, and then the Deo will die also."

He did as they told him, and when the Deo was dead, he asked them to leave to go home. They gave him three pictures of themselves, and taught him a _mantra_ and said, "Whenever you wish our presence you have only to repeat this spell, and we will come out of our pictures." Further they said, "If you wish to make a platform of silver and the other things such as your grandfather saw in his dream, you have only to cut off our heads, and anything you desire will appear."

So the boy divined up the well, and when he was only two cubits from the top he called out to the princes to help him out; but they said, "We will not take you out unless you give us the things which you have brought with you." He gave them the pictures of the fairies; but when they got them, they would not take him out, and he was obliged to go back and live in the house to which he had gone at the beginning. The princes went home, and as they were passing the place where the boy's mother lived, she asked them what had become of her son. They answered that he had been with them until a few days before, and had then gone away by himself. She sent men to search for him, and by chance they halted by the same well. Hearing the sound of voices he came up, and when they saw him they pulled him out. When he came to his mother he told her all that had happened, and then he went to see his grand-
father. He found many people collected there, and they were talking about the platform which the king had seen in his dream. He complained to the king that the princes had robbed him of three pictures. The king ordered the pictures to be produced, and when the princes brought them he told them to produce the platform and other things by means of them; but they could not do so as they were ignorant of the spells. The boy then asked the king's leave to try, and permission was given him. He at once produced a platform of silver, a tree of gold with leaves of topaz, and a peacock sitting in the branches. So the king offered him half his kingdom and the hand of his daughter; but he said that he could accept nothing until he took the advice of his mother. The king agreed to go with him, and when they sat down to eat there was no salt in any of the dishes. The king did not like the food, and then the princess sent him a dish seasoned with salt. This he liked, and she then fell at the feet of her father, and told him the whole history. He was much pleased to get her back, and took her to the palace. He put her son on the throne, and they all lived happily.

NOTES.

The story is incomplete, but is exactly as the narrator, a village labourer, told it. The fairies should come in and have their heads cut off before the platform is made, and the wicked fairies should be punished. Khánman̄san̄gyan, = "free from harm," in Chamár tales. I suppose it comes from hāhā = to eat; man̄sa = man. The fairies with palaces underground reached through wells, and the Life Index of the Deo are familiar. He is as stupid as these goblins usually are.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KÁKATIYA DYNASTY.

The Ékambriṉátha inscription, edited by Dr. Hultzsch (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 187), furnishes the following list of the Kákatiyas of Orángal:

(1) Betmarájá.
(2) Prōjarājá.
(3) Rudradéva.
(4) Mahádēva.
(5) Gaṇapatí; S. 1172 = A. D. 1250.

Dr. Hultzsch assumes that the "Rudradéva" of this group is identical with the "Rudra" of the Anumakon̄ inscription and that he was, consequently, a son of Prōjarájá. This assumption, however, involves a serious chronological difficulty. The Anumakon̄ inscription furnishes Rudra with the date S. 1084 = A. D. 1162, and by its evidence he would appear to have begun to reign in A. D. 1160. Gaṇapatí's date, according to the Ékambriṍna inscription, is S. 1172 = A. D. 1250, 90 years later. If we accept Dr. Hultzsch's genealogy of the Kákatiyas we have only one king — Mahádēva — to fill the gap.

Tradition records that Mahádēva fell in battle in the third year of his reign. But apart from this, in order to bridge the distance, we should have to give Gaṇapatí a much longer reign than we are, under the circumstances, entitled to do.

We know that Gaṇapatí died in A. D. 1257, and local records say he was succeeded by his wife, who survived him either 28 or 38 years. If there is any truth in this, it suggests the inference that Gaṇapatí himself had a short reign. It is impossible, however, to place implicit reliance on this kind of evidence, and in this case the Pratáparudrasya of Vidyānâtha makes his successor his daughter.

In spite of this, however, there is still a difficulty in covering the period between Rudra and Gaṇapatí satisfactorily.

If we give Rudra a 30 years' reign, his father Prōda having probably had a long one, and allow to Mahádēva the usual 25 years, we should still have to assume a 40 years' reign for Gaṇapatí, for which we have no special justification.

The possibility has been suggested of another Gaṇapatí and another Rudra having intervened between the Rudra of the Anumakon̄ inscription and the Mahádēva of the Ékambriṍna group. This is by no means unlikely.

In the first place, to judge from the wording of the Ékambriṍna inscription there is nothing to suggest that the Rudra mentioned in it is a son of Prōjarájá. It merely states: "after him," i.e., Prōjarájá, "this race was adorned by Rudradéva." There is nothing in this to necessitate
the identification of this prince with the "Rudra" of the Anumakond inscription. He may as easily have been a later ruler of the same name. The similarity of the names might very easily cause confusion and lead to the omission of the other reigns by those who incised the Ekamranatha inscription.

But the likelihood of the hypothesis receives apparent support from another quarter.

*Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 197, Dr. Hultsch mentions three synchronisms as existing between the Yādava and the Kākatiyas. That between Malavgi and Rudra, and that between Śīngaha II. and Gaṇapati, he establishes satisfactorily. But when he affirms that Jaitugi the Yādava (A. D. 1191-1269) was also a contemporary of Gaṇapati it seems impossible to follow him.

In the *Veṇkalpam* of ḍhaṭaladi (see Bhandarkar’s *Deśikā*, p. 82) Jaitugi is represented as slaying “Rudra, lord of the Taṅgāra,” while the Pāṭīya grant of Rāmchandra states that he established Gaṇapati on his throne. It is natural, at first sight, to identify this Gaṇapati, as Dr. Hultsch has done, with the prince of that name in the Ekamranatha inscription. But to do so involves a chronological difficulty of which he has apparently lost sight.

To make Gaṇapati a contemporary of Jaitugi, we must suppose his reign to have begun a year or two at least before A. D. 1269, Jaitugi’s final date. As he died in A. D. 1257, that would give him a 50 years’ reign; but we have no justification for such an assumption, and the weight of our evidence, such as it is, is all the other way.

The supposition of an earlier Gaṇapati, if it could be proved a fact, would meet the case exactly. The list of the Kākatiyas would then stand somewhat as follows:

Prāša, Prūḍarāja ... ... circ. A. D. 1110-1160
Rudra I. ... ... ... ... 1160-1195
Gaṇapati I. ... ... ... ... 1195-1220
Rudra II. ... ... ... ... 1220-1287
Mahādeva (traditionally) ... ... 1237-1240
Gaṇapati II. ... ... ... ... 1240-1257

Is it not possible that some of the numerous Kākatiya inscriptions might throw light on this point and clear away some of the confusion of names and dates, which at present prevents the formation of any satisfactory and systematic chronology of the dynasty? Perhaps some contributor might be able to direct his attention to this problem.

C. MABEL DUFF.

**INTERCHANGE OF INITIAL K AND P IN BURMESE PLACE-NAMES.**

*Ante*, p. 19, I noted the change of ḍhaṭaladi to Pāṭīya (Bassein) and of Gaṇapati to Padān (Paṅgual). I now give more instances. Mr. Thirkell White informs me that the modern Puntu, a Kachin village in the Bhamo district,= Kuntu of older writings.

Of the reverse process there is an instance at Maulmain. The “Farm” Caves near that town are well known to visitors, as one of the sights. The word “Farm” represents the old Shān Pāṭīya= Burmese K’āyun. Also in Talai it the Burmese word Sama, a Burman, becomes *Khama*; see Haswell’s *Peguan Language*, p. 46.

By the way, from an inspection of the Burmese inscriptions preserved at the Mahānuni Pagoda at Mandalay I find that the spelling of Kukān (*ante*, p. 19) is really and invariably Kukān.

R. C. TEMPLE.

**TALAPAY—TALAPOIN.**

Here is a contribution towards the solution of the vexed question of the origin of the extraordinary word talapoin = Buddhist monk, so common until quite lately.

In the Museum of Archæology at Cambridge there is a figure of Buddha of the usual modern type, with a brass chain round its neck, from which is hung an engraved medallion. On the medallion is cut the inscription given below and the figure of a Buddhist priest or monk. The figure is a very incorrect rendering of the reality, and belongs to the type of figure to be found in La Loubère’s *Kingdom of Siam*, 1693, and in the Péres Jesuites’ *Voyage de Siam*, 1686, and other illustrated books and maps of that period. Beyond that the image came from the Fitzwilliam Museum, it has, I believe, no further history. So the date may be taken as about 1700 A. D.

**Inscription.**

Talapay i. e. Religionis in Peguo Regno effigies II
inventa in Templo ruinoso ad ripam fluminis Syrian II.

From this we gather that the old visitor to Bumiau though that the image of Buddha was an image of a monk, probably on account of the dress, and that he found it either in a *kyauk* (monastic building), or in a pagoda, on the banks of the Pegu River near Syriam.

Talapay is an interesting variant of the well known Talapoin.

R. C. TEMPLE.
NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES IN RAMANNADESA.

(The Talaiing Country of Burma.)

BY MAJOR E. C. TEMPLE.

I. The Caves about Maulmain.

In company with Mr. F. O. Oertel, I made, in April 1892, a short inspection of the caves referred to by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in his "Notes on an Archaeological Tour in Ramaññadésa," ante, Vol. XXI, pp. 377 ff.

Attention was chiefly paid to the cave remains in the neighbourhood of Maulmain and Thaton (Paton). Those that were visited, and it may be said, that are so far known, were:—

1. The 'Farm' Caves, about 10 miles from Maulmain on the At'arán River;
2. The D'ammaba Caves, 18 miles from Maulmain on the Jain (Gyaing) River;
3. The P'ágát Caves, on the Salween River, 26 miles from Maulmain;
4. The Kôngun Caves, on the Kôngun Creek, near P'ágát, 28 miles from Maulmain;
5. The Binjí Caves, on the Don̄sam River, 51 miles from Maulmain and 15 miles from Thaton.

Maulmain being a great meeting point of navigable rivers, all these places can be visited from it by launches, and, except Binjí, within an easy day's journey, there and back. But they are all, except the Farm Caves, out of the regular routes, and are, consequently, but little visited, —indeed as regards the travelling public they are quite unknown, owing to the fact that it is necessary to engage a launch especially for the journey, a very expensive form of travelling, and not always available even on payment, except by special agreement.

In addition to those to the Caves, short visits were paid to Thaton and Martaban, the weather being at the former very unfavourable and fully bearing out the statement in the Kalyānl Inscriptions at Pegu concerning "this very rainy country of Ramaññais." 2

It is extraordinarily difficult to obtain any information in Maulmain concerning the antiquities of the surrounding country. From statements made to me it would appear that many caves exist along the At'arán River and along the upper reaches of the Don̄sam River; but until each story is verified it is most unsafe to rely upon anything stated locally.

The British Burma Gazetteer states, Vol. II., page 37, that there are no less than 25 groups of caves in the Amherst District, each distinguished by its proper name. Among these may be the following, of which tolerably certain information was given me, locally, along the banks of the At'arán. All are said to be filled with images and MSS. 1 (1) In a hill opposite the Nidón Quarries, 26 miles from Maulmain; (2) in a hill a mile and a half inland from the Quarries; here there is a climb over rough boulders and ladders for 400 ft., a narrow and low entrance, a large hall and deep cavity in the main cave, and several smaller caves in the neighbourhood; (3) at P'abaung, 36 miles up the river; here is a cave with a hole in the ceiling leading to a chamber filled with books and old ivory, which was visited by Crawford (Embassy to Ava, page 355), and runs right through the rocks, like that at D'ammaba; (4) at the Hot Spring (At'arán Yëbō), 41 miles up the River; where there are said to be more caves. 3

Col. Spearman, now Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division and formerly editor of the British Burma Gazetteer, has kindly collected for me, in addition to the information above given,

1 Called Maulmain or Moulin by the English, Molānyāya by the Burmese, Mitmāby by the Talais, and Ramaṇa in historical and epigraphic documents. It seems to have been called Molamyāya and Malamayya by the English at first — vide Crawford, Embassy to Ava, published 1829, pp. 282, 355, et passim. In Wilson's Burmese War, 1827, the word appears as Molaim in, a Gazette notification of 1826, quoted at p. lii. Low calls it Malaim in his papers, 1833, As. Res. Vol. xviii. p. 125 ff. 2 Miscell. Papers on Indo-China, Vol. i. p. 179 f. Mr. Oertel in his Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April 1892, pp. 12 ff., also mentions the journey herein described.
2 See ante, p. 96.
3 Probably the same as those mentioned below as being off Kyündjā Village. Low in 1833 was up the At'arán and gives a good account of the At'arán Yēbō (Miscell. Papers on Indo-China, Vol. i. p. 196) and also notices (p. 197) the P'abaung Cave, which he calls Phahapang.
the following information, from native sources, as to the caves in the Kyaikkami or Amherst District.

There are in the Jain-balwin (Gyne-Salween) Sub-division five caves, viz., the K'ayon-Saddan (Farm: see post, p. 329 ff.) in the K'ayon Hill, and the Ngai up the At'aran River: the Damma (see post, p. 331 ff.) and the Saddan up the Jain River. The first four are situated in the Tayana Circle, and the last in the Dapinga Circle. The K'ayon Hill is a mile and a half from the K'ayon Village, and two and a half miles from the Za'abyn Village (on the At'aran?). The usual routes are, by boat or launch up the At'aran River to Za'abyn Village (on the At'aran?), 13 miles, and thence by cart to the Hill, 15 miles. The Ngai Cave is two and a half miles distant in a separate hill. Only the K'ayon Cave, of the above, has any remains in it. The Damma Cave is reached by boat or launch up the Jain River, 19 miles, and contains about 1,000 images, of which 100 are in good order, and one chaitya. The Saddan Cave is two miles from Koa'eban Village, six miles from Naunglonji Village, and 18 miles north of Za'abyn (on the Jain). The usual routes from Moulmain are by boat or launch up the Jain River to Za'abyn, 13 miles, and thence by cart 15 miles; or by boat or launch to Donaing Village, 28 miles, and thence by cart, 15 miles. This cave is said to be a mile long, and to contain a chaitya and three images in bad order (two being broken) at the entrance. It is about 60 feet above ground level, and is approached by 100 monastery steps in practicable repair.

In the Kookal Sub-division there are eight caves, viz., the Sa, the three Pabok Caves, the Pabaun, the Taungbaw and the Yabon-Mont. The first six are in the Myapadaing Circle and the last two in the Myawadi, and all are reached from Kyondoji Village, which is 47 m. by boat or launch up the Jain River. The Sa Cave is in the little Pabok Hill, ten miles from Kyondoji. It contains five or six boxes of old MSS., but no images. These are said to be in good condition. The cave is 60 ft. above ground level, and is approached through old jungle paths. The three Pabok Caves are in the Great Pabok Hill and about 200 yards apart, nine miles from Kyondoji. Two of the caves contain images and chaityas in bad repair. The caves are from 30 feet to 60 feet above ground level, and are approached by old jungle paths. The Pabaun Cave is eight miles from Kyondoji. It has no contents and is about 60 feet from the ground level. The approach is bad by difficult jungle paths. The Taungbaw Cave is nine miles from Kyondoji. It is 22 feet above the ground level, approached by bad jungle paths, and has no images in it. The Yabon and Mont Caves are in the Tin Hill, about fifteen miles from Myawadi Village, which is 45 miles by road from Kyondoji. They are about 60 yards apart and 1,000 feet from the ground level. The Yabon Cave contains chaityas, images and old MSS. in bad condition. These caves are very difficult of access through thick jungle and are rarely visited, or as the Burmese informant puts it: — "no one has ever been there!"

In the Pagat Sub-division there are five caves, viz., the Kogun, the Yabeyan, the Pagat, the Wobyun, and the Taunggal. The first three are in the Binlaing Circle and the last two in the Myaingji Circle. To reach the first three, the usual route is by boat or launch up the Salween to Pagat, 27 miles (see post, p. 336), and thence by road. Each cave is close to a village of the same name, and the first two are each about three miles from Pagat by different cart roads, and about three miles from each other. For detailed descriptions of the Pagat and Kogun Caves, see post, p. 335 ff. In the Yabeyan Cave are images and chaityas. The usual route to the Wobyun and Taunggal Caves is by launch to Shwegu Village up the Salween, 76 miles, and thence by boat. Wobyun Village is about six miles beyond Shwegu, and the cave is some two miles inland. It contains chaityas and images, and is about 50 feet above ground level, but is easily approached by steps lately made to the entrance. The Taunggal Cave is similarly about two miles inland from Myaingji village, which is three miles beyond Shwegu. This cave is about 700 feet up the hill, approached by a bad road over hill and through jungle. It contains chaityas and images.

* This local statement is guesswork (see post, p. 336).
In the Thatôn Sub-division are two caves, the Minlwin and the Winbôn, both in the D'anüminwin Circle. The usual route is by launch up the Salween and Dân'bam Rivers, 70 miles, to (?) Dûyinzêk, and thence ten miles back to Winbôn Village by boat. The Winbôn Cave is a mile from the village, but contains no images. The Minlwin Cave in about five miles inland and a mile from Mâji Village. It is 400 feet above ground level, and contains no images, but above it is a large marble slab (? inscribed), which is an object of fear and reverence. This information from Thatôn I look upon with some doubt. The description corresponds generally with that of the Binjî Cave given below at p. 338. It is probable that the Minlwin Cave is the same as the Binjî Cave, and that Winbôn is the village I have called later on (p. 338) Bî'nlaing or N'yaungjân, and noted as being of doubtful nomenclature. If the Minlwin Cave is really the same as the Binjî Cave, it is quite erroneous to suppose that there are no images and chaityas in it.

Near Maulmain there are ten caves in the Kyauktalon Hill, which is situated in the Kinjung Circle, about 14 miles from the town by cart road. Of these, four have images and chaityas, mostly in bad order. They are about a mile from Kyauktalon Village and about 20 to 30 yards apart. They are easily approached from the village.

This information, and that I have independently gathered as to the remains, goes to shew that there are at least 40 caves in the Amherst District alone, of which at least 21 contain antiquities of value.

During the time at the disposal of Mr. Oertel and myself for exploration, viz., from the 11th to 15th April 1892, both days included, very little more than ascertaining the localities of the antiquities and the ways and means of reaching them, together with hurried visits, could be accomplished. But enough was seen to establish the archeological value of these caves, and, as regards materials for tracing the evolution of Buddhistic art in Burma, their extreme importance.

In this paper it is intended chiefly, by describing what was seen, to draw attention to these remarkable remains, in the hope that they may be explored, before, is it too late, by some one who has the leisure and is properly equipped for the purpose.

I may mention that Caves obviously of the same class as those herein described are to be found farther East in the Laos States, vide Bock, Temples and Elephants, pp. 288 ff., 301; Colquhoun, Amongst the Shan, p. 240; in Cochin China, vide Crawford, Siam and Cochinchina, p. 236 f.; and in Siam, vide Bowring, Siam, I. p. 167.

2. The 'Farm' Caves.

The 'Farm' Caves, situated about 10 miles from Maulmain, are favorite places for picnics and pleasure parties for the European population of the town, and also for the native population.—Burmese, Talaings, and Hindu Natives of India,—who combine, however, religious worship with their outing. The Chatits (Madras Hindu money-lending class) of Maulmain have built themselves a rest-house outside one of the Caves, and there is, of course, also a Burmese rest-house or sayat.

The name 'Farm' appears to be a corruption of the Shan name of the place, Pārum (Pharum). Pārum, as a place-name, is one of the many relics of the old Shan occupation of this part of Burma, the syllable p'ā (precipitous rock) appearing in several place-names of the same class in the neighbourhood; e.g., Pākat (Bur. Pāgāt), Pāän, Pābyauk, Pālāt, Pāmp'ā, Pānun, Pāauk, Pārēin, Pābin, Pāwu, etc. However, the name 'Farm Caves' is so firmly established, so far as concerns Europeans, that it may be safely regarded as the proper one. The Burmese name is K'ayòm (spelt K'arun and pronounced K'ayun to the present writer), after the neighbouring village of that name. Another derivation of "Farm" is from the guano in these caves, which was and perhaps is still, farmed out to contractors.

* Hindus all over Burma worship at the Buddhist shrines and pagodas. At the great Shwèdaing Pagoda at Rangoon they may be seen at their devotions in considerable numbers. The pagoda and shrine attendanta in Lower Burma are usually also Hindus from India, who have taken the place of the old pagoda slaves.

* For interchange of initial p and t in Burmese place-names, see ante, p. 19.
The Farm Caves, like all those mentioned in this paper, are situated in isolated hills of limestone rock, which rise picturesquely and abruptly out of the surrounding alluvial plain, and were evidently excavated by the sea at no remote geological period. They are now full of stalactites and stalagmites, some being of large size.

There are two distinct sets, one of which was formerly used for religious purposes and at one time richly ornamented. The other has always been left as nature made it. The former is the K'ayôn Cave proper, the latter, which is about 600 yards distant southwards, is called the S'addàn Cave. There is a third unornamented cave called the Ngâ Cave in a hill about 2½ miles distant.

The first set consists of an entrance hall running parallel with the face of the rock, a long hall running into the rock at the south end, evidently meant for the "Chaitya Hall" of Fergusson's History of Indian Architecture (Chap. V.), and a subsidiary entrance and hall at the north end. This last apparently exists because of the form of the cave, and in front of it is the artificial tank, which invariably accompanies these remains. The following sketch plan will give a general idea of the construction.

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**Sketch Plan of the Pûram [K'ayôn] Cave.**

The straight parallel lines represent brick and plaster platforms erected for images of all sorts; of Gautama Buddha himself and of his worshippers or yahâns (= râhân = Pâli, arahâhā = Skr. arhânta = arhat). At the circular spots near the south entrance and in the Entrance Hall are small pagodas, and at a similar spot near the north entrance is a s'êdi (= Pâli châtiya = Skr. châtiya) or têt, as the modern Burmese call it, of interesting construction. At

1. This word is also preserved in modern Burmese as rahântâ, pron. yahânâ.
2. On the platforms of pagodas such structures represent the old top-ornaments or umbrellas (têtâ) of the pagoda, which when taken down to make way for new ones are brick in by small châtiya-like structures, and thus preserved for ever. The word têt has become popularised as tês by Ferguson's History of Indian Architecture, see p. 64, etc.
the point indicated in the plan there is a bamboo ladder leading up into darkness in the roof, most probably into a higher cave in the rock, but this was evidently too much infested with bats to make exploration desirable at short notice during the visit.

The whole of the caves above described were clearly at one time crammed with images of all sizes, materials and ages, just as the Kōgan, B'inni and D'ammabā Caves still are. These have nearly all now been destroyed by iconoclasts, probably chiefly Natives of India, from Maulmain. The proximity of that town, its occupation by the British for nearly seventy years, the existence for many years of a large garrison there, and the callousness of the Burmese to this species of desecration, would easily account for the destruction of invaluable remains that has taken place.

There remain, however, several huge recumbent figures of Gautama\textsuperscript{9} Buddha, one measuring 45 feet in length and others not much less, sitting figures of various sizes, and small figures mostly mutilated. The condition of the wood, of which some of these are made attest their antiquity.\textsuperscript{10} Some of the stalactites have been ornamented, but this has not been the rule, as it evidently was in some of the other caves, notably that at D'ammabā. All over the sides of the cave and its roof there are signs of former ornamentation with small images of plaster painted white and red, and made of torn-cotta stuck on with a cement. The best preserved of these particular remains are high up on the south wall at the deep end of the Chaitya Hall, where a number of plaster yakānas are kneeling opposite one of the huge Shweñayungs or recumbent Gautamas, and in the roof near the entrance. Here advantage has been taken of a small natural dome to picture the 'Church' (bi'ng'ā = sa'k'ā); i.e., a numerous circle of yakānas praying round a central figure of Gautama under the Bo (="Bo"ī=Bur. Bo) Tree.\textsuperscript{11} Plate I. which is from a photograph taken from the entrance to the Chaitya Hall, looking along the Entrance Hall northwards, indicates this ornamentation and shows the small pagoda above mentioned.

The best way of visiting the Farm Caves is to take a hackney carriage (these are numerous, cheap and proportionately bad in Maulmain) to the Nyaungbinzāk Ferry on the At'aran\textsuperscript{12} River, about four miles, then to cross in the Ferry, and thence proceed by bullock cart to the caves, another four miles or so. There is no difficulty in the journey, as it is constantly made and the people on route consequently quite understand what is wanted. It is advisable, however, to give notice to the bullock drivers of the intended journey. The roads are now good all the way.

3. The D'ammabā Cave.

The D'ammabā Cave is distant from Maulmain about eighteen miles and is situated near the banks of a side-stream behind an island in the Jain River. There is a village and a small bright girt pagodā on a high precipitous rock jutting picturesquely,\textsuperscript{13} as usual, into the River. (See Plate XIX.) Near the pagoda are kyaungs (monastic buildings) of the ordinary village type. The Cave is in a range of limestone rocks of some height behind the village and distant about quarter of a mile, and there is no difficulty in procuring guides from the village. The peculiarity of this Cave is that it runs right through the rock, and so is better lighted than is usually the case.

It contains a great number of stalactites and stalagmites, some very large, and

\textsuperscript{9} Skr. Gautama = Pāli Gôtama = Burmese Gōdanā and Gōd'amā (= Anglo-Indian goldama, used for any Buddhistic image).
\textsuperscript{10} Many of the figures are, however, quite modern, having been placed there by worshippers of the present day.
\textsuperscript{11} This cave is much disfigured by scribbled names of visitors in many languages: English, French, German, Hindustani, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Burmese and Chinese.
\textsuperscript{12} This word is Attar in Crawford's Art, 1829, and in Spearman's Gazetteer of Burma, 1890. It is Atharam in Wilson's Burmese War, 1827, p. lixxii. It is at this point frequently called the Nyaungbinzāk Creek.
\textsuperscript{13} One of the most striking facts in Burma is the beautiful and picturesque situations of the pagodas and public buildings. They are comparable in this respect to the religious structures of the Lepchas in Sikkim. See Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal, by Sir R. Temple and R. C. Temple, Vol. II. pp. 206-207.
Sir R. Temple's Oriental Experience, pp. 73-74. (See also post, p. 361 f.)
apparently all were originally ornamented. This may give a clue to the age of the ornamentation on further investigation, by determining whether the unornamented stalactites and stalagmites are posterior to those covered with ornaments, and how long it must have taken them to form. Some of them again are now only partially ornamented, and it is possible that the unornamented parts may have been formed since the ornament was put on.

The accompanying sketch plan gives an idea of this Cave.

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**Sketch Plan of the D'ammabā Cave**

The general design in the interior seems to have been to build up a pagoda or chaitya at both the east and west entrances, and to fill in the centre of the hall or cave with images and smaller pagodas. These are raised on platforms. Along the sides is a great mass of images on platforms, such as are shown in the sketch plan. A general idea of the style of ornamentation and design can be seen from the interior view of the B'ini Cave given on Plate II.

The ornamentation of the roof, sides and stalactites consists of images of Gautama Buddha and Yahānā, of all sizes, from four inches in height to about life-size. These images are of brick and coloured plaster, chiefly red (hīndopaḍa\(^1\)), and of terra-cotta fastened on by a cement. There are also signs of glazed ware having been employed in places, and abundant signs of a general gilding\(^2\) of the figures in days gone by. When new, and brightly colored and gilt, the effect of the ornamentation must have been very fine. (See Plates VI. and VII.) Great numbers of small earthen lamps, of the usual Indian chīrāgh form, are to be found. These must have been used, as now, for illuminating the images on feast days. Much broken pottery also lies about; the remains no doubt of water-pots and of pots for votive flowers, used on similar occasions.

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\(^{1}\) This word is spelt hīndopaḍa = Skr. *goose-foot,* and is the name of a mineral (red oxide of mercury) producing the peculiar rich red used in Burma for ornamenting buildings. It is particularly well suited as a ground for gold, black, white or grey ornament.

\(^{2}\) The gilding was not always of good quality, as in many instances the images that remain are now simply covered with verdigris.
brick and plaster, and now very much ruined. There is a general idea among those who have visited this Cave, which is repeated in the British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 138, that the ruin has been caused by some enemy of the Talaings. However, unless direct historical evidence is forthcoming that support that argument, it may be put forward, as the more likely theory, that the destruction now visible is that which is inevitable in Burma. When a pagoda or image is once built or made, and the kâbó, (spelt kusol = Pâli kusala, a ‘good work’) or religious merit, gained thereby has accrued, no more interest is taken in its preservation; and as every pagoda contains a treasure chamber of sorts, and as each large image is supposed to have valuables buried somewhere inside it, they are sooner or later dug into for treasure. This is sure to happen under any political disturbance, when anarchy, for a time at any rate, always supervenes. Plates IV. and V. shew pagodas thus treated in the Kôgun Cave, and it may be said that, in the Cave remains in Ramanañadesa generally, it is the rule for pagodas and large images to have suffered thus. This fact alone is sufficient to account for the ruin observable at Dâmmbâ.

The Eastern Pagoda is utterly ruined and is now a mere mass of bricks, plaster and broken images, some of which may still possess great archaeological value. Immediately above it there is a hole in the roof, now boarded-over. This leads to an upper chamber or cave, in which are still stored sadaiks, or book-coffers, containing Talaing MSS., no doubt of unique value, if still legible and fit to take to pieces. The British Burma Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 37, suggests that there are such documents to be found in the other caves. It hardly needs argument to shew that they should be removed as soon as possible to places, where they can be preserved until they can be properly utilized. 18

Outside the eastern entrance there is a funnel leading upwards in the rock, but whether this ceases abruptly or leads to the boarded-in chamber could not be ascertained on the spot.

There is a very large number of images of all sizes and in all stages of preservation, lying in utter confusion about the floor and the sides of this Cave. Plate II. relating to the Binji Cave, gives some idea of the state of the floor at Dâmmbâ. These images evidently belong to all dates, from that of the first use of the Cave for religious purposes up to quite modern times. They are made of many materials: — wood, alabaster, limestone, plaster and terra-cotta, amongst others. The wooden images are probably the most valuable for antiquarian purposes. They are mostly now coated over with a black preparation which looks like Burmese resin (pron. bissi, spelt saocheô = (sach) bit, wood, + (ché) st, oil). It is either the under-coating of former coloring or gilding, or was meant as such and never covered over. This coating has preserved the outer surface as originally designed, whereas the wood under it has utterly decayed in many instances. The state of the wood, which is apparently teak in all cases, combined with the outer form and ornamentation of the images will go a long way, on careful investigation, towards determining when they were deposited; because teak under certain conditions may be assumed to take not less than a certain number of centuries to reach a certain stage of decay. It may further be fairly argued that, when once the caves became established as recognized places for religious ceremonies, the great mass of images now found in them were deposited by successive generations of worshippers and pilgrims.

The images and similar remains are generally of the same character in all the Caves, and are well worth study, for the reason that they explain the forms of many of the old and small images deposited about the greater Pagodas in Lower Burma still used by the populace as places of worship. (See Plates I., II, VI. and VII.) Exactly similar images are yet to be seen round the Kyaikmään and the Kyaikpã³-Pagogas at Maubin, the Myâmbûn Pagoda at Martaban, the Shwêzûn and Mulêk (or Dajâphêy) Pagodas at Thatôn, the great Shwêdagôn itself and the Sulâ Pagoda at Rangoon, the Kyaikkaun.

18 The Talaing language, though still spoken to a considerable extent, is ceasing to be a literary medium very rapidly; so much so that it is already extremely difficult to find an educated Talaing able to read even modern documents in his native language, and the epigraphic and old palm-leaf documents in that tongue, which are of supreme value to the history of Lower Burma will even now have to await the labours of the expert student of the future.
Pagoda at Syriam, and in the far-renowned (in Burma) Kalyâñi Deng (simâ) at Pegu, and round the great Shwêmôô Pagoda at the same place. Whether these images were originally made for the pagodas, or were taken from the Caves by the devout and there deposited, is a question to be settled hereafter. For it must be remembered that it is still a fortunate thing in Burma for a p'ajâ (image of Gautama Buddha) to travel, as the people put it.

Careful search may unearth inscriptions of value in the D'âmmâbahâ Cave. Some of the small terra-cotta figures, or, more strictly, tablets impressed with figures, that have become detached, are found sometimes, but not commonly, notes painted on the back. The only one, of two or three picked up in this Cave, which is sufficiently complete for reading is that given below, full-size.

**Facsimile. Full size.** of the inscription on the back of a terra cotta tablet impressed in front with an Image of Gautama Buddha. From the D’âmmâbahâ Cave.

The characters of the inscription are Talaing and the language is Talaing, and it means:18 "Nge Loh offered to the pagoda curry stuffs from his ancestral fields, fish, and property."19

17 Lately there has been printed by the local Government a perfunctory and well-nigh valueless production called *List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archæological Interest in British Burma*. It is confined mainly to the names of the principle pagodas in the country and the folk-history thereof. It is useless for any purpose, except to find the names of the pagodas, and is not even then of use, if there is more than one pagoda in a place, as the actual situation of each is never indicated.

18 It must be borne in mind however, that in the present condition of scholarship as regards the further Indian languages, every epigraphic reading should properly be regarded as tentative.

19 I fancy we must assume from this that the pious Nge Loh held a feast from the produce of his ancestral fields and offered property to the pagoda, and also let loose some fish as a good work: (jivita dâna: stheâd dâad).

See Shwe Yoe’s *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 40 ff.)
Transcribed the inscription runs thus: — *nl̄h m̄t̄n h̄ s̄nd h̄ p̄n* h̄l̄h-k̄yu(n). The pronunciation and meaning of each word runs thus: *N̄ ḡ Lēh m̄t̄n ḡ s̄nd h̄ p̄n pale-k̄yu(n)* 20 — "N̄ ḡ Lēh parents' field carry-stuff fish property offer-(to)-pagoda." In addition to the above, there are traces of another inscription in modern documentary Burmese characters.

**These impressed tablets** usually represent Gautama Buddha seated on a canopied throne, the canopy forming the back-ground of the tablet. Gautama Buddha is commonly thus represented in Burma in figures of all sizes and of all materials — *vide* Plates IV, V, VI, and VII. In the D'ammabhā Cave a large full-sized seated figure has an inscription, **white letters on a black ground**, on the canopy, above either shoulder. As it is on plaster which is fast peeling off, no impression can be taken of it, but it should not present any difficulties in reading, if read before it is too far destroyed, as it is in the ordinary **square lapidary Burmese character in vogue in the last and the beginning of the present Century** (*vide* the Pū̄žū daung inscription near Prome, ante, p. 1 ff.).

About two and a half miles distant from the Cave just described there are hot springs and another Cave (so local information on the spot says). 21 The hot springs are well known to the natives of the country, and now also to immigrants from India, who repair to them annually to get rid of skin diseases. There are several such places in the Amherst District, notably the Aţarān Yēbū (Hot-waters) on the Aţarān River, the medicinal qualities of which have been attested by Dr. Hefler. 22

The way to reach D'ammabhā is by special launch from Maulmain, in which case the journey takes about three hours each way, or by ferry launch to Zaśabyn on the Salween, and thence by country boat to D'ammabhā, a slow process. The former method of approach is very expensive.

4. The P'āgāt and Kōgun Caves.

The P'āgāt Cave on the Salween 23 River is distant from Maulmain 26 miles, and is situated in an isolated limestone rock by the river-bank. It is **not now of much interest**, as it is very dark, and so offensive, owing to the presence of an enormous number of bats, 24 that it is practically not explorable.

Seated Gautama Buddhas can, however, be made out in the darkness, and no doubt at one time the Cave was decorated and ornamented in the style of its neighbour at Kōgun. Wilson, *Burmese War* (1827), quotes, p. lxxvi, a Government Gazette notification, dated 20th April 1826, of a journey up the Salneu (Salween), where Pāgāt appears as Sagat, apparently by mistake. At that time the images were distinct and the ornamentation was evidently the same as that of Kōgun. The bats are also mentioned. It is further noted that the ornamentation on the rock face, which is in the style of that already mentioned at D'ammabhā, looks from the river like the letters of a huge inscription. This accounts for the persistence of a local idea that there is a large prominent inscription on the face of this Cave.

As far as I can make out, the following description from Low's travels in these parts in 1833 (Asiatic Researches, Vol. xviii. p. 129 ff.; *Miscell. Papers on Indo-China*, Vol. I. p. 107) refers to P'āgāt. "In rowing up the Sanūn (= Salween, by misreading the final n for the dental n, instead of the guttural n) or main river, the first objects which attracted my attention were the Krukklatunng rocks, being a continuation of the great lime formation. The river at one spot is hemmed in betwixt two rocks, and, being thus narrowed, rushes through with considerable impetuosity. The rock on the north-west bank overhangs its base, the latter being

20 Pale-kyik is a compound meaning 'to make an offering to a pagoda.'
21 This was not borne out, however, as regards the Cave, on further enquiries from local officers.
22 B. B. Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 33 and note. The only reference, besides those quoted from the Gazetteer, I have yet found to the D'ammabhā Cave is in that intelligent little book, *Six Months in Burma*, p. 41, by Mr. Christopher Winter, who visited it in 1838. It is there called Dhamathat, as it is usually still called by Europeans in Maulmain. This is an instance of altering a meaning, because 'Dhamathat' is a word well-known to most Anglo-Burmans, being the Burmese form of the name of a locally celebrated work, — the Dhammaśtra.
23 Salween = Bar. spelling Sanūn, pron. palwin.
24 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 378; and Malcolm, *Travels*, ii. 61. It is a well established fact that it takes these bats 25 to 30 minutes to fly out of the Cave to their food every evening.
washed by the river. On a sharp, and one should suppose almost inaccessible pinnacle, a small pagoda has been built, producing a pleasing effect to the eye of a distant observer.

"The cliff I conjectured to be 250 feet high. On that front facing the river some niches have been cut in a pyramidal space, and in these stand many painted and gilt alabaster images of Buddha. A narrow opening leads into a magnificent cave, which has been dedicated to Buddha, since many large wooden and alabaster images of that deified mortal were found arranged in rows along the sides of it; the wooden images were mostly decayed through age and had tumbled on the floor. The rock consists of a grey and hard limestone. The cave bears no marks of having been worked on. The Burman priests, who inhabit a village on the opposite bank, could not afford me any information respecting it. No inscription was discovered on the rock."

P'agat can be reached by a ferry launch in about four or five hours from Moulmain, but the best way is to visit both P'agat and Kojun at the same time by special launch, — an expensive journey as already explained.

By a good fair-weather road from P'agat, though somewhat unpleasant withal, the Cave and Village of Kojun can be reached by bullock-cart, if desired. The distance is about two miles. The preferable way of getting there is to stop in a special launch at the mouth of the Kojun Creek, about a mile short of P'agat, and thence either reach the Kojun Village by a country boat, if the tide serves, or by walking through the outskirts of the village for about a mile. The Cave is situated, as usual, in an isolated limestone rock about a quarter of a mile to the west of the village. It runs under an over-hanging ledge of rock for about a hundred feet from South to North and then dips Westwards into this rock for about the same distance at the North end. The following sketch plan gives an idea of it.\(^{20}\)

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The general plan of the cave proper is evidently that of the D’ammabā Cave, but advantage has been taken of the over-hanging ledge and the rising ground in front of it to create a profusely ornamented Entrance Hall. In front of this is a large artificial square brick tank kept in good repair, as the Cave is still a place for an annual festival at the Burmese New Year (about 15th April). In front of the tank is the pwe-ground, where Zat Pwèfalls are performed on the occasions when people congregate here.

There are the usual image platforms about the sides of both the Cave and the Entrance Hall, and also several down the centre of the Cave, as at D’ammabā.

A goodly number of small brick and plaster pagodas and chaityas are scattered about both Cave and Entrance Hall, and the surroundings of the latter. The largest are noted on the sketch plan. There is also a remarkable ornamented stalagmite, see Plate VII., covered completely over with small terra-cotta images, about four inches high, of Gautama Buddha enthroned in the style already explained, surmounted by a series of standing images in plaster work and much larger. On the top of all is a small pagoda or chaitya of the usual modern form. The corresponding stalactite, not visible in the plate, is profusely ornamented with images of Buddha in every attitude—standing, seated and recumbent.

The peculiar position of the Entrance Hall under an over-hanging ledge of rock, sheltered from the rain brought by the prevailing south-west wind, has led no doubt to the profuse ornamentation of the surface of the rock to a considerable height, as shown in Plates III., IV., V., VI. and VII.

This ornamentation is the best sample of all of the type already noted as prevailing at D’ammabā and Pārum, viz., covering the rock with impressed terra-cotta and plaster tablets of all sizes, from four inches to several feet in height. The impressions are chiefly of Gautama Buddha enthroned, but they are nevertheless in great variety, and the Dīna or Church is represented in several ways, as also are various scenes from the legendary life of the founder of the religion. On the many small ledges and recesses presented by the uneven surface of the rock are placed images in alabaster and brass. This is a special feature of the wall decoration of this Cave, due to natural conditions.

All about the Entrance Hall and the Cave itself, there is an astonishingly large deposit of figures of Gautama Buddha and yahans in every material and in every condition, besides a mass of remains of Buddhistic objects generally. Many are quite modern, but some are of a type not now met with in modern Burmese religious art, and are exceedingly interesting from an historical and antiquarian point of view, as connecting Burmese with Indian Buddhism. They are well worth study, and probably from this Cave alone could be procured, with judicious selection, a set of objects which would illustrate the entire history of Buddhism in Lower Burma, if not in Burma generally and the surrounding countries, especially Siam.

The great mass of the images and remains are in a state of complete neglect, but, as the Cave is still in use for purposes of occasional worship, many of the figures are well looked after, and some of the larger exposed ones are protected from the weather by rough boarding. The Cave itself appears to wander indefinitely into the rock at the two deep holes marked in the plan, and that near the ruined pagoda is partly filled up with a great mass of mutilated images and broken objects, thrown together in an indescribable confusion. Every pagoda has been broken into for treasure in the manner shown in Plates IV. and V.

26 The word pwe (Anglo-Indian poony or pooy) is Burmese, exactly corresponding to the English word ‘play’ in its various senses. Zat = Pāli jāti, used for jāta, a Buddhist ‘birth-story.’ The Zat Pwè is consequently a modified Passion Play.

27 A move in this direction is being made by the Local Government in Burma.
5. The B'ini Cave.

The B'ini Cave is situated in some low hills about 3 miles east of a village called, apparently indifferently, B'inlaing and Nyaungjān, on the left bank of what is usually known to Europeans as the Düyinzé River, but is really the B'inlaing River. This village is about three miles below Düyinzé, and about 51 from Maulmain and 11 from Thätôn. At the foot of the Cave is the village of B'ini, which is reached by bullock cart across jungle and rice-fields from B'inlaing Village. In front of the Cave is a pool of very hot water from which a stream issues, and over this stream is a single-plank bridge. The Cave itself is not situated at the foot of the hill, and a climb of from 50 to 100 feet is necessary before reaching it. In the ruins the country between B'inlaing and B'ini is flooded. B'inlaing can be reached from Maulmain by ferry-launch to Düyinzé, 52 miles, and thence backwards three miles by country-boat. Bullock carts can, by arrangement, be procured at B'inlaing. A special launch from Maulmain could, of course, be moored at B'inlaing, which is a station for procuring firewood for the ferries. In any case more than one day is necessary for the expedition.

Bad weather prevented the exploration of this Cave, which is much to be regretted, as it is necessarily but little visited. Old and now faded photographs, see Plate II., taken by the late Mr. R. Romanis, the Government Chemical Examiner at Rangoon, in the possession of Mr. George Dawson, the present owner of the ferries along the rivers which join at Maulmain and of the little Railway from Düyinzé to Thätôn, however, fortunately show that the Cave is of the ordinary Rāmaṇankāsa type, though not so profusely ornamented as usual as to walls and roof. The plan has been to place a series of pagodas or chaityas down the centre and images on platforms along the sides. This Cave has, however, a pagoda just outside it, which is unusual; and it will be observed that this pagoda and those shown in the interior are not of ancient form.

The B'ini Cave is deep and dark, requiring the use of special lights, but at the end of it is a pool of water flush with the floor, and a pagoda, so situated as to be lighted from a hole in the roof, or more correctly in the hill side, after the fashion of the artificial lighting of the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan (spelt Pugām and Pugan = Pāli Pugāmā), and of some Jain structures in India. There is a fine reflection of the Cave, both roof and walls, in the pool.


Plate III gives an idea of the great variety of images and objects to be found in the Caves above described. The plate itself is from a photograph taken on the spot at Kōgūn. The objects shown in it were collected together for reproduction from the immediate neighbourhood of the ruined pagoda upon which they are placed. They are mostly of wood, but some are of terra-cotta, plaster and stone.

The modern Burmese seated figures of Gautama Buddha are usually dressed in the garb of a monk, or p'ūndja, with curly hair drawn up into a knot on the top of the head, and the lobes of the ears touching the shoulder; but sometimes the Buddha is still represented dressed as Zabūbdā. In these Cave representations there is, however, considerable

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31 This place is locally identified as "the residence of B'inlaing or Binaung, the last Thalain king." The tradition is, however, probably a confused reference to the notable doings in these parts of Bayin Naung (= Port Brangiaoos [Bayinjū Naungjū], "Bayin' being spelt 'Barin') in 1511-1521 A.D., and of Bināy Dālā, the last Thalain king, 1749-1757 A.D.
32 The Düyinzé and the Chamsarit Rivers join at a few miles above Düyinzé, and form together the B'inlaing River, which, after running some 50 miles, falls into the Salween, some 25 miles above Maulmain.
34 There are several such holes in the Pāram Caves giving fine effects of light. There is a cave at Muang Fang in the Laos States where the same chance effect occurs. See Buck, Temples and Elephants, p. 289 f.
35 Tule, Mission to Ava, pp. 33-39 and note; Ferguson, History of Indian Architecture, pp. 616 and 214.
36 Spelt b'ūndja and explained as the great glory (b'ūnd), by the Burmese, but with doubtful accuracy to my mind.
variety. When dressed as zabubâdê, the ear lobes, though much enlarged, do not touch the shoulder, and the large holes in them are filled up with a roll much in the modern Burmese fashion, and from this roll there is occasionally something that hangs down to the shoulders (? a flower). The head-dress is in such cases a multiple crown, with, sometimes, appendages or wings hanging down behind the shoulders. On both arms are large jewels, or perhaps short embroidered sleeves, and the trunk is clothed in an elaborate winged garment reaching apparently to the feet and richly embroidered. All this is much in the modern style. In many of the older figures of the Buddha as a monk, the top-knot, there being, of course, no crown, is much elongated so as to form a sort of crown. In others again the body appears to be bare to the waist. In several the sole of the right foot is not exposed, as in most, but not all, modern figures; vide those in the Shân Tazaung at the Shiwé Dâgon Pagoda; also round the Nyangduauk and Padank trees on the platform there. A good many thrones lie about the Kògoun Cave with two images on them seated side by side, of which one is frequently much larger than the other and much more elaborately clad. Here the Buddha seems to be represented both as zabubâdê and as a monk. Often, however, the two images are identical in every respect, making the explanation more difficult.

Zabubâdê requires explanation. There is a story current and very popular in Burma, but not, so far as I know, yet traced to any Jàula, according to which Jambupati (= Bur. pron. zabubâdê), Lord of the Earth, was a king exceedingly proud of dress and power. The Buddha, however, one day, to convince him of the valueless nature of his riches, assumed his form and clothing without effort. Thereupon Jambupati became a devoted follower. The figures of the Buddha dressed as Jambupati, and of Jambupati himself kneeling to the Buddha in acknowledgment of his superiority, have for centuries been popular in Burma.

The serpent throne and canopy of Gautama Buddha is to be seen in Plate Ia in two instances, conventionally grotesqued in the style dear to the Burman. The material of most of the figures in the Plate is wood, but the present writer has in his possession a fine plaster head with conventional serpent canopy of much finer workmanship than the specimens in the Plate, and in the Kalyâni Dâng at Pégâ are stored several specimens in plaster of Gautama lying upon a serpent throne with canopy. Modern figures of the Buddha and serpent combined seem to be rare, but a new one in alabaster was bought lately in Mandalay, which was explained to be a "Siamese Buddha (Yódâyâ Pâyâ)." Also, among the treasures found at the palace at Mandalay, after the war in 1885, was a fine and well executed copper image of Buddha seated on a serpent of many coils, which was said to have been sent from Ceylon as a present to one of the kings of the Alompra Dynasty.

Images of yakâns also abound in the caves, always in an attitude of reverence. Those in Plate Ia (see also Plates I, IV, VI, and VII) are of a type quite unknown in the present day. Female figures seem to be very rarely met with, but there is one of characteristic Burmese type in Plate Ia. It belongs to a fallen impressed terra-cotta tablet and represents a favorite character of the Burmese sculptor: Mâbêndayâ (= Vasundhârâ), Protectress of the Earth during the present dispensation.

It is obviously impossible with the materials at present at hand to do more than draw attention to this remarkable field for enquiry, but enough has already been said to show how rich it is and how well worth study.

7. Bas-reliefs on glazed terra-cotta tablets.

The importance of Thatôî as an ancient home of the Talaing race is, of course, well-known, and as it is now to be reached with ease from Maulmain by ferry-launch to Dûyin-

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24 Spelt Pégâ, and pron. Pâgô = Pâli Hamsârâtti. Sangernano calls the country Pegâ and the town Bâgo: Reprint, 1885, p. 139 has "Bâgo in Pegô" and p. 172 "Pegô or Bâgo,"
25 Spelt pâtôn, pron. pâtôm = Pâli Savappa-nagara and Savappa-bhûmi: also Sâddhâmarâ, Sagadhâmarâ, etc. It is, like Bassein, a cause of wild etymological guesses, of which one is to be found in the delightfully naive introduction to Gray's Buddhârâmâvâpita, p. 14.
zek, 52 miles, and thence by a small Railway, 8 miles, it is to be hoped that its ruins will at last be properly studied. Unfortunately, the time available during the visit now referred to was very short, and the weather wet and unfavorable for exploration. The chief object of interest is the Mulāk Pagoda, or Dājapūya, as it is also called, of the usual Sāhalese type, with square terraces, or procession paths, surmounted by a stūpa. Putting aside a discussion of the form of this pagoda for the present, it is worth noting that into panels in the lowest terrace are let, in large numbers, burnt clay tablets impressed with bas-reliefs. As this pagoda was built, like most old Talaing structures of the kind, of squared laterite blocks, the unrestored portions are in a state of great decay, and many of the tablets have fallen out, while others are much injured and likely to disappear also. They are, however, for the purposes of the antiquarian of great importance, as exhibiting mediaeval manners and costumes. Many are mere grotesques, but others are clearly meant to picture contemporary customs.

These particular bas-reliefs were carefully examined some years ago by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, now of Oxford but formerly of the Burma Commission, and the detailed description given below is partly from personal observation and partly from his account. 57

There is evidence that similar pagodas existed elsewhere in the Talaing Country at one time from the figures on Plates VIII., fig. 1, IX., IXa, X., XI., XII. and XIII., which are from photographs of part of the collection in the Phayre Museum at Rangoon of glazed tablets found at Pegu and Syriam. 58 The Pegu tablets are all said to have been found round the entirely ruined square base of a pagoda, in the Zainganagaa Quarter, in what is now known as Mr. Jackson’s Garden (but see below, p. 353 ff.). That this ruined pagoda was once of great importance is attested by the existence in the neighbourhood of the remains of an unusually large artificial tank, the sides of which were once faced with laterite blocks. The ruins of the pagoda now resemble a square jungle-covered mound, and glazed ware is still dug out of it and the neighbouring tank walls in considerable quantities. 59 As regards Upper Burma, at Pagan similar tablets abound, and at Amarapura, Yule 60 observed the same style of decoration in sandstone on the basement of the Mahātuluth-bōnya Kyaung (Monastery). From Sagaing I have photographs of 21 inscribed green glazed bricks from the ruined procession paths of the old Siengóni Pagoda there. These exhibit what I take to be scenes from a Jātaka or Jātakas, after the fashion at Bhamant, etc., in India. The inscriptions are legible enough, but, like so many old Burmese inscriptions, not as yet intelligible. The language is Burmese with much Pali mixed with it. Every brick is numbered, and the high numbers on these that remain show what a large quantity must originally have been set up: e.g. 278, 421, 578, 662.

There is no need to attribute a foreign origin to these tablets, on account of the remarkably good glazing, wherever found. Glazing, especially green glazing, is a very old art in Rāmaññadēsa, as the following interesting facts will shew.

There is still a well-known and important manufacture at Twantá, 44 near Rangoon, of what are now called commercially Pegu Jars, but were known, until 1730 A. D., at any rate, by a

56 Spelt Dūhrāch’p, from dūhpā, the durian fruit and s’ēk, a landing place: It was from this place that the messengers of King Dārāwādi (1537–1548 A. D.) used to embark on boasts up the Dōmān and go thence by road to Taung-nāy and Yan-gin to Amarapura with this feil fruit, which is as great a delicacy to the Burmese as it is an object of disgust to Europeans. Yule notes this fact, op. cit., p. 161, footnote. Taung-nāy (Toungoo) is always Tannō in Sanscrit; see Reprist, 1885, pp. 158 &c.
58 With the carelessness characteristic of all inhabitants of Burma these invaluable remains have been deposited without a note to show which are from Pegu and which from Syriam. Syrian in Burmese is spelt Sanlyan and proc. Phanlyin. It is the Cion, Sirian, Serian and Syrian of old writers.
59 I received 71 tablets for the Phayre Museum quite lately from this place through the kindness of the owner. Both the Pegu and Syriam tablets are of the same type. Those from Syriam are from Capt. C. C. Wise’s property and were found in the ruined base of an old pagoda outside the S. W. bastion of the old fort. But see post, p. 358 ff.
60 Mission to the Court of Ava, p. 164 and Plate xxii.
61 B. B. Gazettier, I, 418; II, 559, 840.
variety of names based on the word Martaban. The Pegu Jar is a huge vessel of pottery about four feet high, covered with a dark glaze, and was formerly much prized as a water jar in sea-going ships and for the storage of water and liquors in many parts of the world. They were exported from Martaban and under the name of that port became famous over the whole of the East and even in Europe. Ibn Batuta mentions them in the 14th century under the name Martabâni as famous articles of commerce, and they were largely in use all over India and much prized for storage purposes in the days of Linschoten and Pyrard de Laval (15th and 16th centuries). As early as 1615 we find a *Dictionary* in Latin stating this:—*vasa figurina que vulgo Martabania dicitur per Indiam nota sunt. Per Orientem omnem, quin et Lusitaniam, horum est usus.* So that we see they early spread to Portugal and were familiar to the Arabs. We find also, in France, Galland, in 1673, and the "1001 Jours," quoting respectively Merlebani and Martabani as "une certaine terre verte" and "porcelaine verte." In 1820 Baillie Fraser found imitations of the Pegu Jar manufactured in Arabia and called Martaban; 44 while, writing so long ago as 1609, De Morga, *Philippine Islands*, Hak. Ed. p. 285ff., gives an obvious reference to the Pegu Jar, when he says:—*"In this island of Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, there are to be found amongst the natives, some large jars of very ancient earthenware, of a dark colour, and not very slightly, some of them of a middle size, and others smaller, with marks and seals, and they can give no account from whence they got them, nor at what period; for now none are brought, nor are they made in the islands. The Japanese seek for them and value them, because they have found out that the root of a herb, which they call cha (tea!), and which is drunk hot, as a great dainty and a medicine, among the kings and lords of Japan, does not keep or last, except in these jars," and so on.* The jars were known as *tibore,* and, under the name *yush,* were similarly known and valued among the Dayaks of Borneo, as the Editor of De Morga tells us, referring to Boyle's *Adventures in Borneo,* p. 93.

Whencesoever, therefore, the Talaiings and Burmans got their art of glazing "with lead-scar," 44 as Alexander Hamilton puts it, it is clear that an art that had reached the perfection of the Pegu Jar, and had become famous in trade throughout the civilized world as early as the 14th century, must have flourished vigorously in the country quite early enough to be contemporaneous with the earliest date we can reasonably assign to the existing monuments in which the glazed bricks are found.

As to fixing dates when glazing was actually in use in Burma on a large scale, the following may be useful in addition to that collected by Yule, s. v. Martaban, in *Hobson-Jobson.* Mr. E. H. Parker in his *Burma, Relations with China,* p. 12, says, quoting from Chinese Annals, of the king of Piao (Burma), that "the circular wall of his city is built of greenish glazed tiles . . . their house tiles are of lead and zinc . . . they have a hundred monasteries, with bricks of vitreous ware." This quotation, Mr. Parker tells me, is from the *Han History,* chapter on the Tan (Burma) State, and refers to the doings of the Tang (Chinese) Dynasty (A.D. 600-900), and apparently to knowledge acquired in the year 832 A. D. He further kindly gave me the following quotation from Fan Ch'oh's work on the Southern Barbarians:—"As the Piao State (i.e., Capital) is 75 journeys south of Zung-ch'ang, and communications with it were opened by Koh-lo-feng. In this State they use greenish bricks to make the city-wall, which is one day's journey in circuit." The date of Koh-lo-feng is 749-779 A. D. 45

44 A fine collection of quotations extending from 1250 to 1857 A. D., supporting the above stated facts, is to be found in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson,* page 428 f. But he is wrong in supposing the words "Pegu Jar" to be obsolete, for the article is still well known in Rangoon and Burma generally to Europeans to this day under that name. See also his *Cathay and the Way There,* Vol. ii. p. 476; and the valuable quotations in Wilson's *Documents of the Burmese War* (1824), Appx. p. lixiv. Low, a very careful observer, in his *Geological Observations of Portions of the Malay Peninsula,* As. Res. (1833) Vol. xviii. pp. 128-162, also makes the mistake of thinking the Pegu Jar obsolete. See also *Miscell. Papers on Indo-China,* Vol. 1. p. 195. He also thought (p. 193) that Martaban was not settled till 1236 A. D.; but this was a mistake.

The tablets at Thatôn are found imbedded in niches in the second terrrace about four inches deep and with a little over two square feet superficial area. The representations on some of them are as under, and the description shews them, I think, to be, like the Sagaing tablets and the sculptures in India at topes, representations of Játakas, or Zâüs, as the Burmese say:—

(1) Four bearded persons, with faces conventionally grotesqued, riding an elephant, are being pelted with stones by two youths on foot with their pas'ës
44 tuckied up. One of the figures on the elephant has his hair tied into a knot on the forehead in Shin or Karen fashion. The youths have theirs in a knot at the back in the fashion
45 prevailing still further East.

(2) A royal figure is riding on a horse and another royal figure is on foot with an attendant. Wavy lines (? the sea) form the background.

(3) A royal figure kneeling before a triśûla. A remarkable design in Burma, but common enough in India. See Ferguson, Hist. of Indian Architecture, pp. 104, 112: also Cunningham’s Mahâbodhi, Plate VIII. fig. 2. This picture is comparable with that of the Nágas worshipping the triśûla at Amârâvatî, given by Ferguson at p. 46, where there is no doubt that the triśûla is an emblem of Buddha.

(4) A great man, is sitting under umbrellas. A man, kneeling to his right, is smiling and presenting something in a box. Below is a pony tied to a tree and an attendant kneeling. Both kneeling figures have their hair tied in a knot at the side or back, and their loins girt. From this last circumstance—an unusual thing in the presence of a great man—it might perhaps be conjectured that strangers have arrived from a distance in a hurry with a present.

(5) A woman is kneeling before a prince, and in front of them is a man on a four-wheeled cart drawn by a pony.

(6) A well-dressed man and woman, in a curious and remarkable cart drawn by a pony, are in front of a potter’s house. Here one man is turning a wheel, another is shaping a pot, and a third is kneading clay. All the figures wear their hair in a knot behind.

(7) A princess is seated among her women, one of whom is hanging a man by a rope through a hole in the floor.

(8) A king on his throne, and an attendant on either side; girt about the loins, hair in a knot at the back.

44 Spelt 'puch', a Burmese cotton or silk garmet worn by men. It is a kind of petticoat wound round the waist, and is tucked up between the legs when anything requiring agility or activity has to be done. "Gird up the loins of your mind," (I. Pet. i. 13), would be a metaphor at once understood in Burma.

45 The Burmese tie theirs in a knot at the top, as is seen in the modern images of Gautama Buddha. A real Taungthûp (see ante, Vol. XXI. p. 379) still wears his hair as in the bas-reliefs, and so do the Anamese and Cambodians. The Tamils and Telugus of South India frequently do the same also. I have in my possession a kneeling figure in Sagaing marble from Amarâpura with the hair tied at the back. The Cambodian influence visible in these tablets may help to fix the date of this Pagoda as between the 6th and 10th century A. D. See page 334, p. post.

46 It is very easy, by the way, to mistake the wîjra for the triśûla in indissustinct sculptures.

47 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 381, and Oertel’s Tour in Burma, p. 11. There is a strong tendency in antiquaries in Burma to attribute all Hindu symbols to a pre-Buddhist Hinduism. This ignores all Tântârik influence on Buddhism in Burma, which, however distasteful to the modern Burman, is, I think, a dangerous thing to do. It certainly cannot be done in discussing any Buddhist remains in India, and there are many signs of Tântârik influence in the ideas of the Burman-Buddhist to-day. Phayre (Int. Num. Orient. Vol. III. Part I. p. 33) falls into the "Hinduism" mistake, and so describes what is a conventional Buddhist chaitya on a "Pegu Medal" as the trident (triśûla) of Siva, moralising accordingly. The latest work on such points, written in Burma, Gray’s Buddha chaitya (pattu, 1892), sticks tightly to the Buddhist and pre-Buddhist Hindu theories.

48 But see below No. 8.

49 Mr. St. John has an ingenious explanation of this. In every Talaing house there is a room set apart for the girls to sleep in, and this has a hole in the floor. Lovers come under the house and put their hands through this hole. By a sign, or the feel of the hand, the girls know if the right man has come. If the wrong man comes, "Woe betide him."
(9) A king seated on a throne with people kneeling before him. In the background is a man being "elbowed."^{20}

(10) A man in a garden, or forest, has hold of an enormous serpent. A prince is seated on the ground with three princesses kneeling on his left, one behind the other. The headdresses are all of the well-known Nāga type in Buddhist (Indian) sculptures. The dress otherwise is Burmese.

(11) A king is seated on a throne, and an attendant kneeling is announcing the arrival of the queen. The queen, gorgeously apparelled and grave of countenance, is carried on a seat on the shoulders of four men. Behind are umbrellas, fans, swishes, etc.

(12) A prince is standing on the back of a man stretched on the ground. A man in front has hold of the victim's hair with one hand and holds a sword in the other. Behind are two kneeling women. Around are elephants, buffaloes, pigs and other animals.

The bas-reliefs at Amarapura are merely humorous grotesques, but those from Pegu (and (?) Syriam) had evidently a more serious meaning. A great number represent, no doubt, what we should call "foreigners," who to the ancient and medieval mind were largely people endowed with terrible faculties, features and forms. An attempt has been made to depict these mythical peoples in detail, and we find them endowed with stony formidable bodies and the heads of every creature known to the artists. They are generally represented as being naked as to the body and legs, and clad only with a cloth round the loins, no doubt in the fashion of the poorer classes of the time. The glazing of all the tablets is good and regular, and the colors prevalent are white, red, green, yellow, black and blue. The blue colour of some of the bodies represents perhaps the dark skin of the supposed foreigner. One of the tablets represents two female figures, naked from the waist upwards, and clad only with a short garment drawn up tightly between the legs after the fashion of the Malay sarung, and of the lower orders of Siamese women, vide Crawford, Embassy to Siam, p. 115, illustration, which confirms the idea that these grotesque figures merely represent the people of a foreign nation.

On some, however, of the Pegu tablets are representations of great personages of the time elaborately clad, crowned and jewelled. (See Plates IX., IXa, XII, and XIII.) Only one, out of over a hundred found at Pegu,^{21} has a legible inscription on it, and this inscription is, so far, largely a puzzle, which is disappointing, as there is no special difficulty in reading the characters, since they are of the square lapidary type common in these parts up till quite lately. Plate IX. gives a reproduction of it, and below is a tracing from a photograph, on a scale of '7.

The language may be either Taing, Burmese or Shan. Assuming it to be Taing,

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^{20} This is a punishment. The person to be punished is made to kneel down and bend forward. He is then struck violently between the shoulders and somewhat lower by the elbow of the punisher. The pain caused is great.

^{21} On very few is there any sign of a lost inscription. I have, however, since found a similar tablet in Rangoon, presumably taken from the same site, and having precisely the same inscription as that in the text, but in a more cursive form. It is shewn in Plate IXa. Low, see Indo-China, Vol. I. p. 197f., makes the, for him, very curious mistake of saying that there are no inscriptions in Lower Burma! The opposite is the fact, and proportionately there are many more historical inscriptions in Burma than in India.
as the characters \( \mathcal{C} \) and \( \mathcal{A} \) would lead one to suppose, it is apparently translateable.

Transliterated it seems to run pretty clearly, thus:

\[
\text{Kwan p'rat mā pa mat lāwāt.}
\]

By exercising considerable license in spelling, and in reading the letters, sense can be made in Talaing out of all the words, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kôn</th>
<th>prēvān</th>
<th>mā</th>
<th>pā</th>
<th>māt</th>
<th>lāwāt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>nom. case</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>friends</td>
<td>ever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wife or daughter

But in order to get thus far we have to mis-spell kôn, which should be, transliterated, kwa[n] and not kwa[n], and to read the akshara \( \mathfrak{G} \) as \( \mathfrak{G} \), and the aksharas \( \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{G} \) as \( \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{G} \). This last reading, however, would be allowable. The last word can be variously read in Talaing as lāt, lāmāt, lu-ugāt, or lawāt, according as the first akshara is read as \( \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{G} \), \( \mathfrak{G} \), \( \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{G} \), or \( \mathfrak{G} \).

The meaning of the sentence thus read, which would be good Talaing so far as regards grammar, would be:—“the wife who is a friend for ever.” I am very loth to accept such a reading, as it would be against epigraphic experience.

Assuming the language to be partly Burmese or Shan, and partly Siamese, for reasons given below, we get the following result by transliteration:

\[
\text{Kwa[n]'rā Mahāpāmāt lāwāt}
\]

(th) noble | Mahāpāmāt | lāwāt | dedicated = built

There is only one difficulty in this reading, and that is in reading the akshara \( \mathfrak{G} \) as \( p'vā \): there being no sign \( \mathfrak{G} \) in Burmese or Shan. The akshara \( \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{G} \) on stone is constantly used for māha[n]. The indistinct akshara \( \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{G} \) in the last word would, if the language is Burmese, be read \( lāt \), and if Shan \( lōt \). Both words mean the same thing, i.e., primarily ‘released,’ secondarily ‘consecrated,’ ‘dedicated,’ ‘built in honor of.’ But whether the language is Burmese or Shan the first two words would be Siamese titles. Kwa[n]'rā (pron. kwanprā) means ‘a nobleman,’ and such people in Siam often have a Pāñi name or personal title. The Mahāpāmāt of the text is a legitimate form for such a name or title, standing for the Pāñi Mahāpāmāt, either by shortening in the usual way, or in full. Because the akshara \( \mathfrak{G} \) may be legitimately read as \( t \), or as \( t + \) Pāñi suffix op vowel, \( ə \) or \( ə \) or \( ə \) or \( u \).

Siamese nobles did, we know, frequently visit Ramaññadēsa on pilgrimages and did erect buildings in consequence. This particular man may have done so and ordered an inscription to be cut in his honor locally, and the lapidary may have used his own language, which, however, at the time that the structures in the neighbourhood were built, was not likely to have been Burmese, though it might have been Shan.

But the inscription may be purely Siamese. The character is what Taylor, The Alphabets, Vol. II, p. 346 and elsewhere, calls “the Kiousa character of Burma,” meaning clearly thereby (p. 345) the Burmese word kyauks (chauks, lapidary script, epigraphic). And although he is altogether wrong in his ideas as to its distribution in Burma, he shews that it was in use about Baungkōk and in Siam generally. Such a sentence as that we have before us is, however, so far as I can ascertain, not good Siamese.

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52 To be read ‘friend’; the word must be read māt.
53 I am much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Cushing, author of the Siāp Dictionary and Grammar, etc., for kindly aid in this difficult text.
54 In Siamese the title kwan may be prefixed to any other title of nobility, being the lowest. The titles are, highest downwards, Chaunprāyā, P'ayā, P'ā, Lōang, Mēang and Kun. A "royal" titled personage prefixes Kōm to his other titles.
55 Assuming the neighbourhood whence the tablet came to be that of the Kyaik'p' un Pagoda (see text, post, p. 354), the date of the inscription can be only, at present conjectured to be some time after the Siamese conquest of Cambodia in the 12th century A. D. See post, p. 355.
If then this stone commemorates the visit of a Siamese prince or noble to Pegu, it is of interest and some importance as historical evidence. Until disproved I am inclined to accept the second reading as the correct one. Another possible conjecture as to the nationality of the person commemorated by the stone is that he was a Talaing nobleman with a Siamese title. This is historically reasonable.

On the tablet, already mentioned (ante, p. 343), shewing two grotesque female figures is an inscribed monogram, of which the accompanying cut gives a full-sized tracing. The characters of this monogram bear a strong resemblance to the lapidary character of Burma.

The Pegu tablets at the Phayre Museum are then clearly of two types — grotesques and portraits, and although all are said locally to be from the same place, i.e., Mr. Jackson's Garden, I believe that this is an error, and that the grotesques came from the garden, and the portraits from the neighbourhood of the four colossal figures of Gautama Buddha, about six miles distant, known as the Kyaiip'pun Pagoda. If this belief is correct, the inscription just examined would tend to show that the Siamese had a hand in its erection, and for external evidence of such a supposition may be consulted Fergusson's statements and plates in his History of Indian Architecture, at page 663 ff., and especially at page 630.56

The grotesques divide themselves into four groups — figures marching armed, figures fighting, figures in flight, and figures in attitudes of supplication. It may be, therefore, fairly guessed that they represent the march, battle and defeat of a foreign army, such as that of Hanumān in the Rāmāyana, the story of which, by the way, is quite well known in Burma as the Yāmāyānā, or popularly as the Yāmāzā.57

8. Images and 'enamelled' pagodas at Thatón.

Perhaps the most interesting thing yet unearthed at Thatón is a stone image in bas-relief about three feet high, which was found quite lately, at 14 ft. below the surface, in digging a well in a garden near the Shinnā Kyaung. The owner has now set it up on a modern Burmese throne, or palanquin, beside a pipāl tree on the neighbouring road-side, and has built a tazaung (taw'tawng, a building with terraced roofs and 'umbrella' top) over it. The image is now entirely gilded, and the throne and tazaung ornamented with modern Burmese 'glass' and gold decoration. The money for the purpose being collected from worshippers on the spot, and perhaps the owner will, in the end, make a small living out of it, as does the guardian of the curious Pop'ó images.58

The image is that of a man standing upright, with long arms, broad shoulders, large-lobed ears, and curly hair. The right arm hangs down straight, but the left is doubled up so that the tip of the fingers touch the top of the shoulder. Under the arm-pit is a representation of a palm-leaf MS., covered over with a cloth, in the style still in use. It bears a striking resemblance to the colossal Digambara Jain figures of Western India shown, ante, Vol. II. p. 353, and in Fergusson's History of Indian Architecture, p. 268. It is not, however, naked.59 Bad weather prevented the taking of a photograph of this image, but it is well worth reproduction and study.

56 The point is, of course, at present very obscure. See post, p. 354 f., for further arguments as to it.
57 For sār see above, note 26. The pictures in Growse's Rāmāyana of Tūlā Dās may be usefully compared with these grotesques; see Book VI. Laščh.
58 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 331. He had started a box with a slot in it in April 1892!
59 The statue at Kārkala (ante, Vol. II. p. 353) is dated Saka 1553 = A. D. 1432.
There is, in the courtyard of the Shwézayán Pagoda at Thaton, and again at Martaban, near the point where the Government Telegraph cable crosses the Salween from Manmain, a so-called enamelled pagoda, locally presumed to be of great age. The tūpā, as well as the upper rings of the pagoda spire itself, is covered with glazed ware in several colors. The pagoda at Martaban, which is quite small, has a peculiarly venerable appearance from having been split from the crest downwards by a young pipal tree, which has taken root in the tūpā.

The enamelled appearance is produced by nailing on to the brick and plaster work small plates of lead covered over with a silica glaze in various colors; brown, grey, yellow, gold and green. The antiquity of the work may be well doubted, as the plates at Martaban, at any rate, were fastened on with European nails. The Great Kyaikkauk Pagoda near Syrium is similarly “glazed.” (B. B. Gazetteer, II. p. 283 f.)


The form of the Mulék Pagoda at Thaton has been already commented on, being that of a Siūhalese dāgaba. That is, it consists of three square terraces surmounted by what was a stūpa, and is now, after restoration, a modernized pagoda with the usual conventional tūpā. These terraces represent the three procession paths found round all Siūhalese dāgabas. The style is formed at Borobudur in Java, but with five procession paths in place of three. That the Thaton sample was not an isolated instance in Rāmaṇaṇḍaśa has been already noted, and that the mere form itself does not argue antiquity can be seen from the Sībhyā Pagoda at Myingun, which was built under Bōdōp’āya in 1816 A. D., where precisely the same arrangement occurs.

This leads to the reflection that form alone can never be relied on for estimating the age of a pagoda in Burma, because of the tendency to go back to the old types: e. g., the great Kaungmudaw (royal work of merit) Pagoda near Sagaing, the date of which is known to be about 1650 A. D. and which is a stūpa with stone railing after the Bhilsā type: e. g., also, the great pagoda of Bōdōp’āya (1781 to 1823 A. D.) at Myingun, which, had it been finished, would have been a stūpa raised upon a square base in most approved ancient form, as may be seen from the model still existing at Myingun. In the village of Syrium, on the high road to the Kyaikkauk Pagoda, just facing what must have been the old east gate of the city walls, is a small ruined pagoda of the true stūpa type. It is one of thirteen small pagodas, also mostly in ruins, but not of ancient form. To these I would add the remains of the Mahāchettī Pagoda at Pegu, the date of which lies between 1551 A. D., and 1851, and the resemblance of which to a true stūpa is most remarkable.

That the elongated pagoda of Burma at the present day is the lineal descendant of the dagoba of Buddhist India there can be little doubt, but, owing to the recurrence of ancient types in modern times, all that can be predicated of any particular sample from form alone is that the greatly elongated spiral form is not likely to date beyond a century or so.

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62 Portuguese, through (?) Arabic, form of the Telaga Mūttama = Burmese Mūtama (see also Crawford, op. cit.) = Pāli, Muttima. In Wilson’s Burmese War, 1827, it appears as Mautama.
63 A dovint myōkō, or subordinate magistrate, caused the pagoda at Thaton to be white-washed in honor of new year’s day, 1254 (B. E. = 14th April 1822). There is no greater destroyer of ancient monuments in the world than the dovint Burmese “restorer” of sacred buildings. His doings at Buddha Gayā in 1876 caused the deputation thither of Rajendralal Mitra on behalf of the Bengal Government, and resulted in the now well-known volume, Buddha Gayā.
64 Siūhalese visitors have recognized this. B. B. Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 717.
66 There is a minor instance at Martaban of obviously no great age in the S. E. corner of the courtyard of the Myálpāndā Pagoda. This dāgaba, for one can hardly call it anything else, is a cylindrical structure ten feet high and ten feet in diameter, surmounted by the usual Burmese pagoda spire and tūpā. It rises out of three square terraces, which have been evidently superimposed on an old base. All the ornamentation is modern Burmese: four niches at the base of the cylinder, and four manusathas at the corners of the uppermost terrace.
67 Pāli names Chāḷāmapi, Rājakchāḷāmapi, Rājasamaneḍha.
68 Spelt Čakrākāś = Pāli, Sitkaing and Sagaing = Pāli, Jayapura.
69 There is an inscription of great historical importance in the courtyard—see Yule, Aea, p. 66 and Appx. B. Of this I have lately procured a hand copy.

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60 See Yule, op. cit. p. 169.
back. The great sample of the elongated style is the Shwedagon at Rangoon, which is historically known to have been continually enlarged (i.e., to consist of a series of pagodas built over smaller ones), from the days of Binyawara (1446–1450 A.D.) and Queen Shinshōbū (1453–1460 A.D.) of Pegu to those of Sinbyuyin (1763–1775 A.D.) of the Alompra Dynasty, under which last ruler it finally attained its present shape and height in 1768 A.D.

I hope in due course to return to this important subject later on and to examine the pagoda forms of Burma in detail.

10. The Shwèdāyaung at Pegu.

The enormous recumbent figure of Gautama Buddha, the Shwèdāyaung, as it is called (see Plate XVIL), in the Zaingananaing Quarter of Pegu, has been noted by Mr. Taw Sein Ko (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 384). This evidently was one of the sights in days gone by of a part of the town that was set apart for the priests, for the Kalyāṇī Dēng is not far distant, the forgotten pagoda with its huge tank in Mr. Jackson’s Garden (ante, p. 340) is close by, and the Mahāchāțë Pagoda is not far off. It had an enclosure of its own surrounded by a wall. It is now a very prominent object of red-brick on a platform of squared laterite blocks, but the restorers have begun on it and plastered the face already, and no doubt the efforts of the pious will, in time, result in the plastering of the whole body. To the antiquarian it is remarkable for having a lost history. It is probably about 400 years old, and yet there is no history at all attached to it! What story there is about it is in fact an example of the utter extinction that at times overtakes an Oriental deltaic town upon conquest. Pegu was taken by Alaungp’ya in 1757 A.D., and utterly destroyed for a generation. So completely were the inhabitants dispersed that, when the city was repopulated under Sinbyuyin, who conciliated the Talaings, about 20 years after its destruction, all remembrance of this image, 181 ft. long and 46 ft. high at the shoulder, had disappeared! And this, though it was within a mile of the new town and surrounded by monasteries! The place on which it was situated had become dense jungle, and the image itself turned into what appeared to be a jungle-covered hillock, or at best a tree-hidden ruin. In 1881 the Burma State Railway ran past Pegu, within half a mile of the image, and laterite was required for the permanent way. A local contractor, in searching for laterite in the neighbourhood, came across a quantity in the jungle, and on clearing the place uncovered the image, which has ever since been an object of veneration.

A similar complete depopulation seems to have been effected at Bassein about 1760 A.D. by Alaungrp’ya, for the British Burmese Gazetteer accounts for the absence of native histories of Bassein by the utter destruction of the town that then took place.

II. Some details of the Plates.

Plate I.

The small figures in part of a circle at the top of the drawing represent the Saṅgha, or Church, seated round the Buddha, who is not visible in the plate. I have a curious brown glazed brick from Wunbō, which shows four figures seated in a tazaung or sayat. It is inscribed with the words, in clear Burmese characters, “Tutiy Saṅghāyanātēn hān,” which in Burmese would be read Tutiy Diŋ‘iyanātēn hān, and may be translated, “the picture of the Third Convocation hearing the precepts of the Buddha.” Yanā, to the modern Burman, is one of the early convocations of the Buddhist Church rehearsing the teachings of the Buddha: yandit is the holding of such a convocation: hān means “having the appearance of.” It is not a verb.78

A careful comparison of the figures shown in this Plate with those described in the next will show that the figures of the Farm Cave are identical with those of the Kōgun Cave in point of age and character.

76 See ante, p. 18. There is a recumbent Buddha at Pechaburi in Siam 145 ft. long; see Bowring’s Stamm, I. 167; and one in Bangkok, 166 ft. long, op. cit., I. 418.
77 This “Third Convocation” is a great landmark in Burmese ecclesiastical history. The Burmans mean by it Asoka’s Third Council, which, according to them, was held in the Year of Religion 235-236 = 315 B.C. Also, according to them, it was as a result of this Convocation that they adopted the Buddhist faith. See Bigandet, Life and Legend of Gaudama, II. 139; ante, p. 18.
Explanation of Index Plate 1a.

Figures (1) and (2) are two figures on one throne (pāla in). Fig. (1) is the Buddha in priestly costume. Fig. (2) is the Buddha as Zabūbadē. In this case the sole of the right foot is not exposed. The material is wood. Fig. (3) is a "Shān Buddha." Priestly costume; the sole of the right foot is not exposed: material, wood. The same is to be said of figs. (4), (9), (11), (12), (13), and (14), all carved in a series of thrones or niches in the same piece of wood; also of figs. (33), (34), (40), (41), (43). Fig. (35) shows the same in stone.

Figures (5) and (6) are priestly disciples in the attitude of adoration: material, wood. So is fig. (7): material, stone.

Figure (10) is very interesting as being a "Cambodian tower" in wood, exhibiting the four Buddhas of this dispensation, Kassandha, Kūnagamana, Kasapa, Gōtama.

Figure (8) is Zabūbadē in the attitude of submission to the Buddha after his conversion: material, wood.

Figures (15), (16), (17) and (18) show the Buddha seated in the coils of the serpent Ananta, as on a throne. The serpent is three-headed: the three heads being grotesqued and conventionalized in true Burmese fashion. In both these instances the Buddha has both soles exposed: material, wood.

Figures (19) and (23) show what is known in Burma as a "Siamese Buddha" (Yādya P'ayā). It is winged after the fashion of Indian and Siamese Buddhas: material terra-cotta. Fig. (30) exhibits the same in stone.

Figures (20) and (37) show the Buddha as Zabūbadē: material, wood. Fig. (24) exhibits the same in terra-cotta: and fig. (39) in stone. So does fig. (42) in stone. Both soles are exposed, probably, in each case.

Figures (21) and (22) are two figures of the Buddha as Zabūbadē on one throne. In this case the sole of the right foot is not exposed: material, wood.

Figures (25) and (28) exhibit the Buddha in priestly costume, both soles exposed; but the type is antique.

Figure (26) exhibits the head of the Buddha of the Shān type in plaster.

Figure (27) is the background in wood of a throne and had originally an image fixed on to it. It is chiefly interesting as showing symbols of the sun and moon (?), one above the other.

Figures (29) and (30) show the janitors of a shrine, much in the fashion common on doorways in Ceylon and in Cambodia. Material, wood. Compare Plates IV. fig. 1, X. fig. 3, XIV. fig. 16, of Forchhammer's Report on the Antiquities of Arakan for similar figures.

Figure (31) is an image of Mabhondaye in terra-cotta.

Figure (38) shows two images of the "Shān Buddha" seated on the same throne: material, wood.

It will be perceived that the pagoda, at the foot of which the images have been placed, has been broken into for treasure. This pagoda is that shown again in Plate V.

Plate III.

This plate shows the elevation of the Entrance Hall of the Kūgen Cave, which is alluded to in p. 336, ante, where a sketch plan of it is given. An examination of the plate through a magnifier will show the extent to which the rock has been ornamented by lines of terra-cotta tablets, stuck on by cement and faced for the most with representations of the Buddha seated.
in priestly costume, or as Zabūbādē. See Plates XVI. and XVIa, and also ante, p. 334, where a full-sized representation of the back of one of these tablets is given.

Plate IV.
Explanation of Index Plate IV.

This Plate shows the mural decoration of the Kōgun Cave to consist mainly of terra-cotta tablets, faced with representations of the Buddha, seated as already described. But a few facts are brought prominently to notice in it.

Figure (1) is the recumbent Buddha of not an unusual type.

Figure (2) is a seated image of the type explained below, p. 354, Plate VII.

Figures (3), (6) and (13) are representations of the Buddha preaching, a form which is very rare in modern figures, but which must have been common enough when these caves were decorated. I have photographs of a fine set of very ancient type in wood, now at the Shinbinkūji Pagoda in Tabōmyō, which were taken thither from the Dātsabhān Hill at Lēgaiyō, the ancient Vānijjasāma in the Minbu District, one of the oldest sites in Upper Burmah.72 One of these is now set up (restored) at the Sūlē Pagoda in Rangoon. Figure (13) has been accidentally cut out of the Plate, but is in the original photograph.

Figure (7) represents the Buddha with his Dābēk, or begging bowl.

Figures (8), (9), (10) and (12) are interesting as shewing images of the Buddha (Shān type) with one sole only exposed. Fig. (11) shews him as Zabūhādē with a septuple tiara on his head.

Figure (4) also shews the great hexagonal ornamented stalagmite, which is to be better seen on Plate VII.

Figure (5) exhibits the damage, almost universal in pagodas found in or near the Caves, and done in order to get at the contents of the treasure chamber. See ante, p. 333.

The day when this Cave was visited happened to be that of the annual new year's feast, and a couple of boys, worn out with the fatigues of the festival, are to be seen asleep in the foreground. The human figures in the photograph are useful to shew the proportions of the various objects shown.

Figure (14) is an inscription in modern Burmese characters on plaster, which has partly peeled off. The figures 2157 can be made out on the original photograph through a magnifier. Given that this refers to "the Year of Religion," or Anno Buddhae, it yields the date 1615 A. D. At any rate the inscription is worth looking into, for there should be no difficulty in reading it. Its situation is marked in the sketch plan, ante, p. 336.

Plate V.

This shews a pagoda which has been twice dug into in search for treasure.73

Of the mural decoration the objects of chief interest are a prominent figure of the Buddha preaching, and the small alabaster figures placed in hollows and on ledges in the upper part of the rock.

The boys in the foreground are some of those, who had come to be present at the new year festival noted in describing the last plate.

Plate VI.

This plate gives a view, shewing the way into the Main Hall from the Entrance Hall, and shews that the decoration of roof and walls by means of plastering them with terra-cotta tablets extends even to the recesses of the Main Hall. It also shews usefully the extraordinary richness of the remains and the confusion into which they have now fallen.

73 This is the pagoda which appears in Plate Ia. Alexander, Travels, 1827, p. 18, says that about Rangoon a good deal of this kind of damage was due to the European troops in the First War.
The main features of interest in the plate are those noted in the Index Plate.
In many samples in this Plate, notably in figs. (1), (5), (7) and (9), it will be observed that the right sole is not exposed: and this in instances where the figures have obviously been built up of brick and plaster.

Figures (2) and (3) represent devotees in an attitude of prayer, and so does fig. (6), giving the back view of a favorite attitude.

Figure (4) is a sample of a "Yóa'ayá Payá:"

Figure (7) is especially interesting as being that of the Buddha enthroned in the jaws of a gigantic three-headed serpent, figs. (8), (9), (10). Each head has been conventionalized in the manner already described. I possess a fine example from Amarapura in wood of the Buddha seated on a throne, canopied by a seven-headed serpent, but the example in the Plate is, so far as I am yet aware, unique.

Plate VII., Plate VIII. fig. 2, Plate IX., Plate IXa, Plate XII., Plate XIII., Plate XV., fig. 1.

Plate XV. fig. 1 exhibits what is known as the Kyaikp'í Kyaikp'un, or simply as the Kyaikp'un, Pagoda near Pegu. The remaining plates exhibit glazed bricks found in its neighbourhood, or in Mr. Jackson's Garden in the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu, or presumed to have come from these two spots.

I think an examination of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda may throw light on the probable origin and date of these peculiar bricks, which I take to be conventional portraits and commemorative of devotees.

Now the Kyaikp'un Pagoda, a huge mass of brick 90 ft. high, shows, I think, the influence of the Cambodian style of architecture. That is, it is a solid square brick tower, on each face of which sits a huge figure of one of the four Buddhas of this dispensation, via., Kakusandha, Koppagamana, Kasappa, and Gótama. Compare this plate with those given in Fergusson's Indian Architecture, fig. 378, p. 680, and I hardly think that there can be much doubt about it. I have also a curious series of coarse chromolithographs by M. Jammes of his visit to Angkor Thom, which confirms this view. The extension of Cambodian, and later of Siamese, power, for a time, as far west as Pegu can, I think, be shewn historically. The Siamese influence seems to have been strongest in the latter part of the 13th and early part of the 14th centuries; in the 15th century we find the native Talaing Dynasty firmly established. The Cambodians were overthrown by the Siamese in the 14th century, and their influence was not apparently felt in Ramānandesa after the 10th century. So that, if the Cambodians had a hand in the design of this tower, it must date back at least to the 10th century, and to its being a well-known structure in Talaing times in the 15th century we have the testimony of the Kalyánl Inscriptions, in which it appears as the Mahābuddharūpa near a ferry over the Yóga, or Pegu, River.

Plate XIII. goes to further shew the influence of Cambodian art in this region. The glazed brick shewn here is from the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu and the costume of the figures is strongly Cambodian.

Plates IX. and IXa exhibit two couples of figures of the portrait class, both, I believe, from Zainganaing. They also shew two versions of the inscription described ante, p. 343 f. Plate IX. shews the inscription as described, and Plate IXa shews it in a more cursive form, which is interesting on that account. Apart from the testimony of the inscription the costume

14 See ante, Vol. XXI. p. 388. There is in the Phayre Museum a small stone object (broken) with the four Buddhas seated back to back. It was taken from the neighbourhood of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda, and may well have been a votive model of it. In Buchanan-Hamilton's "Account of the Religion and Literature of the Burmagen" in Asiatic Researches, vii, 265, the Four Buddhas turn up as Chaunasaam, Gonagun, Gasp and Godama! In Malcolm, Travels, Vol. ii. p. 224, they are Kankathan, Gonnagun, Kathapa and Gaddama, and in Siamese, Kakasan, Konsagon, Ksasp and Kodom.
16 Ante, p. 46.
17 But see ante, p. 344 f., as to a possible Siamese origin for these figures.
of the figures is Siamese or Cambodian, as also are the costumes of similar figures in Plates VIII. fig. 2, IX., IXa, and XII. from the same place. The figures are not clothed in Burmese fashion.

I would draw attention to the head-dress of these figures, because if compared with that of the "Shan Buddhas" and many non-Burmese figures shewn in Plates Ia, IV., VI. and VII., as found in the caves about Maulmain, it will be seen that they are identical, and give us a clue as to when they must have been deposited.

In Plate VII., at the point indicated in the index plate below, is a remarkable seated figure of the Cambodian type, as shewn in Plate XIII.

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Index to Plate VII.

Close to the Kyaikp'un Pagoda is a large metal image of the Buddha overgrown now by the roots of a huge pipal tree. In the illustration of this in Plate VIII. fig. 2 are to be seen specimens of glazed bricks, shewing precisely the class of 'portraits' above described. The inference is that whatever the date of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda itself may be, that is also the date of the bricks seen in the Plate.

The structures in the Zainganaing Quarter, whence these figures came, can be most safely attributed to a time before Dhammashet (the middle of the 15th century). and if the

13 The great Mahchiti Pagoda in Zainganaing was, however, not built till the 16th century, and the Kalyipa Dzig was built by Dhammashet.
date of the Kyaikpun Pagoda is to be placed earlier than the 13th century, we get a date for these glazed portrait bricks, viz., at the latest the 10th century A.D., and by analogy a similar date for the deposit of similar votive offerings in the caves. Assuming the remains to be of Cambodian origin, then, as the Cambodian power lasted in these parts from the 6th to the 10th centuries, the period between them would be that in which the bulk of the older deposits must have been made.

To sum up the evidence so far available, it may be said that the older cave remains, if Cambodian, date between the 6th and 10th centuries A.D.; if Siamese, the date must be put forward to the 13th or 14th century.

Plate VIII. fig. 1, and Plates X. and XI.

Plate VIII. fig. 1 shows selected specimens from the collection of glazed bricks from Pegu (see ante, p. 349) in the Phayre Museum, Rangoon. Some are said to have come from Syria, but I cannot say which. They are sufficient in number and variety to show the point of the remark already made that the whole set must have represented the march, battle, flight and defeat of an ogre army. The march of armed ogres is depicted in figs. (13), (14), (15), (16), and (17): the battle in figs. (1), (2), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12): the flight in figs. (6) and (18): the defeat, as shown in attitudes of supplication, in (3), (4), (5), and (19).

Plates X. and XI. show some similar figures to those in this instructive Plate in greater detail. In Plate X. two couples of the army marching are shown, and one, fig. (3), of the flight. Figure (4) represents the prisoners, two women in the tight-fitting drawers, or girded skirt, of the lower orders of the Malays and Siamese. The trunk and legs, as amongst these women still, are bare. Plate XI. exhibits the battle in figs. (5), (6) and (7), while fig. (8) represents the flight.
The figures are further extremely instructive in the matter of costume, and how instructive in the matter of arms, the accompanying drawing, taken by Mr. D. M. Gordon of the Burma Secretariat from the original bricks, will show.

The dês or knives are shewn in figs. (1), (4), (6), (9), (10): an adze in fig. (2): daggers in figs. (5), (8): spears in figs. (3), (7), (8), (11), (13): round embossed shields (? of leather) in figs. (1), (2), (5), (fig. (5) has a peculiarly Indian attitude and appearance), (6), (14): square shields (? of bamboo) in figs. (9), (10), (13): a Malay kris in fig. (14): a wooden mallet in fig. (15): an Indian composite bow, with arrow in fig. (12) (the arrow appears to have palm-leaf 'feathers'): a Kachin cross-bow and arrow in fig. (14): and a quoit in fig. (7).
From Plate XI. fig. 8, I extract two more varieties of armament: an axe and a pestle.\(^7\)

The two axes and the drum below are taken by myself from bricks in the Phayre Museum, which are not shewn on the Plates.

Many more forms could, I think, be made out from a careful examination of the whole 110 bricks in the Museum, but enough have been given to shew the value of these bricks historically.

I would, however, warn antiquaries that it is quite possible that these bricks represent the Yāmācāt, which is the Rāmāyāna in disguise, and that it is not, therefore, to be assumed from them that such foreign articles as the composite bow and the round embossed shield exhibit anything more than what the artists had seen in pictures.

*Plates XIIIa, XIV, and XIVa.*

These represent sculptured stones from Thatón. One would say that they were unique in Burma, were it not for the description of Pagân in Yule’s *Aea*, p. 54, and in Crawford’s *Aea*, p. 69.\(^8\) They are *prima facie* Hindu, and *Vaishnavas* or *Saivas* in type, according to the reading of the symbols carved on them.\(^9\) But I think Rajendralāla Mitra’s remarks in *Buddha Gayā*, p. 138 f., are instructive in this connection, as shewing how much Tantrik Hinduism and Buddhism are mixed up in Buddhist sculpture in Gayā itself. He also shews that a Burmese inscription was found at the foot of an image of Śiva and Pārbat! (page 227).

The *head-dresses* of the figures are remarkable, presuming them to precede the figures in the Cave remains. It will be seen that they are practically the same as those attributed to

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\(^7\) One of the “elephants” in Plate X. fig. 2, has a distinct axe in his hand.

\(^8\) Crawford’s remarks, page 76, in explanation, I think, hit the right nail on the head. In his *Siem*, p. 150, Crawford makes the following statement, which may prove of use in this connection. “Some questions put to our visitor upon the present occasion, respecting the origin of the Hindu images we saw in the temple, elucidated a point of some consequence in the history of Hindu emigration. They stated that the images in question were brought to Siam from Western India in the year 753 of the vulgar era of the Siamese, which corresponds with the year 1406 of our time. This fact, if correct, proves that an intercourse subsisted between Western India and Siam a full century before Europeans had found their way to the latter country.”

Given that these stones represent Buddhist sculptures, they would show that the Tantrik or Northern Buddhism was once prevalent in the neighbourhood of Thatón, a view confirmed by the remarks made ante Vol. XXI. p. 381, concerning the “Hindu” nature of the glazed tablets round the Dājāpāyā, and further by the presence of the image of Mahāṇaḍayā in the Caves.

Mahāṇaḍayā, represents the Earth Goddess, Vasundhāra, who is the Vasundhāra of Cunningham’s Mahābhādha and the Prithvi Dēvi of Rajendralāla Mitra. She is Vajra-vāraṇi and Vajra-kālika, mother of the Buddha, according to the Northern belief. Her image is, at Buddha Gayā, often distinctly Hindu in type, with 4, 6, and even 8 arms. As Mahāṇaḍayā she is to be seen in Burmese sculptures in many places, notably at the Mahāmuni Pagoda at Māndalay, and I am, as at present advised, strongly inclined to hold that the four-armed female (?) figure in Plate XIIIa is simply Vasundhāra. It should also be noted that Rajendralāla Mitra points out, at p. 6 of his Buddha Gayā, that her cult appeared very early in Buddhism.

The presence of Tantrik Buddhism in Burma is a point of more importance than it would at first appear. The usual belief, based on local tradition, is that the Burmans got their Buddhism through Pāḷi from Ceylon. This belief does not, however, stand historical criticism as clearly as it should to be undeniable correct, and if it can be shewn that the sculptural remains all over the country are of Tantrik origin, the opposite theory, based on criticism, that the Burmans really got their culture and religion overland, or by sea, from the North, will gain overwhelming support.

Here, at any rate, is a pretty bit of evidence of the early presence of Northern Buddhism in Thatón from a native writer of much learning on the points of which he treats, Sarat Chandra Das, in his Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 50 f., gives a short life of Dīpakāra Srijānā, Atisā, and says that he “was born A. D. 980 in the royal family of Gaṇḍ at Vikramaśāpur in Bangāla, a country lying to the East of Vajrāsaṇa (Buddha Gayā).” His name was Chandragarbhā, and he was educated by the sage Jetūrī, an avadhūt adept.” “He acquired proficiency in the three pīṭkas of the four classes of the Hinayāna Svāvakas, in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, in the three pīṭkas of the Mahāyāna doctrine, the high metaphysics of the Madhyamikas and Yogāchārya schools, and the four classes of Tantras. Having acquired the reputation of being a great pandit in the Śastras of the Tṛṭhaikas, he defeated a learned Bhāman in disputation. Then preferring the practice of religion to the ease and pleasures of this world, he commenced the study of the meditative science of the Buddhists, which consists of the tṛṭhīkā of the three studies — morality, meditation and divine learning — and for this purpose he went to the vihāra of Kṛṣṇapāla to receive his lessons from Rāhula Gupta. Here he was given the secret name of Guhyajīna Vajra, and initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from Śīla Raksīta, the Mahāśāṅkika Āchārya of Odantapuri, who gave him the name of Dīpakāra.”

83 Cunningham, op. cit. p. 55, shows that it had completely gained ascendancy at Buddha Gayā before the Muslim conquest in 1291 A. D.

84 Buddha Gayā, p. 139.

85 For a thoroughly Tantrik conception of Vasundhāra see Forchhammer, Report on Ant. in Arakan, p. 19, where he translates an inscription:—“May Vasundhāra, whose extent measures 240,000 pīṭkas, raise an acclamation of ‘ekdha, ekdha,’ as a witness to this good work of mine.” But I must say that I cannot clearly follow the passage, or the name, in the text given.

86 Compare Buddhā Gayā, Plates XXI. fig. 2, and XX. fig. 4. Oldfield’s remarks on the Nepalese representations of Dharma, Sketches from Nepal, Vol. II. p. 160 ff., may be read with much instruction in this connection. See also, his illustration at Vol. II. p. 157 of the Trizatras.

87 Vide Mr. Foulkes’ article on Buddhā Gayā, ante, Vol. XIX. p. 105 ff., and Mr. Taw Sein-Ko’s article on Sanskrit words in the Burmese language, ante, Vol. XXI. p. 94 ff., and ante, p. 102 ff.
Srijāna. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained in the highest order of Bhikshu, and also given the vows of a Bodhisattva by Dharma Raksha. He received lessons in metaphysics from several eminent Buddhist philosophers of Magadha. He was in short a typical Northern teacher of the time.

Now Sarat Chandra Das goes on to tell us that Dipaṅkara "on account of these divergent attainments, which moved his mind variously in different directions, resolved to go to Āchārya Chandrakirtti, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvipa. Accordingly, in the company of some merchants, he embarked for Suvarṇadvipa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months, during which the travellers were overtaken by terrible storms. At this time Suvarṇadvipa was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest was considered the greatest scholar of his age. Dipaṅkara resided there for a period of twelve years, in order to completely master the pure teachings of the Buddha, of which the key was possessed by the High Priest alone." On his return he took up his residence at the shrine of the Mahābodhi at Vajrārāma (Buddha Gayā).

Sarat Chandra Das also remarks, and he seems to be right in so doing, that Suvarṇadvipa was Thaton.

Also, I cannot help quoting a note by Dr. Rost to p. 234 of Vol. I. of his edition of Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China in which, after describing Prof. Kern's work in connection with the Sanskrit inscriptions in the peninsula of Malacca, he says: "These inscriptions confirm in a remarkable manner the conclusions to which the recent (1886) decipherments by Barth, Bergaigne, Semant and Kern, of the Cambodian inscriptions inevitably tend — viz., that Buddhism came to the peninsula and Cambodia, not from Ceylon, but from regions on the coasts of India, where the so-called Northern type of that religion was current."

That the great mediaeval revival of Buddhism in Burma was supported by Southern influence is unquestionable, but it is far from proved as yet that the original Buddhism of the country was not directly Indian in origin, or that mediaeval Northern Buddhism did not greatly affect the ideas of the people. As regards the educated, Tantrik worship and philosophy would seem to have disappeared, but, under cover of nāt-(spirit)worship, it would seem to still largely survive among the people.

In any case, any such images as those under consideration are worth study, wherever found in order to settle the fundamental point now raised.

To put the matter fairly before the student, it is right to add here the views that a capable Hindu scholar takes of the figures shewn on Plates XIIIa, XIVa, and XIVa, and so I give here verbatim an opinion kindly expressed for me by Pañjīt Hari Mōhan Vidyabhāshana, who has no doubt as to the Vaishnava nature of the stones. He writes:— "Plates XIV and XIVa illustrate the Ananta-sāgāra of Nārāyaṇa (Vīṣṇu), i.e., Vīṣṇu is represented in human form slumbering on the serpent Śaṇkha, and floating on the waters before the creation of the world, or during the periods of temporary annihilation of the universe. The figure at the bottom of the Plates is that of Nārāyaṇa with four arms. He is floating on the waters reclining on the serpent Śaṇkha. In Plate XIVa the hood of the serpent is visible. Two of the most common names of Vīṣṇu are Chatur-bhuja (four-armed) and Ananta-sāgāra (he who sleeps on the serpent Ananta). From the lotus of his navel spring the three gods of the Hindu triad, — Brahmā, Vīṣṇu and Mahēśvara. The three stalks of the lotus are very clear in Plate XIV. The figure on the right of the triad is Brahmā with four heads, whence his names Chaturāṇana (four-faced), Nābhīja (navel born), and Abja-yōdi (lotus born). The figure in the middle with four arms represents Vīṣṇu, the saṅkha, or conch, in his hand (in Plate XIV) being visible. The figure on the left is Mahēśvara, the triśūla in his hand being quite plain in Plate XIV. One of his names is Trīśūla.
"Plate XIIIa represents Vaisnava with four arms. With one of his left hands he is raising his gada, or club called humanodak. The figure on his left is not quite clear, but seems to be an attendant."

It will be observed that there are the remains of an inscription on Plate XIIIa by the right arms of the large figure. I tried to make it out on the stone and failed, but from a plaster cast I had taken enough could be seen of it to determine the characters to be Burmese of the Kyauksa type.

Plate XV. Fig. 2.

This plate represents the tablet found in Pegu by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 385). In the Phayre Museum there are three more such tablets: one from Pegu and two from Pagánd. There is a number of such tablets in the British Museum and in the South Kensington Museum, brought thither from Buddha Gayá itself. They seem to be intended to memorialize in a small space the life of the Buddha, after the fashion, on a much larger scale, of the stone slabs pictured by Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II. p. 56, and quite lately in Part II. of the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.

The inscription on this particular tablet, which is in medieval Northern Indian characters, proves beyond all doubt, irrespective of its general form, that it is a specimen of a distinct class of votive objects found in great numbers at Buddha Gayá. In Plate XXIV. of his Mahabodhi, Sir A. Cunningham figures several of the tablets he found and calls them "terracotta seals," and I think the best explanation of them is that given ante, in Vol. XXI. p. 385, footnote, viz., that there was a factory of such objects at Gayá for the pilgrims, who took them thence all over the Buddhist world of the time as keepsakes and relires, and presented them to their own places of worship on their return home. The tablet figured in the plate is almost identical with the much finer specimen figured by Cunningham as fig. E, Plate XXIV.

The only special remark I would make about it is that the serpentine objects towards the top of the tablet (see figure below) are not serpent heads, but the leaves of the bodhi tree, known to the Burmese as nyaungnyet.

The institution of formal pilgrimages to Gayá from Burma is proved by the inscriptions there, dated in the 11th century A.D., and it may be fairly argued that the presence of these tablets in Pagán and Pegu is due to the pilgrimages made from the former place in the 11th century and from the latter, under the auspices of the great revivalist king Dhammacháti, in the 15th century. Dhammacháti is well known to have sent a large pilgrimage to Gayá.

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87 See also Crawfurd's Ava, p. 69. In Forchhammer's Report on the Kyauku Temple at Pagan, similar tablets are shown on Plates VII. and VIII. Nos. 15, 16 and 17, but not described. Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 14 L., seems to refer to these tablets and so does Clement Williams, Through Burmah to China, p. 57.
Plates XVI. and XVIa.

As the figures in these two Plates have unfortunately not been numbered, it is necessary to give index numbers here, thus:—

Plate XVI.

1  2  3

5  4  6

7  8

Plate XVIa.

1  2  3

4  5  6

In Plate XVI, all the figures represent terra-cotta tablets from D'ammabá and Kògun. Figures (1), (4), (5) and (8) represent the Buddha as Zabūbadē, and Figs. (2), (6) and (7) show him dressed in priestly costume. Figure (7) is interesting as shewing in the original bad gilding, proved by the figure being now covered with verdigris.

Figure (3) shows one of three small tablets found in the Kògun Cave. I cannot explain it further than by pointing out that it shews a king seated on a throne with a standing female figure on either side of him and three seated Buddhas, or perhaps Buddha, Saṅgha and Dharma, over his head.

In Plate XVIa we have Fig. (1) the Buddha as Zabūbadē and in Fig. (3) Zabūbadē himself kneeling to the Buddha after his defeat. In Fig. (4) we see a specimen of a "Shān Buddha," with the right sole not exposed. All these are from Kògun. Figure (2) exhibits a fine plaster head of the Buddha canopied by the grotesqued head of Ananta. This is from the Farm Cave.

In Figs. (5) and (6) are compared two images in wood, gilt, of priests or disciples praying to the Buddha. Figure (5) is one of a modern set from Prome of the "eight attitudes of prayer." Figure (6) is from Kògun and is clearly ancient in form.

Plates XVIII. and XIX.

The fine situations of many pagodas and religious buildings in Burma has been often remarked. The same may be said of many of the cities of the Burmese:—Rangoon, Maulmain, Prome, Pagān, Mandalay, Sagaing, Avā, Amarapura, are all placed in exceptionally fine situations. Even flat Pegu looks well from the river. The site of the great, but abortive, pagoda at Myingun, opposite Mandalay, is most striking.

Another prominent feature in pagoda building is the habit the Burmese have, owing to the increased merit gained thereby, of erecting them in difficult situations. The greater the difficulty, the greater the merit (kūdā). This is common to all Burma, and it may be said that most difficult and naturally inaccessible hills have pagodas on the top, access to which is often only to be had by climbing rickety bamboo ladders up dangerous precipices and over deep clefts in the rock.²²

In Plate XVIII. is given a well-known specimen of one of many similar pagodas in the Shwègyin District, i.e., in the heart of Ramaññadēsa. It is only possible to reach it by means of ladders.

²² This has been noticed by Clement Williams, Through Burmah to China, p. 64; Malcom, Travels, 1839, t. 2, 60.
Plate XIX. shows the approach to the D’ambabó Cave on the Jain River. This plate exhibits all the peculiarities above mentioned. It shows the very fine situation of the village of D’ambabó, the small gilt pagoda on the summit of the hill overlooking the river, and the monastic buildings around it. The hill in the distance is that in which the great cave is situated and on its difficult summit are situated no less than three small pagodas.

The Original Photographs.

I desire to record fully the origin of the Plates, which has only been partially noted on the Plates themselves.

Mr. P. Klier of Rangoon took Plates I., VI., VII., XVII., XVIII., and XIX. Mr. F. O. Oertel took Plates Ia, III., IV., V., VIII. Fig. 1, during the journey herein described. The late Mr. R. Romanis took Plate II. many years ago. Messrs. Watts and Skoon of Rangoon took Plates VIII. Fig. 2, XV. Fig. 1, and at my special request Plates IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., XIIIa, XIV., XIVa, XV. Fig. 2, XVI., XVII., XVIIa. Mr. W. Robinson of the Oxford Museum took Plate IXa, also at my special request.

12. — Additional Notes. 88

The Sculptures from Thatón.

There is a passage in Anderson’s Mandalay to Momien, p. 216, which is extremely valuable for the purposes of the present discussions, for it seems to settle the Northern Buddhistic nature of the remains from Thatón. “In the khyoung [monastery] which formed our residence [at Momien], there was a figure of Pan Ku [i. e., Pan Ku] the Creator, seated on a bed of leaves resembling those of the sacred Padma or lotus. This remarkable four-armed figure was lifesize and naked, save for garlands of leaves round the neck and loins. He was seated cross-legged like Buddha, the two uppermost arms stretched out, forming each a right-angle. The right hand held a white disc and the left a red one. The two lower arms were in the attitude of carving, the right hand holding a mallet and the left a chisel.”

Compare this description with Plate XIII., and there can be little doubt that the two representations are meant for the same mythological personage. As to Pan Ku, I gather from Mayer’s Chinese Reader’s Handbook, pp. 173 (under Pan Ku), 201 (under Sze-ma Ts’ien), and 376 (Sung Dynasty), that this primordial being of the Chinese was unknown in 85 B.C., and is not heard of before 420 A.D. Now, according to Eitel, Buddhism, p. 22 ff., Buddhistic images and ideas first became popularized in China between 62 and 75 A.D., under the Emperor Ming Ti of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and at once became allied with Taoism, which had at that time already descended to the level of the indigenous and popular aminism.90 Further, Pan Ku would also appear to be the counterpart, representative, or successor in art and sculpture, as well as in association, of the Buddhist Dharma as conceived by the Northern schools.91

In this connection, I may as well note here, as a proof of the survival of Tantrik notions among the modern Burmese, that I have been for some time collecting all the vernacular literature I can lay hands on about the “Thirty-seven Natá,” or chief spirits. I have amongst other documents four complete sets of drawings of the Thirty-seven Náts. The drawings do not agree in numbering or nomenclature, but they all agree in giving two of the Náts four to six arms each.92

I have already had occasion to remark that it is easy to mix up Buddhist and Hindu sculpture, and to mistake the former for the latter. Writing, as I now am, in the hope of

88 From information procureed since the pages of this article were set up.
89 See also Beal, Buddhist Records, Vol. I. p. x.
91 The stories of the Náts all purport to be historical and to state who they were in life. They seem to approach very closely to the “saints” of the Indian Moslems, to the Bhútás of Southern India, and in some respects to the canonized saints of Europe. Bowring shows, Sam, l. 231, that something very like Nat-worship is common in Siam.
rousing students in Burma to a deep examination of the splendid antiquities about them, and observing, as indeed one cannot help doing, the unanimity with which they hold that Burmese Buddhism has always been what it is now, and their tendency to refer everything Vaishnava or Saiva in form to a supposed pre-Buddhistic Hinduism, I would draw prominent attention to some remarks made by Brian Hodgson nearly 70 years ago. The caution he inculcates is to my mind as important now as it was in those early days of Buddhist research.

Writing in 1827 and 1828, he says: "It is the purpose of the following paper to furnish to those, who have means and inclination to follow them out, a few hints relative to the extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. Having myself resided some few years in a Baudhha country [Népal], I have had ample opportunity of noting this resemblance, and a perusal of the works of Crawford,44 of Raffles, and of the Bombay Literary Society, has satisfied me that this curious similitude is not peculiar to the country wherein I abide. I observe that my countrymen, to whom any degree of identity between faiths, in general so opposite to each other as Saivism and Buddhism, never seems to have occurred, have, in their examination of the monuments of India and its islands, proceeded on an assumption of the absolute incommunity between the types of the two religions, as well as between the things typified. This assumption has puzzled them not a little, so often as the evidence of their examination has forced upon them the observation of images in the closest juxtaposition, which their previous ideas, nevertheless, obliged them to sunder as far apart as Brahmanism and Buddhism.

"When, in this country in which I reside, I observed images the most apparently Saiva placed in the precincts of Sangata [Buddhist] temples, I was at first inclined to consider the circumstance as an incongruity, arising out of ignorant confusion of the two creeds by the people of this country. But, upon multiplying my observations, such a resolution gave me no satisfaction. These images often occupied the very penetralia of Sangata temples, and in the sequel I obtained sufficient access to the conversation and books of the Baudhhas to convince me that the cause of the difficulty lay deeper than I had supposed. The best informed of the Baudhhas contemptuously rejected the notion of the images in question being Saiva, and in the books of their own faith they pointed out the Baudha legends, justifying and explaining their use of such, to me, doubtful symbols. Besides, my access to the European works, of which I have already spoken, exhibited to me the very same apparent anomaly existing in regions the most remote from one another and from that wherein I dwell. Indeed, wheresoever Baudha monuments, sculptural or architectural, had been drawn by European curiosity, the same dubious symbols were exhibited; nor could my curiosity be at all appeased by the assumption which I found employed to explain them. I showed these monuments to a well informed old Baudha, and asked him what he thought of them, particularly the famous Trimûrti image of the Cave Temple of the west. He recognized it as a genuine Baudha image! As he did many others, declared by our writers to be Saiva! ... ........... The purpose of my paper is to show that very many symbols, the most apparently Saiva, are, notwithstanding, strictly and purely Baudha; and that, therefore, in the examination of the antiquities of India and its islands, we need not vex ourselves, because on the sites of old Sangata temples we find the very genitus loci arrayed with many of the apparent attitudes of a Saiva god. Far less need we infer, from the presence, on such sites, of seemingly Saiva images and types, the presence of actual Saivism. ........... Upon the whole, therefore, I deem it certain, as

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43 "On the extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism." Oriental Quarterly Magazine, viii. 218ff. viii. 252ff. Languages, etc., of Népal, 133ff.

44 Q. Crawford, Sketches of the Hindus, 1792, or perhaps J. Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago. In the former work, Vol. ii. p. 117ff, is an account of the "affinity between the religion of Siam, China, and Tibet, and that of Hindustan," the author remarking in a footnote to p. 117, "with the religion of Arracan and Fugu we are not much acquainted; but, as far as I had been able to learn, it is almost the same with that of Siam." In 1786, Flosset, the traveller, sent home a long account of the "Religions des Peguans et des Bramas" (Young Fao, ii. 7ff.), but it seems to have been official and to have never been published till 1891.
well that the types of Saivism and Buddhism are very frequently the same, as that the things typified are, always more or less, and generally radically, différent.”

Pegu Jars.

Anderson, English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century, page 95, gives a reference to the Pegu jar, which is a valuable contribution on the subject, to prove the spread of the article at that time. He quotes “a memorandum of 1664 preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and entitled, 'The Trade of India as It Is now managed by the English Company of Merchants trading in some parts of it is very invalid in comparison of: what is now drove by our neighbour nation the Dutch.' It states that 'many sorts of clothing are sent into Pegu, a Port in yê Bay [Bangala] which returns rubies and readie money, the coine or currant money of the place, also see Martaban Jarres.’

Yule gives the quotation from Pyrard de Laval, already referred to, from the French edition of 1679 (i. 179), thus:—"Des iarres les plus belles, les mieux vernis et les mieux faconnées que j'ay eu ailleurs. Il y en a qui tiennent autant qu'une pipe et plus. Elles se font au Royaume de Martaban, d'on on les apporte, et d'on elles prennent leur nom par toute l'Inde." Commenting on this passage in his edition of Pyrard (i. 259), Gray remarks, "Mr. Bell (Report on the Maldives, 1880) saw some large earthenware jars at Male, some about two feet high, called rumba, and others large and barrel shaped, called matabán. The name seems to survive also on the Madras coast; e.g. we find in Mr. P. Brown's Zillah Dictionary, 1852, 'Martaban, name of a place in Pegu: a black jar in which rice is imported from (sic) thence.'"

In Brown's Dictionary of the Mixed Dialects and Foreign Words used in Telugu, 1854, I find, page 88: "Martabán, a black Pegu jar; so called because imported from Martaban.'

Perhaps the neatest unconscious reference of all to the Pegu jar is in Hunter's Account of Pegu, 1785, which tells us (page 65) that "a foreigner may marry one of the natives, on which occasion he pays a stipulated sum to her parents; but, if he leaves the country, he is not permitted to carry his wife along with him. So strict is the law in this particular, and so impossible it is to obtain a dispensation from it, that some men, who have had a great affection for their wives, have been obliged, on their departure, to carry them away secretly in jars, which were supposed to be filled with water."

I may as well summarize here, in tabular form, the history and wanderings of the Pegu Jar from the evidence alluded to above and ante, page 340f., including the statements made in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, &c. Martaban.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Author</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 748</td>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>Parker</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 832</td>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>Parker</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Martaban</td>
<td>Ibn Batúta</td>
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| c. 1450 | France | Martaban | "1,001 Jours."
| 1516 | Pegu | Martaban | Barbosa |
| 1598 | Do | Martaban | Linschoten |
| 1609 | Philippines | Martaban | De Morga |
| 1610 | Maldives | Martaban | Pyrard de Laval |
| 1615 | Portugal | Martaban | Du Jarric |

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Pyrard was wrecked in the Maldives Islands on the 2nd July 1602, and was a captive there till February 1607, and it was during his captivity that he remarked on the Martaban jars, which he saw in the ships from Mogor (as the coast of Sindh and Gujrat), Arabia, and Persia.
<table>
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<th>Date.</th>
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<th>Name.</th>
<th>Author.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1664</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Martaban...</td>
<td>Anderson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Mordebani...</td>
<td>Galland.</td>
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<td>1673</td>
<td>Western India.</td>
<td>Mortivan...</td>
<td>Fryer.</td>
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<td>1688</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Montabon...</td>
<td>Dampier.</td>
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<td>1690</td>
<td>Moluccas</td>
<td>Martabana...</td>
<td>Rumphius.</td>
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<td>1711</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
<td>Martaban...</td>
<td>Lockyer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Martabana...</td>
<td>Valentijn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
<td>Martaban...</td>
<td>Alex Hamilton.</td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Martaban...</td>
<td>Wheeler.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Arabia and Persia</td>
<td>Pegu Jar...</td>
<td>Fraser.</td>
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<td>Pegu</td>
<td>Pegu Jar...</td>
<td>Low.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Borneo</td>
<td>Gusih...</td>
<td>Boyle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Calcutta and Maulmain</td>
<td>Pegu Jar...</td>
<td>Exhibition Catalogue, 1851.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>North Madras</td>
<td>Martaban...</td>
<td>Brown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>Mataban (Runba)</td>
<td>Bell.</td>
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Some Forgotten Ancient Sites.

The whole of Eastern Ramaññadéa, now comprised in the Manlimin, or Amherst [Kyaik'kami], District of Burma, having for centuries been the battle ground between Burman, Talaing, Shan, Karen, Tansgi, Siamese, and Cambodian, — the cockpit, in fact, of, Lower Burma, — is alive with historic memories and full of old historic sites, which, perhaps patience and careful study, both of the surface of the country, and of the old MS. chronicles and records preserved in many parts of it, may yet recover to the student.

Many of these places are now practically unknown even to the local residents, and certainly so to the world of orientalists in general. But, in one of the wildest pamphlets about Burma that it has been my lot to peruse, Coryton's Letter to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the prospects of a direct Trade Route to China through Moulmein, 1870, at page 12, is preserved a paragraph from a Forest Report of 1848, which has a notice, worth following up, of some ruined sites along the Danggjin river, forming part of the boundary between Burma and Siam:

"Before the occupation of these Provinces by the Burmese, the valley of the Thongyeen was divided into four counties or jurisdictions, extending from Donaw to the Toungnyro range, and supported a considerable Talien [Talaing] population. The chief cities, the ruins of which may still be traced, were Meerawadie, Doungnuy (now Wiensaw), Dounggryyean (now Ekalaik), and Dung Thongyeen. These were all situated on the now British bank of the Thongyeen, whilst their rice cultivation lay on the other side of the river, now possessed by the Sians subject to Siam." For these town names read Myawadi, Dôngnye, Wines, Dôngyja, Dôngbajing. All appear to be unknown to any name, except Myawadi, which is mentioned in the British Burma Gazetteer, II. 797, and again at page 438. This time without any kind of mention as to its being a place of ancient historical interest. Mason, Natural Productions of Burma, page iii. of the 1850 Ed., gives a story of another site of similar name, Dôngyja, under the name Dongyang, in his own peculiar romantic style; and this story is partly repeated in the British Burma Gazetteer, II. 141, s.v. Doonreng: so difficult is it in the present state of...

* The author was Recorder of Maulmain; and for astonishing discursiveness and, to the Anglo-Burman, for amusing comments on current local politics, I recommend this production. One gathers that he lived in perpetual hot water with the Government, and one does not wonder.
Burmese transliteration to identify place names. Dôngin appears to be a Karen name according to Mason, who takes the opportunity, as usual, to record the local folk-etymology thereof as the true one!

The Könun Cave.

The American Missionary, Malcom, travelled about the rivers which centre at Moulmein in 1835 with Judson, and gives an account, somewhat confused in its outlines, of the caves visited by myself. He says that he went to "the three most remarkable — one on the Dah Gyieng and two on the Salween." I gather from his description that these were respectively the Damała on the Jain and the Piágát and Könun on the Salween. Of the last he gives an account in his Travels, Vol. II. p. 61f., which is sufficiently graphic to be worth repeating.

"The entrance is at the bottom of a perpendicular, but uneven, face of the mountain, inclosed in a strong brick wall, which forms a large vestibule. The entrance to this enclosure is by a path, winding along the foot of the mountain, and nothing remarkable strikes the eye, till one passes the gate, where the attention is at once powerfully arrested. Not only is the space within the wall filled with images of Gândara of every size, but the whole face of the mountain, to the height of 80 or 90 (?) feet, is covered with them. On every jutting crag stands some marble image covered with gold, and spreading its uncouth proportions to the setting (?) sun. Every recess is converted into shrines for others. The smooth surfaces are covered by small flat images of burnt clay and set in stucco. Of these last there are literally thousands. In some places they have fallen off with the plaster in which they were set, and left spots of naked rock, against which bees have built their hives undisturbed. Nowhere in the country have I seen such a display of wealth, ingenuity, and industry. But imposing as is this spectacle, it shrinks to insignificance, compared to the scene which opens on entering the cavern itself. It is of vast size, chiefly in one apartment, which needs no human art to render it sublime. The eye is confused, and the heart appalled, at the prodigious exhibition of infatuation and folly (sic., religioso zeal of a different kind to the writer's). Everywhere on the floor, overhead, in the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons on the roof, are crowded together images of Gândara, the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded, others incrusted with calcareous matter, some fallen, yet sound, others mouldered, others just erected. Some of these are of stupendous size, some not larger than one's finger, and some of all the intermediate sizes; marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Some, even of marble, are so time-worn, though sheltered of course from changes of temperature, that the face and fingers are obliterated. In some dark recesses, bats were heard, and seemed numerous, but could not be seen. Here and there are models of temples, Kyounas, &c., some not larger than half a bushel, and some 10 or 15 feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one on the other. As we followed the paths which wound among the group of figures and models, every new aspect of the cave presented new multitudes of images. A ship of 500 tons could not carry away the half of them."
Ia.—Images and Objects in the Kōgun Cave.
Fig. 1. Bhinji Cave—Entrance.

Fig. 2. Bhinji Cave—Interior.
III.—General View of Entrance Hall, Kogun Cave.
IV.—Mural Ornamentation, Entrance Hall, Kōgun Cave.
V.—Kogun Cave, looking towards Entrance of Main Hall.
VII.—The Great Stalagmite, Kogun Cave.
Fig. 1. Grotesque Figures from Pegu and Syriam.

VIII.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks.

Fig. 2. Image of Buddha, with glazed terra-cotta bricks in situ, near the Kyaikpun Pagoda, Pegu.
IX.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Brick. Inscribed Tablet from Pegu.
IXa.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Brick. Inscribed Tablet from Pegu.
XI.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.

Scale 1:1.
XII.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.
Scale 1:7.
XIII.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.

Scale - 26.
XIIIa.—Bas-relief on Stone from Thâton.

Scale about -15.
XIV.—Bas-relief on Stone from Thâton.

Scale 26.
XIVa.—Bas-relief on Stone from Tháton.
XVI.—Figures and Votive Tablets from the Caves of the Amherst District.
XVIa.—Figures and Votive Tablets from the Caves of the Amberst District.
XIX.—The Approach to the Dhammathâ Cave.
INDEX

Abhayagiri-vihāra, foundation of the, in Ceylon ................................. 39
Abhira, or Abhira, a people .......................... 172
Abhira, a people .................................. 172
Abhūdita-wāla children ............................... 265
abhayaiga, 'smearing the body with oil' .... 231
Āchārya Chandrakīrti, High Priest of Svarnadīpaka ............................ 359
Achutappa Nāyaka of Tāḍāvūr .............................. 116
Adagaimaṇi Elīni .................................. 66
Adāra, a country ................................... 172
Adigamaṇa = Adīgaṇa = (f) Adīgaṇa .............. 66
Āditya-Karikāla Chōla king, his fights with Ira-Pāṇḍya ................. 60
Ādiyam, a certain king, 68; his personality discussed ................... 66
Agnidhāra, or Āgnidhāra, a people ................. 172
Agniya, a people .................................... 172
Ahrīr, country, the, extent of the .................. 294
Ahrīr-piprit, an old home of the Santals ........... 294
Ajar, a, paintings at, explanation of .......... 88ff.
Ākara, a place .................................. 172
Ālā, apparently a city ................................ 172
Ālavi, district of ..................................... 4
Alphabets used in South Indian inscriptions discussed, 574; in edited inscriptions, old Grantha, 57; Chērā-Pāṇḍya, 57; Vāṭṭelutu, 57; Tamil ............................. 58
Amazon, the kingdom of the ..................... 172
Ambara, a people .................................. 172
Ambahitā, a people .................................. 172
Amber District, ancient sites in ..................... 383ff.
Anandadēva ..................................... 29
Ananta, the serpent, in Buddhism ................. 349
Anarta, a country .................................. 173
Andhāra, or Andhāra, a country, and the people of it .................... 173
Āṅga, a country ..................................... 173
animals, grateful note on variants, 77: birds, 216, 276; cows, 76; a fish, 215; a horse, 215; snakes, 76; — variant, a tree .... 214
Ānjana, a mountain ................................ 17
An))/(āth = Anuruddha, 17; his robbery of the Library at Thatūn ........ 17
Antardvīpa, or Antardvipin, a country ............. 173
Antargirī, a mountain region ........................ 173
Antarvēṇī, a country ................................ 173
Anūrādhaspura = Ceylon ................................. 42
Anuruddha of Pāṇān ................................. 17
Anuvīśa, a people .................................. 173
Aparāntaka, or Aparāntika, a people ................ 173
Aparāntya, a people ................................ 173
Aruḷēshwara in the Dharavā District, the dates of some inscriptions at ... 206, 207
Ārava, a people .................................... 173
Ārūba, Mount Ābū ................................ 173
Arimadadapura = Pāṇān ............................. 17
Āritē, a people ..................................... 173
Ārjyavanāsāthēva .................................... 17
Āruja, his connection with the Pāṇḍya ........ 59
Ārjunāyana, a people ................................ 173
Ārya, a people ..................................... 173
Ārya, a people ..................................... 173
Ārya, a people ..................................... 173
Āryavarta, the inhabitants of Northern India ........ 173
Āsīka, a people ..................................... 174
Āsmaṇka, a country ................................ 174
Āšoka, a date for him 15: he refers to the Pāṇḍya, 57: his conversion by Nigrdha-sainānēra, 15: his Sah śrām, Rupnāth and Bairat Edicts edited 299ff.
Āsokadhmanarāja, title of Āsōka ...................... 85
Āsokarāma monastery, the ......................... 16
Asīkara, a place ..................................... 172
Aśokara, apparently a city ............................ 172
Aśokara, district of .................................... 4
Aśvin, a horse-face, the horse-face people .... 174
Aśvastha, a people .................................. 174
Aśvastha, a horse-face people ......................... 174
Aśvastha, a horse-face people ......................... 174
Atārā River, Buddhist Caves on the ................. 327f.
Ātīta, his visit to Thatūn .............................. 358f.
Atri, the hermitage of ................................ 174
Aḏra, Ōḍra, a country ................................. 174
Āndanbāra, a people .................................. 174
Āngustamba the Emperor, his supposed connection with the Pāṇḍya .......... 50
Aṉiṉayaika, the people of Ujjayanī ................. 174
Aṉiṉayaika, a king of the Uṉiṉasara ................. 174
Av, names for ....................................... 8
Avagāna, or Avagāna, a people or country ... 174
Avakāka, as the defender from the eight dreads ..................... 91
Āvanta, a king or other inhabitant of Avanti .......... 174
Āvanta, the inhabitants of Avanti .................... 174
Āvanta, a king or other inhabitant of Avanti .......... 174
Avanti, or Avanti, the city Ujjain ................. 171, 174
Avīparādasātikman ................................. 12
Āyiravē, battle of ................................... 65
Āyirivē, battle of ................................... 65
Āyōdhyaka, the inhabitants of Ayōdhyā .... 174
Āyūthā = Yādyā ..................................... 4
Āyuttaya, district of .................................. 4
INDEX.

Bādara, a people .................................. 174
Bāhlika, or Bāhlika, a country and the people of it .................. 174
Bhāhugiri, a mountainous country ............. 174
Bairnáth on Kaviya ............................... 174
Bairat Edict edited .................................. 299
Baladwarpattana, a city ......................... 174
Bangkōk = Dravāvati ......................... 4
Bao, derivation of ................................. 165
Baranāi Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasi Dās, an account of the ............. 201
Baranāi, see Baranāi Rāmāyaṇa ............. 201
Barbarā, a people .................................. 174
Bark, the island of, 171, 174; wearers of bark .......... 174
Bas reliefs, Buddhist, described ................. 338ff.
Basseen, a variant of Bassin ..................... 262
Bassein, the name explained, 14ff. = Kuthén .... 4
Bassin = Bassin .................................. 20
Bassun = Bassin .................................. 20
Battiam = (? ) Bassin ......................... 20
Baulāhā = a Buddhist ............................ 363ff.
Beanstalk, Jack and the, Lushai variant of .......... 59
Bed, hero in folk tale carried away by a tiger on his ... 75
Beds, and banyan tree, notes on variants of the folk tale incident ........... 77
Belgum District, an inscription in the, noticed ... 282
Beryl mines ....................................... 174
Beṣynga = Bassin doubtfully .................... 20
Bhadra, a people .................................. 174
Bhadrāvī, a people .................................. 175
Bailla, or Bhilla, a people ....................... 175
Bhārata, a people .................................. 175
Bhāratavaraha, one of the ancient names of India .... 175
Bharukachchha, the modern Broach ................ 175
Blāsāpura (?), apparently a town ............... 175
Bhillā; see Bhalla .................................. 175
Bhimārathā, the river Bhima .................... 175
Bhūgāprastha, the river Bhima .................. 175
Bhūgavardhāna, apparently a city or country ... 175
Bhūringi (?), apparently a people ............... 175
Bhūmindāra, a title given to frogs in Nāpāl ... 294
Bhātuṣṭha, 'the city of spirits' .................. 175
Bhāvanakāvīra, title of Samanākāvīra Pāṇḍya ... 61
Bhāvanakābu of Ceylon, Rāmādhītāvī's letter to, on a tablet of gold .......... 41
Bīnay Pātrikī of Tulasi Dās, an account of, 257ff.
Bīnuv Caves described ......................... 327, 330
Bīrhal, connected with a folk tale, 321: his son quoted in a folk tale as 'young Bīrhal,' 321
Bird, eagle, saves heroine in folk tales .......... 100
Blood, power of, to turn snake-hero into a snake ... 102
Boddhisattvas, the Nine ........................... 10f.
Bone Queen, story of the ....................... 22
Bro, old Anglo-Indian for the toddy-palm .......... 249ff.
Brahmadēva of Rāyapura, inscription of, noted ............. 83
Brahmapūra referred to in the Kālāyaṇi Inscriptions .... 77
Brahmapūra, a city .................................. 175
Bride, capture of, in folk tales .................. 78
Bṛhā-Saṃhitā, the, of Varāhamihira; its topographical list .......... 169 to 195
Buddha, image of, in a cave of Negapataṇa, 45: serpent canopy of, 339, 349, 353; — and the mule, the tale of, 160 — Gautama, figures of, explained, 349ff.; ancient and modern, dressing of figures of, 339: huge recumbent figures of, instances of .......... 347
Buddhaghōsa, his mission to Thaton doubtfully, 14: not mentioned in the Kālāyaṇi Inscriptions .......... 14
Buddhism, Brian Hodgen's opinions on Northern .... 363: Northern, in Burma, 358ff., 362ff.; the Northern or Mahāyāna School came first to Burma, 165 — Tantrik, in Burma, 358ff.: the present Southern or Hinayāna School of Burmese, is a reformation, 165: a short history of, in the Kālāyaṇi Inscriptions .......... 86
Buddhistic sects in Ceylon, the three, 39; in 358ff.; the six at Muttimandara, 33: schisms, early, 10ff. — priests in Ceylon, list of celebrated, 44; in Pāgu, list of, 48; in Burma, number of, about 1450 A.D., 87; in Burma, titles granted to celebrated, 44: figures in Burma described, 349ff.: sites in Burma .......... 361ff.
Bulls, the island of .................................. 175
Burma, notes on the name, 8: ancient...... 7
Burmese, Sanskrit words in, 162ff.; — double words in, one half Pāli, one half Sanskrit, in origin, 164: — paleography, notes on ... 2
Cambodia is not Kambōja .................................................. 4
Cambodian architecture in Burma, 349: date of .. 353ff.
cannibalism ..................................... 175
castes referred to in the Bṛhā-Saṃhitā .... 175
INDEX.

Chaidya, the people of Chédi ................... 176
Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla, the era of the Western Chālukyas king Vikramāditya VI.; examination of some dates in it ... 296, 297, 298
Chālukyas, a conquest of the ................... 39
Chanda, Sōnīya, king of, legendary account of his sons ................... 21ff.
Chanda, a town or country ....................... 175
Chāmpa = Bhāgalpur ....................... 295
Champikā; see Chaśchhikā ....................... 175
Chennadārāja Paramārā, inscription of, and his pedigree ................... 80
Chaśchhikā, a people ....................... 175
Chanda Paramārā ....................... 318
Chanda Parī ....................... 80
Chánda Parī ....................... 324
Chandrā (fem.), the Moon in a folktale ........... 317
Chandraguhāga river ....................... 176
Chandrapura, a city ....................... 170
Chandrapura, the inhabitants of Chandrapura, 176;
Charmadāṣīpa, 'the island of barks' ............... 176
Charmaṅgāsa, a people ....................... 176
charmās — string — again the evil eye ............. 56
Chārūdāvi, apparently a town or country .......... 176
Chēdi country ....................... 174, 176
Chēdikā, the people of Chēdi ................... 176
Chēra country ....................... 171, 176
Chēnas, their connection with the Pāṇḍyas ........ 39
Chērya, the people of the Chēra country .......... 176
Chīha, a pargana in Bengal ................... 295
Chhapaṭa, a village in Kusimāraṭṭha .......... 29
Chhapaṭamahāṭhura, 29 ff.; visits Ceylon .......... 29
China, a people ....................... 176
China = Bhamo ....................... 4
Chinādaṇā = Bhamo and neighbourhood, 41; —
the Mahārāja of, constructs a Buddhist cave at Negapatam .......... 45
Chinārāṭṭha, district of ....................... 4
chiplānadāka, 'flat-nosed people' ............... 176
chrānavasana, 'wearers of bark' ............... 176
Chitrādāta, Rāmaṇḍāpī's emissary to
Ceylon ................................ 41
Chitrakūta, the modern Chitrakot or Chatarakot ...... 176
Chōla country ....................... 176
Chōlas, a M.S. genealogy of the, 141 ff.; a list of their vassals, 145; their connection with the Pāṇḍyas, 59; an account of their wars .......... 148ff.
Cinderella, variant of ....................... 306ff.
cocoa-nuts, the island of ...................... 176
coins of the Pāṇḍyas, 61; — copper, of Rājarāya, 60; — Danish, at Trinquembar .......... 117ff.
conch-shells, the places for obtaining ............ 176
Convocation, the First Buddhist, alluded to, 16; the Second Buddhist, alluded to, 16; the Third Buddhist, alluded to ........... 16

corps-light in folktales ..................... 291
Cosmin = Bassein .................... 18
co-wives, mutual relations of, as exhibited in
Indian folktales ..................... 213
curing heroine to marry her in folktales ........ 78ff.
Dābiya, king of the Damils (90 B.C.) ................ 39
Dagón, changes of the word, 19 n. := dagāba,
27; see Shwedagon .................... 27
Dagōn = Dagón .................... 27
Dagoon = Dagōn .................... 27
Dakkhina-vihāra of Ceylon, the ................ 39
dakkhipapta, a name for Southern India .......... 176
Dala mentioned in the Kalyāṇ Inscriptions .......... 32
Dalanagara = Dala ...................... 32
Dāma, or Dāmara, a people ................... 176
Damborasingha Paramāra .................... 89
Dāmmatā Caves, described .......... 327ff., 331ff.
Danjaka, a country or people ................... 176
Dandakāvana forest ....................... 176
Dandapāṅgala, a people ....................... 176
Dangiyalung Hill, opposite Prame, legend of .......... 160
Dansborg Fort at Trinquembar ................... 116
Dantuṇaka, a people ....................... 176
Darada, a people ....................... 176
Dardura, a mountain ....................... 176
Dāvra, a people ....................... 176
Dāsamēya, a people ....................... 176
Dāspūra, the modern Mandasor ................... 176
Dāsārṇa, or Dāśārṇa, a people ................... 176
Dāsārṇa, or Dāśārṇa, a people ............... 176
Dāsārṇa, or Dāśārṇa, a people ............... 176
Dāsārṇa, or Dāśārṇa, a people ............... 176
date: of establishment of Buddhism in Burma, 17; — Burmese Era, instances of, in inscriptions, 2,5; — importance of the, in the Kalyāṇ Inscriptions, 11; — South Indian, discussed, 136 f.; — some that do not work satisfactorily .......... 110ff.
dates calculated ... 90, 91, 90ff., 94, 105ff., 167, 219ff.
Daulatbād is not Hizen Tsuang's unamed capital of Mahārājastra ........... 113
Days of the week mentioned in recorded dates: —
Sunday .................... 42, 43, 97
Monday ............... 5, 42, 46, 52, 137, 138
Tuesday ............... 46, 90, 138, 219
Wednesday ............... 5, 43, 44 (thrice), 45, 46,
137, 138, 219
Thursday ............... 44, 46, 94, 95, 136
Friday ............... 44, 46, 116ff.
Saturday ............... 2, 5, 44, 49, 138, 219, 220
Days of the week, names of them as used in recorded dates:—
Guru (Thursday) ............... 82, 106
Ravi (Sunday) ............... 169
Sōnna (Monday) ............... 169
Sukra (Friday) ............... 80, 81, 93, 109
INDEX.

day, civil, of the fortnight, or month, denoted by śudī and badi, mentioned in recorded dates:

| "former half": | 1st | 137 |
| | 5th | 137 |
| | 7th | 198, 199 |
| | 8th | 137 |
| | 13th | 187 |

| "latter half": | 7th | 1:8 |
| | 12th | 136 |

| first fortnight: | 5th | 219 |
| | second fortnight: | 1st | 219 |
| | | 3rd | 220 |
| | | 13th | 219 |
| | dark fortnight: | 1st | 2, 5, 43 |
| | | 2nd | 2, 5, 42, 44, 109 |
| | | 6th | 81 |
| | | 7th | 5 |
| | | 8th | 5, 42, 46, 107 |
| | | 11th | 42, 44, 46 |
| | | 12th | 42, 44, 46 |
| | | 13th | 44, 109, 137 |
| | bright fortnight: | 1st | 46, 108 |
| | | 2nd | 44 |
| | | 3rd | 81 |
| | | 4th | 45 |
| | | 5th (in MS.) | 95 |
| | | 7th | 49, 86, 98 |
| | | 8th | 5, 46, 50, 82, 83 |
| | | 9th | 5, 52, 90, 94 |
| | | 10th (in MS.) | 97 |
| | | 13th | 46 |
| | | 14th | 108 |
| | fortnight not specified: | dates, lunar, i.e. tithi, mentioned in recorded dates | 2, 5, 46 |
| | day, solar, mentioned in recorded dates | 138 |
| | 3rd | 138 |
| | 6th | 116 |
| | 21st | 138 |
| | 26th | 107 |
| | 29th | 107 |
| | 30th | 116n. |
| | dead, the Kingdom of the | 177 |
| | demon guardian of a fairy, 318, 324; of heroine | 248 |
| | demons, with elf-locks | 177 |
| | dents ez mackind in folktales | 186 |
| | Dēvānāmpiyattissa, king of Ceylon | 38 |
| | Dēvānām Piyē of the new edicts identified with Piyadasi. | 306f. |
| | Dērikā, a river | 177 |
| | Dharmachāti (of Pegu), some account of him, 13: described as king of Rammā-śiadeśa | 15 |
| | Dharmasākara = Aśoka | 15 |
| | Dharmavāsāthēra = Saripatta | 32 |
| | Dharmat, a mountain | 177 |
| | Dharmatārya, a forest region | 177 |
| | Dhāswār District, inscriptions in the, noticed | 298, 297, 298 |
| | diamonds; the ancient places where they were found | 177 |
| | Dīga = Dagon | 27 |
| | Dīgone = Dagon | 27 |
| | Dīgumpačēti is a Palićed form of Dagon, 27; = Shwebyagón Pagoda | 7 |
| | Dīpāṭkara Śrījiśa, see Atiśa | 358f. |
| | dīghagṛṣṇa, 'people with long necks' | 177 |
| | dīghakāta, 'long-haired people' | 177 |
| | dīghakāya, 'long-faced people' | 177 |
| | dīvāsikha, 'the inhabitants of heaven, or dwellers in the sky' | 177 |
| | dog-faced people | 177 |
| | Dogon = Dogonne = Dagon | 27 |
| | Dōdabalti, of Tūlūt Dās, an account of the, 225; identification of the dōdha | 123ff. |
| | Domba, the Gipsies | 177 |
| | Dōngjiyin, an ancient site in Burma | 355 |
| | Dōngwē, an ancient site in Burma | 355 |
| | Dōngthangji, an ancient site in Burma | 355 |
| | Dōngyin, an ancient site in Burma | 355 |
| | Dōgon = Dagon | 27 |
| | Dravida country | 177 |
| | Drāvīda, 'of or belonging to Dravida' | 177 |
| | dreams in folktales | 323 |
| | Duttaban son Mahābāmbawā and Bēdayā | 161 |
| | king of Prone, 159; legend about him | 161 |
| | Dvāravatī = Bangkōk | 4 |
| | ears: people with ears like a winnowing fan | 177 |
| | eclipse of the moon mentioned in a recorded inscription | 5 |
| | ekacchakara, 'one-footed people' | 177 |
| | Ekalaik, an ancient site in Burma | 365 |
| | ekapada, 'one-footed people' | 177 |
| | ekaraśchakara, 'one-eyed people' | 177 |
| | elephants, the glen of | 177 |
| | Ellīrā, mentioned in the Byōkō-Saikō as | 182, 193 |
| | Vellūra | 182 |
| | era, the Jinačakka explained, 7: Lakahma- nañāsa, proofs that it commenced 1119 A.D., 107: 7th year of current reign, 137: 18th year of current reign quoted, 39: 124th |
INDEX

Hindustan .................................. 21ff., 79ff., 289ff., 321
Lusitania .................................... 73ff.
Santúli, noted ................................ 95
Among the Sgaw-Karens .................. 284ff.
Western India ................................ 210ff., 315ff.
forests, various, of ancient India .......... 177
fortune, seeking, by a journey in folktales ... 53
foundling, out of the sea, in folktales ....... 216
frogs, worship of, among the Newars of Népál, 292ff.: given the title of Paramēśvara in Népál, 294:— called Bhūmīnātha in Népál. 294

Gajāvaya, apparently the modern Dehli .... 178
Gajaputra, the modern Dehli .............. 178
Gambhirikā river ............................ 178
Ganapatī of Nalapura, his genealogy, 81;— inscription of, noted ................. 81
Ganapatī I, Kākatiya, his date discussed .... 324
Ganapatī II., Kākatiya, his date discussed ... 324
Ganarkīya, a kingdom ...................... 178
Gândhāra country and people .............. 178
Gandharva, the choristers of heaven ....... 178
Gangā, the river Ganges ................... 178
Garavi of Valligāma, his rebellion against the king of Ceylon ... 42
Garulā; see Guruhā ........................ 178
Gaudakā, a people ........................... 178
Gaṇigrīvā, a people ......................... 178
Gavaya, a people ............................ 178
geo graphical notes; the divisions of India, and the countries, tribes, &c., &c., according to the Brihat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira ........... 189 to 195
Gītāśa, a people ............................. 178
ghosts of European type in an Indian folk tale ........................................... 313
Girinagara, a city ............................. 178
Girivraja, a people ........................... 178
glazed tablets and bricks in Burma explained, 333; "M," inscribed tablet from Wuathū described ........................................... 347
glazing, an old art in Burma ............... 346ff.
Gobbūr in the Nizām's Dominions, the date of an inscription at "God" among the Karens, 254 and note:— as the "father" of the Karens. 254ff.
Gōdāvari river ................................ 178
Gōla, a foreign people in ancient Burma ... 16f.
Gōmaattikānagara = Ayetūmara .......... 16
Gōlāngūla, apparently a mountain ........ 178
gold, the regions of ........................ 178
Gūmāna, a mountain ....................... 178
Gūmati, a river .............................. 178
Gōnārda, a people ........................... 178
Gōpōchāla = Gwalior ..................... 81
INDEX.

Gopārā = Gwalior .......................... 81
Guda, a people .......................... 178
Guhila, genealogy of the, 81.— family of
Mādapa, an inscription of the, noted .......... 80f.
Gurukṣa, a river .......................... 178

Haihaya, a people .......................... 179
hair, golden, of heroine, in folktales, 196.—
notes on variants, 17.— of hero (golden)
floats down to heroine, 76; —'(and akin)
of colour in folktales — gold .............. 76
hair, people with various kinds of .......... 179
Hala, a people .......................... 179
Hansarajamandal = Pegu Province of old
Talang kingdom .......................... 84
Hansarajamangara = Pegu ................. 34, 46
Hansarajapura = Pegu ................... 44
Harharura, a people ........................ 179
Haribhūjika = Laos ........................ 41
Haribhūjhika (= Haribhūjika), district of .... 4
Hazara, perhaps = the ancient Abhisāra
country ................................. 172
head-dresses, importance of, in Buddhist
figures .................................. 324, 357
Hemagiri, a mountain ....................... 179
Hemakudarya, a place ...................... 179
Hematala, a people ........................ 179
hermitages .............................. 179
heroine, birth of, from a splinter run into
the hand, 78 — comes out of mango, 291; found
in a box, 290; drops lotuses when she
speaks, 248; drowning of, in folktales ... 106
Himavat, the Himālaya mountains ....... 179
Hien Thiang; the capital of Mahārastra,
mentioned by him without naming it, is
Nāsik, 115; —the capital of Kong-ku-na-
gu-lo is very probably Karqal 115
Hodgeson Briān — his opinions on Northern
Buddhism .............................. 363
horse-faced people ........................ 179
Holi in the Belgaum District, the date of an
inscription at .......................... 252
Huna, a people ........................... 179
Humangund in the Dhārwar District, the date
of an inscription at ........................ 296

identification — by picture .................. 324
Ikahumati, a river ........................ 179
Ikshvaku, apparently a people .............. 179
images, description of Buddhist in the D'am-
mattā Caves, 332f.; in the Farm Caves,
331; the large deposit of, at the Kogon
Cave, 337; at Thaton, notes on .......... 345f.
impossible task, variant of the .......... 318f.
India, ancient; the divisions, countries,
tribes, &c., &c., according to the Bṛhata-
Sāraḥōṭṭu of Varāhamihira ................. 169 to 195

Kalayu of Dhammachātī, 11ff.; Pali and
Burmese, 29ff.; Poṭisdaung of Sinbyunyin,
1ff. — Sanskrit and Tamil, 57ff.; a
Vaṭṭelutta, 67ff.; Six Unpublished —
account of, 80ff.; in the Dammamā Caves
334; — Kāchippura of Samaratā Nāhala
Pāṇḍya, noted, 61; Buddhist, at Kogon,
noted, 351; Sanskrit, at Thaton, 7; — on
the sculptured stones from Thaton, 360; at Tranquebar ...... 116
Iravati, a river .......................... 179
islands, various, of ancient India .......... 179

jackal-eaters ........................... 179
Jain, a possible Digambara figure found in
Thaton, 345; — literature, Weber's Cata-
logue of, in the Berlin Library ........... 112
Jambudīpa = Burma ...................... 44
Jambupati, Burmese legend about .......... 339
Janaṭaka-vaṇga, of Tuśi Dās, an account of
the .................................. 203
jataṭākara, 'people with thick matted hair' .... 179
jataṭaṭara, 'demons with matted hair or elf-
locks' ................................ 179
Jañhara, or perhaps Jaṭhara-Asanga, a people 179
Jaṭilavarman, Pāṇḍya, son of Māravarman 65, 68
Jayavedhanāgara in Ceylon ................. 42
Jētavāna sect in Ceylon, the .............. 39
Jētavānāvāhāra, foundation of, in Ceylon (266
A. D.) .................................. 39
Jēyavedīhāna = the Toungoo District of
Burma .................................. 4, 7
Jinachakka era, mode of notation used in,
explained ................................ 7
Jōtīnagarā, district of ........................ 4
Jrunga, a people ........................... 179
"judgment," a, Salsette version of the,
in folktales .............................. 55
Jupiter in Makara quoted in an inscription .. 138ff.
Jyēśahā, the goddess of misfortune .......... 68

k and p, interchange of initial, in Burmese
place-names ............................. 326
Kabir, as a disciple of Rāmaṇand ........... 227
Kabittabā, see Kabitta Rāmdyān .......... 223
Kabitta Rāmdyān of Tuśi Dās, an account
of the, 235ff.; date of, discussed .......... 97
Kachchāra, a people ....................... 179
Kachchha, the modern Cutch country ..... 179
Kaikaya, a people ........................ 179
Kailāsa, the sacred mountain ............... 180
Kailāṭa, a people ........................ 180
Kairalaka, the people of Kērala .......... 180
INDEX.

Kākatīya Dynasty, note on the chronology of the ........................................ 325f.
Kalacuri family, genealogy of the ................................................................. 82
Kalājīna, a people or place ........................................................................... 180
Kālaka, a people ............................................................................................ 180
Kālākoti, a fortress or city ............................................................................ 180
Kalambu = Colombo .................................................................................... 42
Kalālījana, perhaps for Kālañjara ................................................................ 180
Kalhana, notice of the codex archetypus, 140; — date of codex .................. 140
Kalilinga country .......................................................................................... 180
Kalilinga Haihayas ....................................................................................... 82
Kālinga, the people of the Kalinga country .................................................. 180
Kalmāsha, a people ....................................................................................... 180
Kalyāni is not Huen Tsang’s unnamed capital of Mahārāṣṭra .................. 113
Kalyāni, simū at Pegu, origin of the name, 50 — derivation of the name, 13 — its situation, 13 — object of founding it, 13 — date of, 13 — Inscriptions, their present condition, 274f; their contents, 14f; are the ruling authority on consecration ceremonies, 12; method of reproducing the text, 13 — some details of the stones .................................................. 13
Kalyanitissamahāthēra, title of Savanna-sobhanathēra .............................. 85
Kāmbōja country and people ................................................................. 171, 180
Kambolja is (the) Shān States ..................................................................... 4
Kambōjasanghapakkha sect of Buddhists (Dala), rise of, explained ........... 32
Kanikadēva Paramāra ................................................................................ 80
Kamamūdchanda, a Buddhist sacred text ................................................... 12
Kampōja, district of, is not Cambodia ......................................................... 4
Kanaka, the region of gold ......................................................................... 180
Kanāpur in the Kālāpur territory, an inscription at, noticed ....................... 298
Kāśchī, the modern Conjeevaram ............................................................... 180
Kanḍa-Gopālādēva, his date ...................................................................... 219
Kārīvāyappērur = Kārīchvāyal = Kāchil... 67f.
Kanka, a people ............................................................................................ 180
Kaṅkāla-Cholā, a list of his successors ...................................................... 141f.
Kaṅkāta, a people ........................................................................................ 180
Kaṅtakasthala, a place ............................................................................... 180
Kaṅṭhadhāna, a people ............................................................................. 180
Kāntipura, a city .......................................................................................... 180
Kapila, a people ........................................................................................... 180
Kāpiṣṭhala, a people or locality ................................................................. 180
Kappitānagāra = Kabaing .......................................................... 17
Karavandapuram mentioned in an inscription ........................................... 67
Karema, their nationality discussed, 130 f.; — folk-origin of the karma, doctrine of, examined, 229 ff. — Tulā'īt
Dāś’s doctrine of ....................................................................................... 126f.
Kārmanēya, the modern Kamej ................................................................. 171
Kārmanēyaka, the people of Kārmanēya ...................................................... 180
Kārnaprāvyā, a people ............................................................................... 180
Karpāṣa, the Kanarese country .................................................................. 181

Kārṇōl is very probably the capital of the Kong-kin-na-pu-lo country mentioned by Huen Tsang .................................................. 11
Karaṣṭa, a people .......................................................................................... 181
Kashmir; notice of Kalhana’s Chronicle ....................................................... 136f.
Kāśi, the modern Benares ......................................................................... 181
Kāsimra, and Kāsimraka, the people of Kaśmīr ........................................ 181
Kāsimrī country ......................................................................................... 172
Kāsimrī country ............................................................................................ 181
Kāthkīnotthu, allusion to the, in the Kalyāni inscriptions ......................... 16
Kābūṃvērin = Manipur ............................................................................... 7
Kālinda, a people ......................................................................................... 181
Kālūta, the people of Kālūta .................................................................... 181
Kānpinda, a people ..................................................................................... 181
Kānīkana, the people of the Kānīkana ...................................................... 181
Kaurava, a people ....................................................................................... 181
Kāusala, and Kāusalaka, the people of Kēsāla ........................................... 181
Kāusāmbi, the modern Kusam ................................................................ 181
Kāsīkā, a river ............................................................................................ 181
Kārērī river .................................................................................................. 181
Kāyōn, Burmese corruption of Pārum = Farm; name of a Buddhist Cave .... 329
Kāyōn-Saddōn, name of a Buddhist Cave ................................................ 328
Kēlasahapabhātihētiya, near Bilin ................................................................ 16
Kērāla country .............................................................................................. 171, 181
Kēsādhara, long-haired or thick-haired people ........................................ 181
Kēsadhātuhētiya = the Shwedagon Pagoda .................................................. 46
Khakara, the inhabitants of the sky ............................................................ 181
Khānḍa, (?) the dwarfs ............................................................................. 181
Khass, a people ............................................................................................ 181
Khātha, dwellers in the sky ....................................................................... 181
Khēmāvāra, district of ................................................................................ 4
Kilīchipura = Conjeevaram ....................................................................... 29
Kīra, a people .............................................................................................. 181
Kirā, a people .............................................................................................. 181
Kirna, a people ........................................................................................... 181
Kīshindha, a mountain ............................................................................. 181
Kīstha District, an inscription in the, noticed ........................................... 297
Kōgūn Caves described, 327ff, and 335 ff.: — a note on the .......... 366
Kōhala, a people .......................................................................................... 182
Kōkārā, Buddhist Caves near .................................................................... 328
Kō-klīṣhl, Chōla king, defeated by the Pāṇḍyas ......................................... 62
Kōlāhpūr territory, an inscription in the, noticed ...................................... 298
Kōlligirī, probably the modern Kōllāhpūr .................................................. 182
Kōmāpattana, a port of the East Coast of India ......................................... 45, 46
Kō-māgā-Jādaiyān Pāṇḍya king ................................................................. 68
Kōnggaung = Shwēbō ............................................................... 28
Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, a country mentioned by Huen Tsang; Kārṇōl is very probably its capital ................................................................. 115
Konēka country ........................................................................................... 182
INDEX.

Kō-Rāja Kesarivarman = Rājendra = Rāja-dhīradhēdeva. 60
Kosai, once the Pāñḍyas capital 62
Kōlala country 179, 182
Kōlvarsha, apparently a country 182
Kumāna, a mountain 182
Kumānchādeva, a country 182
krauṣṭrīṇa, 'eaters of raw flesh' 183
Kurum, the river 'Kistna' 182
Krīṣṇa Gītbālī of Tallō Dās, an account of 257
Krūla-tatung = (? Pāgāt 333
Kalatrya, the warrior caste 182
Kalēnadākara, a people 182
Kalūdranuma, a people 182
Kathāruṇaya, a mountain 182
Kuśavijj, the god of the Lānaśais 79ff
Kuśikha, a people 182
Kādāl = Madura 62
Kudās, nationality discussed, 129ff. — their congenera, 130. — vocabulary of the 129ff
Kukān = Pakān = Pakān 19
Kukura, a people 182
Kuha-veṣa-prāpatthin = Trānuwara 116
Kuḷa-sēkharadēva Pāṇḍya = Kō-Māgavarman 116
Kuḷa-sēkharan Pāṇḍya mentioned in inscription 61
Kulottunga-Chōla conquers the Pāñḍyas, 60. — MS. account of 141
Kulottunga-Chōla XI = Parakēsivarman 60
Kulū country 182
Kulātaka, the people of Kulāta 182
Kunālha, a people 182
kuṣārūṭa, 'the care of plen of elephants' 182
Kuntala country, 182; — this seems to be really the country which by Hūne Tsang is called Māhālākṣa 115
Kuntibhōja, a people 182
Kurtakōti, in the Dīḍrwār District, the dates of inscriptions at 297, 298
Kuṇa, a people 183
Kusumamalada = Basai Province of the old Bengal kingdom 34
Kusimangara 17, 19, 29, 46
Kusimara = Bassein 29
Kusuma, a mountain 183
Kuṭān = Basai 4
Kuṭhēn = Puthēn = Bassein 19
Kyakto, its vernacular name for the Amherst district of Burma 328
Kyakpū Kyakpūn Pagoda described 333
Kyakpūn Pagoda, see Kyakpū 46n. 353
Kyāmāmd in the Dīḍrwār District, the date of an inscription at 298
Kyaukta Hill near Moulmain contains Buddhist Caves 329

Laha, a various reading for Hala, q. v. 183
Laha, a country 182
lakṣhāna, year of the Jains, the 17
Lakshmēshwar, the date of an inscription at 297
Lānā — Ceylon, or its capital city 183
Lānēsvara, Pāñḍya King 60
Lās — Līvatā 4
Lātā country 183
Lāṅkātya, the river Brahmaputra 183
Līvatā, district of 4
Lēgāng = Vīju-jīgamā 6
life-index — a pigeon, 324; a milk-white dove, 318
life, restoration to, by spells 299
lions, the forest of the man-lions 183
liquors, intoxicating, folk-origin of, among the Kāres 158ff
Lot's wife, variant of 299
luck, the sleeping: a folktales 213ff
Madhurāntaka, a title of Parāntaka I. 60;
a title of Rājendrā-Chōjṭēdeva 60
Madhyadīśa, the central division of ancient Ceylon 169, 170, 183
amika, a people 183
ra, a people 183
rāja, a people 183
Magada, capital of the Pāñḍyas 61
Magadha country 188
Māgadhika, the people of Magadha 183
magic wand in folktales, 100; — comb which destroys and grants life, 319; — stick which produces a golden tank and a palace of gold, 323; — stove, stick and rope in folktales, 317; — sympathetic, burning a shed skin to injure snake-hero, 100; making heroine ill by destroying an impression of her foot-print 78
Māhābuddharāpa = Kyakpūn Pagoda 46
Māhādēva Kākātiya, his date discussed 326
māhāgirya, 'great-necked people' 184
Māhākalākṣa 17
Māhāknasapathēra of Udumbaragiri, head of the Māhāvilāha 16, 39
Māhāmahārāja, apostle to Ceylon 39
Māhānādi river 183
Māhāpuna, the Monastery at Lēgāng (Vīju-jīgamā) 160
Mahārāsha country, 184; — the capital of it, mentioned by Hūne Tsang, is Nāsik. 115
māhĀmayn, 'the great ocean' 184
Mahāēcāna, King of Ceylon, founds the Jētavānavādā (266 A.D.) 39
Mahāśāivalīsi, founder of the Abhayagiri sect in Ceylon 41
Mahāśāvā, 'the great forest' 184
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>375</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahāvihāra, in Ceylon, foundation of the, 38. — sect in Ceylon prevalent, 38ff.; established in Ramādhādāsa. 40f.</td>
<td>Méruka, a people, country, or mountain ..... 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāyāna-sūtra</td>
<td>Metamorphosis, hero into a fly, 248; into a crow, 280; into a cat and back, 280; into a bug, 424; — old man into a young one and back ......... 276f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendrā mountain</td>
<td>Metempsychosis, Buddhist belief in, illustrated ......... 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi river</td>
<td>Mēwā, a folk derivation of the name ......... 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahimparākṣyā, a merchant of Nāvūtapaṭṭaṇa, trading to Pegu</td>
<td>Mīzāra Prā ṣī Sinbyāyin ......... 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahinsaka, district of</td>
<td>Milky ocean, the ......... 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahinda, the Buddhist Apostle to Ceylon, apostolic succession from, in Burma</td>
<td>Mines, the mines; an ancient place, 185; mines of beryl-stone ......... 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishā, a country</td>
<td>Minlwin, name of a Buddhist Cave ......... 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahishaka, the people of Mahisha</td>
<td>Mithila country ......... 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiḥaṭṭhatthikā, a people</td>
<td>Mī-yatma, a hobgoblin in Burma ......... 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mākara, a people</td>
<td>Mēchchhas ......... 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālava country and people, in the northern division of India ......... 184</td>
<td>Mōggalānathāra, head of Rāmādhūpiṭa’s deputation to Ceylon ......... 40f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālaya mountain</td>
<td>Mōggaliputtatissathāra reforms Buddhism in Aśoka’s day ......... 16, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālādīya, a mountain</td>
<td>Months, names of Hindu lunar, mentioned in recorded dates:—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malā, a people</td>
<td>Åsaḥtha ......... 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālayath, a mountain</td>
<td>first of the two Åsaḥtha ......... 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipura, names for</td>
<td>second Åsaḥtha ......... 43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipura, district of</td>
<td>Åśādha ......... 31, 108, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manākṣīnī, battle of</td>
<td>Assayuṣa ......... 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manḍākini, the Ganges</td>
<td>Āśīna ......... 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manḍānādhīva Paramāra</td>
<td>Bhadda ......... 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānḍūkāya, a people</td>
<td>Bhādrapada ......... 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manimat, a mountain</td>
<td>Chaitra ......... 82, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur, names for</td>
<td>Chitra ......... 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipura, district of</td>
<td>Jetāha ......... 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manōcharī, a Rājput king, 17; his date</td>
<td>Kārtika ......... 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māravarnman Pândya destroys the Pallavas, 65, 68</td>
<td>Kattika ......... 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners</td>
<td>Māgha ......... 2, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage custom, Brahman girl married to</td>
<td>Mārgga ......... 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṣatriya Rājā in folklore</td>
<td>Migāsira ......... 49, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārhos, or swamps</td>
<td>Mithuna ......... 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārttiṇā, a people</td>
<td>Phagguna ......... 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu, the modern Māraṇā</td>
<td>Phalghuna ......... 80, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārdūpana, a city</td>
<td>Rājapāla ......... 131, 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maruchiṭṭhatāna, a city</td>
<td>Simha ......... 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marukuchchā, a people</td>
<td>Visākhā ......... 2, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martabān = Muttama</td>
<td>Months, names of Hindu lunar-solar, mentioned in recorded dates:—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martabān = a Pegu Jar ......... 34f., 341f.</td>
<td>Āvani ......... 116n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataanga, apparently a place where diamonds were found ......... 185</td>
<td>Kārttikeya ......... 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mābāiyā, described, 258: — Vasundhāra, 339: — figures of, described ......... 249</td>
<td>Mīna ......... 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurā, the modern ‘Mutter’</td>
<td>Phalghuna ......... 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurā, the people of Mathurā ......... 185</td>
<td>Months, names of Hindu lunar-solar, mentioned in recorded dates:—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriśhika, a doubtful name of a people</td>
<td>Dhanus ......... 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataya, a people</td>
<td>Karkata ......... 137f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mañlīka, a people</td>
<td>Khumbha ......... 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēghavat, a mountain</td>
<td>Makara ......... 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēkala, a mountain</td>
<td>Mēsha ......... 136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Panguni (Phâlγunî) ........................................... 138
Simâha .................................................. 138
months, names of Burmese lunar, mentioned in recorded dates:—
Kasôn ................................................... 6
Tabang ................................................... 6
Tabôdwe .................................................. 6
Tagû ...................................................... 6
months, names of Hindu, mentioned in M.S.S.:—
(lunar) Chaîtra ........................................... 90
Jyaśākha ................................................... 97
(lunar) Phâlgunâ ........................................... 95
Srávâna .................................................... 98
(lunar) Vaisâkha .......................................... 94
Moon is female in Indian folktales .................. 316
Mórokô, the god of the Santâls ..................... 296
mountains of sunrise and sunset ................. 180
Moutahobô = Shwêbê, 23; = Môksîbô ........... 28
Mrânaa = Burma ......................................... 160
M.S.S. in Buddhist Caves about Manimain, 328:—
—supposed to be in the Buddhist Caves about Manimain, 327:—Talaing, in the Dâmrâthâ Caves ........................................... 333
Mudhavamâbhâchëîia in Pegu ......................... 47
Mulêk Pagoda at Thatôn ............................... 340
Mulika, a people ......................................... 186
Muñja, a mountain ...................................... 186
Murukuchëębìa; see Marukuchëębìa .......... 186
'Musselwoman' discussed ............................ 112
Muttimânamâla = Martalan Province of the old Talaing kingdom ........ 34
Muttimânamâra = Martalan ......................... 34
Mwêyin as a place-name ............................... 7
Myâwadì, an ancient site in Burma ............... 305
Nâdêngâla, in the Kistna District, the date
of an inscription at .................................. 297
Nâgâbrîda, capital of Môdàpâta ..................... 81
Nâgâpâta = Negapattam ................................ 45
Nâgâràsë = Negrais ..................................... 46
Nimishâ, a people ....................................... 186

sêkâhâten, names of the, mentioned in recorded dates:—
Anûrâda ................................................. 138
Anûshau (Anûrîdha) .................................. 138
Punârvasu ............................................... 136, 219
Pusâya .................................................... 81, 82
Rëvati ..................................................... 138
Rûnî ......................................................... 157, 198, 219
Ter (Rûhinî) ............................................. 138
Tiruvnánu (Srâvâna) .................................. 137
Uttâra-Budrâpadà ....................................... 230
Uttâra-hâdhopà ......................................... 230
Uttâra-hâdhopà = (Uttarabhâdhopà) ........... 136
Uttâra-hâdhopà (Uttarabhâdhopà) ............ 137
Naitâpura = Narwar ................................... 81
nâlikëradëpâ, 'the island of cocoanuts' .......... 186
Narapatîjyassëîa (Narabâdîsittha), king of Pagûn ........................................... 39
Narasürä, a minister of Dhammâchëîi ........... 47
Nârëgâl in the Hângal Tàlukà (Dâhîwâr),
the dates of inscriptions at, 297, 298:—
the date of an inscription at another place, of
the same name, in the Rôn Tàlukà (Dâhîwâr) ...... 298
mîrtmukha, 'people with the faces of women' .. 136
Narmadâ river ........................................... 188
nashtarâjya, 'the kingdom of the dead' .......... 186
Nàsik is the capital, mentioned by Hûsen
Taliang, of the Mahârâshîra country ............. 115
Nàsik, the modern Nàsik ............................. 136
Nats, the Thirty-seven, alluded to................. 362
Nâyuâpaţâma, a port on the East Coast of
India ..................................................... 45
Necks, people with various kinds of ............. 186
Nediyâq, a Pândya king ................................ 65
Nedumârâq, a Pândya king ............................ 63, 65
Nedunñâdaiyâq, Pândya ............................... 65
Nedunjelîyâq, a Pândya king = Tênqûn =
Nâqâva = Ñenbâya .................................... 64, 65
Nelvîlî, battle of (=? Tînvelly) ....................... 65
Nâpâl, a derivation of the word .................... 292f.
Nâpâl country and people ......................... 186
Nêyâs, notes on the ................................. 292f.
Nâgû, name of a Buddhist Cave .................... 323
'Nîdôn Quarrics, Buddhist Caves near the... 327
Nigrâdhâsûnâmâra converta Ācêka ................. 15
Nîpa, a people .......................................... 186
Nîrvândhîya, a river .................................. 186
Nâshâda, a people ...................................... 186
Nîzûm's Dominions, an inscription in the,
noticed .................................................. 293
nâmads ..................................................... 186
noses; flat-nosed people .............................. 153
muñjiosûhâvàna, the forest of the man-lions .... 184
Nuptial songs of the Parsîs ......................... 102ff.
Nyândômyîna Pagoda, the, near Prome ......... 37
oath, form of Buddhist, 160:— ordeal by .......... 195
oceans, the, of ancient India ....................... 186
Ôjra, or Awîra, country .............................. 15f
one-eyed people ....................................... 177
one-footed people ..................................... 177
ordical by oath ......................................... 195
ordination of Peguan priests by the cere-
mony in vogue in Ceylon, 92ff.:—of Bud-
dhist Burmese priests in Ceylon at Kalyâñi,
48ff.:— upâsâmâpada, 24; priests ordained
at the first, in Pegu .................................. 85
p, change of initial, to k, in Burmese words ... 19
Pâbânum, name of a Buddhist Cave ............. 328
Pâbaung, Buddhist Caves at ....................... 327
**INDEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>Pābōk, name of a Buddhist Cave</td>
<td>trading to Peku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Pacchaliya, a merchant of Nāvatapatana</td>
<td>trading to Peku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Pacchima sect of Buddhists (Pagan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Padippajeyya near Rangoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Padma, a mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29ff</td>
<td>Pagan school of Buddhist priests</td>
<td>schisms at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28ff</td>
<td>Pāgāt, Buddhist Caves at, described</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pagō = Peku</td>
<td>pagodas, remarks on Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113, 114</td>
<td>Pagān</td>
<td>Sinhalese type of, at Thaton and elsewhere in Burma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>The so-called 'enamelled,' at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>Thaton and Martaban discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>cautions as to estimating the age of, in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>old, in Burma, dug into by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>treasure-seekers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Pāhāra, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Paithan is not Huyen Thao's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>unnamed capital of Mahārāṣṭhra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Pak'an</td>
<td>palaeography, Burmese notes on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Palaing, a folk derivation of the name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Pallaivas, the, their conquest of the Pañdisyas</td>
<td>palōla, the marshes or swamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Pan Ku, the Creator (Chinese Buddhist), explained</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Pāñchāla, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pāñchamada, the Pañjāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pāñchamanda, a king or other inhabitant of the Pañjāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pāñdu, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Pañdu = Taungwinyi in Upper Burma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65, 72</td>
<td>Pañiya, a lunar race, as tributaries of the Choja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>History of the, notes on, 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Pañiya country and people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pañyāvatta, a place or country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pānini, his date, his place in Sanskrit literature</td>
<td>his language was not the general spoken language of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pārā, a river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Parakṣīvarman = Kuloṭunga-Chōja II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Parakkamabahu of Ceylon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Parakrama Pañiya mentioned in inscriptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Paralakka, an ancient place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Paramāra chiefs, inscription of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Paramēsvara, a title given to frogs in Nēpāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Parāṣāva, the Choja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Parāṣāva country and people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pārata, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95ff</td>
<td>Pārhati-mōngal, of Talî's Dās, an account of the, date of, discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pārīya, or Pārīpa, a mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pārīyaṭika, the people of the Pārīyaṭa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>parrot and maisa, new version of the tale of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43ff</td>
<td>Pāravatiya, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>patyodha, 'nomads'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pathėng = Bassein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Paunjra, the people of Paunjra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Paurava, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Paushaḥ saṅvatasaraḥ, distinguishing on the term</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83ff</td>
<td>Pāwāduḍaung = Pinduḍaung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Payōshni, a river</td>
<td>pearls; the places where they were found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pegu, an account of glazed terra cotta Buddhist tablets from, 343 ff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pegu Jar, some account of the history of, 346 ff; their history and antiquity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Pekbānō marries Duttabawung, king of Prome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Persaṇi = Bassein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Phalugukkā, a river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Phānjāra, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Phēnagiri, a mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Phūntamba; see Puntambē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>Pṛṣṭi as a name in Bhār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pūṣikā, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6ff</td>
<td>Pōpā Volcano, some account of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Pōwāduḍaung Hill is near Prome, 1;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Prabhāsa, a Kšetra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Prayāga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pūjā, the kings of the eastern kingdom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pravia, the kings of the eastern country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Prāgyōṭiṣha, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Prāṇasimha, the, Prāṇasimhaḥa, a mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Praththila, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Prayāga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>prayer, the eight Buddhist attitudes of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289ff</td>
<td>Princess Fireflower, a folk tale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>Prithivī Dēvi, see Mahānandayi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Prodharāya Kākatya, his date discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Prōla, see Prōlāraja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Prōme, some account of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>Puangkhu, see Pan Ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Pugaliyur, battle of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Pugol-Sōla, a Chōja king</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Puṣāma = Pagan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Puṇāk = Pukān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Pulikēsin, the Western Chālukya, his conquest of the Pañyās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Pulinda, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Pungi, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Puntambē is not Huyen Thao's unnamed capital of Mahārāṣṭhra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Purikā, a people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Purimā sects of Buddhists (Pagan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>purunṣhita, 'cannibals'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkalavata, and Pushkalavata, the people of Pushkalavati .......................... 158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkalavati, an ancient place ........................................ 158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkara, a place .......................................................... 158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusim = Bassin ............................................................. 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puthong = Pathdag .......................................................... 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyimyo = Prome .............................................................. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quirini, his life of Percoto, note on ...................................... 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāhulatēra, a native of Ceylon, 29:—establishes Buddhism in Malayadipa .......... 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raivataka, a mountain ...................................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājādharmādeva = Rājarājādeva = Rājarāja = Kō-Rājakāśarvarman = Vira-Rājendrādeva I ........................................... 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rājanva = Kāshārya .......................................................... 158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājarāja, his copper coins ................................................... 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājarājadeva, Chēla king, his wars with the Pāṇḍyas ......................... 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya, conquered by Parantaka I ................................... 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma, means 'the Lord,' 'God' ............................................ 227 and note</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēsu-charita-māsāsa of Tulśī Dās, an account of the, 257ff.—date of its commencement .......................................................... 260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmādhipati = Dhammačāri of Pegu, 15; his titles, 34:—resolves on religious reform, 34ff.:—sends a deputation of priests to Ceylon ....................................... 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmādhipatirāja — see Rāmādhipati = Dhammačāri of Pegu, 50; his message to the priests of Rāmaññadēsa to reform their ordination practices, 55ff.:—Dhammačāri of Pegu ........................................... 46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmadēta, Rāmādhipati’s emissary to Ceylon ................................ 41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdyga of Tulśī Dās, date of, discussed ................................ 966,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmnand, founder of the Rāmāvat sect .................................. 227</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmaññā, district of .......................................................... 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmaññadēsa = Talaing Country = kingdom of Pegu, 13, 30:—extent of, 34:—the Talaing Country of Burma, notes on antiquities in ........................................... 3276</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmaññatamāngala = Ramaññadēsa ......................................... 86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmañña, his system of philosophy .......................................... 127</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmañña, a country and people ........................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmañña, the people of Rāmañña .......................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmadhyakṣa, scenes from the, possibly represented on the Pegu Tablets .......... 345</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmadhyakṣa of Tulśī Dās, its date discussed ................................ 89ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmdin Singh, his researches into the history of Tulśī Dās ..................... 274</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām Gulām Drivēlī, his statement as to the number of Tulśī Dās’s works .......... 123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām Lala Naññāchā of Tulśī Dās, an account of the .................................. 197</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām Sagundabālī, see Śrī Rāmājña .......................................... 295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām Sat’sa of Tulśī Dās, date of, discussed ................................ 94ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rābhrakātā, their conquests of the Pāṇḍyas ................................ 59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanapūna = Mandabāy ....................................................... 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanapura = Avā .............................................................. 8, 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanasingha = Shēba .......................................................... 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathan, a river ................................................................. 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnakara III. of Ratnapura ................................................... 82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvā, the river ‘Nerudda’ ..................................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riddles in folktales, 321:—as a form derivation .................................. 323</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhishabhā, a people ............................................................ 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rishika, a people ............................................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rishyamukha, a mountain ..................................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rōmakka, a people or place ................................................... 183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra I. Kākatiya, his date discussed ..................................... 326</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra II. Kākatiya, his date discussed .................................... 326</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūnpāth Edict edited ......................................................... 29ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s in Anglo-Burmese words .................................................... 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sā, name of a Buddhist word ................................................ 323</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabara, a people ............................................................... 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādārūpā, names of a Buddhist Edict ..................................... 328</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāhāsi, names of the Paraśmāt Hill ......................................... 295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahasrā Edict edited ........................................................... 299ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahya or Sahyā dri mountains ................................................ 188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saindhava, the people of the Sindh country .................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṁkriyā and aajāyā the names of some of the Buddha's country .............. 243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sairindha, a people ............................................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiva, supposed —sculptures from Burma .................................. 337ff.:—images in Buddhist shrines ........................................... 363ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saka, a people ................................................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukha, in Vikrama dates means ‘year’ ..................................... 111ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāketa, the modern ‘Oude’ ................................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakkaru = Sakra = Indra = a Buddhist deity ................................ 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākṣā, their nationality discussed, 130:—their relationship to the Kudās .... 130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāla, Sālva, or Sāvya, a people ............................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samudravaitakakāsāma ........................................................... 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaraññā, district of Rāmaññā ............................................. 61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samata, Lower Bengal ........................................................ 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankhyāta, a people ........................................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandōshin Chetō, a name for the Shēdōgān Pagoda ......................... 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangermano, value of his work for Anglo-Burmese etymology, 20f.:—his transliteration of b ................................................ 194f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit words in Burmese discussed, 24ff. 162ff.:—form came into Burmese before Pāći forms, 164:—the extent to which it was a living speech, 123:—inscription at Tagaung ................................................ 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santēsā, the migration of the ................................................. 284ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāntika, a people ............................................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saont as a place-name ........................................................ 295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāntār = Santál .................................... 294</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saradhāna, a people .................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārasvata, a people .................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarasvatī river ...................................... 170, 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarayu, a river ...................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sariputta, a monk of Padippajēyya ................. 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sassa herey, the ..................................... 15f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātadru, a river ..................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan among the Karesas .............................. 286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat'aat of Tul'sī Dās, an account of the, 225: — its authenticity discussed, 123 ff.; denied by modern Pāṇḍits ........... 127f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyanāraṇa Paramāra ................................ 80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangata = Buddhist .................................... 363f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saulika, a people ..................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurāṣṭra, the modern Kāṭhūwaḍ ........................ 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurāṣṭrakā, the people of Saurāṣṭra .................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurī, a people ....................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurīpara, 'of or belonging to Saurīpara' ........... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauvīra, and Sauvīra-ka, a people .................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schisms in ancient Burma were caused by disputes as to consecration ceremonies .............. 33f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciam = Shān ........................................... 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculptures from Thaton described ..................... 377f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seals, terra-cotta, Buddhist, from Gavā, explained ......................................................... 369</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śelja = Pāṭhya ......................................... 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śeljykudki, battle of .................................. 65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēmbiya = Neļuṣjēlyiṇa Pāṭhya, 65: a Chōla title ......................................................... 65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēna, district of = Chinaraṭṭha ....................... 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seṅgaṇār, a Chōla king ................................ 64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seśmahā Perumāl, the Chēra king, 63: joins the Pāṭyaṇas .................................................. 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēṣ Datt Saras, his statement as to Tul'sī Dās's works ..................................................... 123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ships, folk-origin of, among the Karesas .......... 287f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwēbō, names for .................................... 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwēdagon, notes on the name, 27f.: origin of the word, 7: — Pagoda = Kēśadhātu-chetiya, 46; date of S'inbyuyin's t'[的手稿] 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwēthayaung, a huge recumbent image of Buddha at Pegu .................................................. 347</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siamese architecture in Burma, date of .............. 355</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibī, a people ......................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibika, a people ...................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibirā, a mountain .................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silha sect of Buddhists (Pagān) ....................... 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śilādīpa = Ceylon ...................................... 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silla, Straits of, &quot;between Śilādīpa and Jambudīpa&quot; .......................................................... 45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīmā, a hall of ordination, the word explained, 11: various kinds of, 12; conditions for a spot to be chosen fora, 47 ff.; mode of consecrating ......................................................... 11ff., 49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somhala, Ceylon ....................................... 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somhapuraka, a people ................................ 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S'inbyuyin, king of Burma, his inscription at Pūpadanga, 1ff.; places the t'[的手稿] on the Shwēdagon Pagoda ................................................................. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhu, either the river Indus, or the Sind country ................................................................. 189</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindurāja defeated by Chāmunḍarāja Paramāra .......... 80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhu-Sauvīra, a people ................................ 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīpā, a river ............................................ 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirikhēttarā = Tharikēttarā ................................ 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirikhēttarāma, district of ............................. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirimāsākā, king of Suvarnabhumi ...................... 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirisanghabāhī — Parakkamabāhu of Ceylon ........... 39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīta, 'white people' .................................... 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitaka, a people ........................................ 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivālathēra ............................................. 29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky, dwellers in the ..................................... 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep, extraordinary, in folktales, 21: — for twelve years in folktales ................................. 259</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleeping beauty, variant, 32M.: sleeping luck, a variant of the sleeping beauty ............. 214</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smārāndhara, a people ................................ 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell of human beings peculiar to demons .......... 248</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake-hero in folktales ................................ 99ff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son, only, in folktales, 63: — granted by a saint through prayer, 245: — through eating fruit ........... 244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūna and Uttara, Buddhist apostles to Burma ........ 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūna, a river ............................................ 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūnā Parī ................................................. 324</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūnattara, explanation of the name .................... 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Buddhism, date of establishment in Pagān, 1181 A. D. ........................................ 30, 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirits, the city of (bhātapatra) ................. 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śṛtreke, a word, occurring in dates, which requires explanation (for an instance in eastern India, see Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LXII. p. 89) .................. 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śripaṭvāta, a mountain ................................ 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī-Patibāma, battle of ................................ 63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Pāmāgya, see Śrī Pāmāgya ......................... 204</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Pāmāgya of Tul'sī Dās, an account of the .......... 204</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srugrāha, a town or country ......................... 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step-mother, traditional ill-treatment by, in folktales ......................................................... 307</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone, a sculptured, at Ayēbēma, mentioned in the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions ...................... 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strtrāja, the kingdom of the amazons ................. 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>substituted persons — in folktales, sister for wife, 100; maid for her mistress, the heroine, 290; heroine by her step-sister, 313; log of wood and a broom for heroine's children .... 316</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudhākara Drīvēḍi Pāṇḍīt, his aid in calculating dates of Tul'sī Dās, 98: — his researches into the history of Tul'sī Dās ...................... 274</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Sudhammanagara = Thaton .................. 17
Sudhammapura = Thaton .................. 17
Sūdra caste .......................... 190
Suhna, a people .................. 190
Sukti, a place or people .................. 190
Sūlaṅkhaṁwā, king of Prōma .................. 159
Sūlīka, a people .................. 190
Sun is male in an Indian folktale, 316:— sun and moon, heroine gives birth to the ... 315ff.
Sunāparanta is the Minbū district of Burma, 4, 6, 160

Sundaramārti-Nāyanār the Śaiva devotee .. 63
Sundara Pāṇḍya, 60:— mentioned in inscriptions .................. 61
Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṭavārman .......................... 219
Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Jātavārman, his date discussed .................. 219ff.
Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Māgarman .......................... 221
Sunrise, the mountain of .................. 190
Sunset, the mountain of .................. 190
Supernatural people and places .................. 190
Śūraśena, and Śrūraśenaka, a people .................. 190
Surāśṭra, the modern Kāṭhāvāḍḍ .......................... 190
Śūryakumāra = Manohari .................. 17
Śūrpa, a mountain .................. 190
Suvaṇṇabhumī, 13:— Ramaṇādēsa .......................... 16
Suvaṇṇasōbhaga, an important Buddhist priest of Pegu .................. 50ff.
suvarṇabbhū, 'the region of gold' .................. 190
Suvarṇadīpā = Thaton .................. 359
Suvaśū, a place or country .......................... 191
Suvira, a people .................. 191
śāmukha, 'dog-faced people' .................. 191
śrī, 'white people' .................. 191
swamps or marshes .................. 191
svaṇṇaśyana, reminiscence of, in folktales .................. 78
Śyāmāka, a people .................. 191

Tambapannidīpa = Ceylon .................. 38
Tamil Historical Texts .................. 11ff.
Tampadipa, district of .................. 4
Tāmaraparṇi .......................... 191
Tangana, a people .................. 191
Tankana, a country .................. 191
Tapti, the river Tapti .......................... 191
Tārakshiti, apparently a country .................. 191
Tarangamādi = Tranquebar .......................... 11
Tārakshiti, apparently a country .................. 191
Tejou = Nedunṭelīyayu Pāṇḍya .................. 65
Thāde River, a folk derivation of the name .................. 195
Thjayāyā = the Mulik Pagoda at Thaton .................. 340
Thārēkhetārā = Sīrīkhētārā, 6:— Prome .................. 160
Thaton, some account of, 330ff:— Suvarṇadīpā, 359:— Buddhist Caves about, 329;— sculptures from, described, 357ff.;— images and enamelled pagodas at, 345ff.;— an account of the glazed terra-cotta tablets (Buddhist), at, 342ff.:— in the 10th century A.D., reference to .................. 359
three-eyed people .................. 177
throat; high-throated people .................. 191
tiger, hero becomes a .................. 78
Tigumpanagara = Rangoon, 44, 46:— = Dagōn .................. 27
Tikumbhaṭēti = Shwedagon Pagoda .................. 7, 27
timērīdīsa, 'whale-eating people' .................. 191
Tirurāṣamandarā converts the Pāṇḍya king to Śaivism .................. 63
Tissathēra, first abbot of the Jētanavānīhāra .......................... 39
Toedoton = Shwedagon .................. 27
Toka is not Huen Tsang's unnamed capital of Mahārāṣṭra .................. 114
Tooth-king, the, in folktales .................. 22
totems in Sāntal folktales .................. 196
Traigarta, the people of Trīgarta .................. 191
Tranquebar, Danish Colony at, 116f.:— inscriptions at .................. 116
treasure-seekers, damage done by, to Burmese Buddhist remains .................. 333
Triḥbhūvanamalla-Pāṇḍyaṭavārman, his kingdom and connections .................. 61ff.
Triga, a country .................. 191
trīndra, 'three-eyed people' .................. 191
Tripura, and Tripuri, a city .................. 191
Tukhāra, a people .................. 192
Tulāṭ Dāś, his date discussed, 89ff.; date of his birth, 265f.:— his birthplace, 265:— was an abhūka-māla child, 265;— his caste, 264;— belonged to the Rāmāvat sect, 227:— date of his deed of arbitration, 97f.:— date

tablets, glazed terra-cotta, bas reliefs, Buddhist, on, described .................. 339ff.
tailōdhyayanga, 'smearing the body with oil' .................. 251
Takața = Tagadūr .................. 66
Takṣaśālī, the Tazila of Greek writers .......................... 171, 191
Takun = Dagōn .................. 27
Tāla, a people .................. 191
Talai-Ālumāṇ, battle of .................. 64
talapay = talapōin = a Buddhist monk .................. 326
talapōi, a Buddhist monk, the term discussed .................. 326
Tālikaṭa, a place .................. 191
talking animal: variant laughing fish .................. 331
Tāmalindathēra, son of the Rājā of Kambūja .................. 29
Tāmalipīti, a city .................. 176, 191
Tāmalithi is (?) Tamluk .................. 29
Tambapannī = Ceylon .................. 16
INDEX.

of his death, 68:—origin of his name, 265:—
was a popular exponent of philosophy, 227;
his system of philosophy was Vedantic, 126;
a point in his teaching, 258f.; on karma,
226f.:—his twelve great works, 123; a list
of his works, 123; list of his canonical
works, 129:—Legends and Traditions about
him, 244f.:—his predecessors ........ 265

Tumbavana, a forest ......................................... 192
turagāvana, 'horse-faced people' ...................... 192

udayagiri, 'the mountain of sunrise' ................. 192
Uddāhika, a people ....................................... 192
Udētāri = Shvedaung ................................ 4
Udchya, the people of the north ..................... 192
Uṇā, the modern Orissa ................................ 192
Udumbara country and people ............. 170, 192
Ujjayant, Ujjain ........................................... 192
Ujjhimā, a people ................................ ....... 192
ūṭā, a Tamil metrical history ....................... 141
Unehhatrā Pari .............................................. 319
Upajyotishā, a people .................................... 192

uṣṭas, an ordination discussed, 38:—ceremonies
of, 13; importance of .................................... 50f.
Upavanga, a country ...................................... 192

uṇāsā, ceremony of, 13:—in Pegu, the
first orthodox, 35; an ancient break in the
performance ................................................... 16
udēvakānta, 'high-throated people' ............. 192
Uśānara, a people ........................................ 192
Uttaka, a people ........................................... 192
Uttara-Kuru country ...................................... 171
Uttara, see Sona ............................................ 18
Uttarakramahāthēra, Preceptor of Anorātha, 17; visits Ceylon ........ 29
uttarāpatha, a name for Northern India ........ 192

Vaṭāvānukha, a place ...................................... 192
Vaṭāvāra, the name of a week-day, probably
Saturday ...................................................... 231, 232
Vāhlika, and Vāhlika, a country ................. 192
Vairadhba, the people of Vidartha ............. 192
Vaidēha, the people of Vidēha ...................... 192
vaidyārā, ‘the beryl-mines’ ....................... 192
Vairasinhā Paramārā = Vairasinēha II .... 80
Vaishnava, supposed, sculptures from Burma, 357ff., 359f.
Vaiśya caste .................................................. 192
Vajjikalikā, see Mabondayē ................................ 358
Vajjavārāhī, see Mabondayē .......................... 358
Valligāma in Ceylon .................................... 42, 44
Vallura; see Vellura .................................... 193
Vandga-Sandpant, of Tul’si Dās, an account of the ........................................ 137ff.

Vanaugha, ‘the collection of forests’ ............... 193
Vāṇavān, a Chēra title, 65:—Nejūjelijān
Pāṇḍya ....................................................... 65
Vāṇavasi, the modern Banavasi .................... 192
Vāniga, and Vāniga, a country, and the people
of it .............................................................. 193
Vāṇijajāma = Lāgāning in the Minbu District
of Burma .................................................. 6, 160
Vāruna — Pāṇḍya, his victory over the
Chējas ......................................................... 62
Vārāhamihira; the topographical list of his
Bṛhat-Śaṅkhyā ......................................... 169 to 195
Vārāhamihira, a city or country ................. 193
Vāsī, a place .................................................. 193
vassā, day ofcommencing the, quoted ........... 43
Vasundhāra, see Vasundhāra ....................... 389
Vasumati, a mountain .................................... 193
Vasundhāra, see Mabondayē .......................... 358
vasu-wana, ‘the forest of Vasu or spirita’ .... 193
Vāṭādhāna, a people .................................... 193
Vatsa, a people .............................................. 193
Vatagāmanī-Abhaya, king of Ceylon ........... 38
Vedāsurīti, a river ......................................... 193
Veḷḷor, battle of ............................................ 65
Veḷḷūra, the modern Ellorā ............................ 182, 193
Vēn = Vijīnām-Vilinnam in Travancore .......... 67
Vēṅa, a river .................................................. 193
Vēnumati, a river ......................................... 193
Vēroavati, a river ......................................... 193
Vidāgama-mahāthēra, a Sinhalese priest (Bud-
hist) ......................................................... 143
Vidartha, a country ....................................... 193
Vidēha, a country ......................................... 192
Vidēṣa, a town or river .................................. 193
Vidēṣyādrā, a class of supernatural beings .... 193
Vijayābhāu of Ceylon .................................... 40
Vijayanagara kings conquer the Pāṇḍyas .... 16
Vikrama-bāhu of Ceylon, his wars with the
Pāṇḍyas ....................................................... 60
Vikrama-Chōja, manuscript account of ....... 141
Vikramāditya VI. (Western Chālukya); some
dates in his era .............................................. 296, 297, 305
Vikrama-kāla; see Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla .... 301
Vikrama-Pāṇḍya = Lankēvara ....................... 60
Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, vassal of Kulotunga-Chōja, 60:—mentioned in inscriptions ........ 61
Vindhyā mountains ....................................... 193
Vināṇa, battle of ............................................ 65
Vipāśa, a river ................................................ 194
Vira-Kērala, Pāṇḍya king ................................ 60
Vira-Kēsari, son of Srīvallabha, contempor-
ary of Rājadhiradēva .................................. 60
Vira-Pāṇḍya, vassal of Kulotunga-Chōja, 60:—his contests with Āditya-Karikāla-
Chōja, 60:—mentioned in inscriptions ........ 61
Vira-Rajendradēva I. = Kō-Raja Kesari-
vāman .............................................................. 60
INDEX.

Vira-Rájendrādēva II. = Parakṣeṇāryaman = Rājendra-Chāhladhā = Kulūṭṭūṅga-Chāhlāda II. ........................................... 60
Virāṭa, a country ....................................................... 194
Viśaka, a people ......................................................... 194
Viśaṭtā, the river Jhālām ............................................... 194
Vokkāṇa, a people ...................................................... 194
vow of twelve years in folktales .................................. 250
Vrishabhadhāra, a mountain ....................................... 194
vrisadēśa, 'the island of bulls' .................................. 194
vyāghramukha, 'tiger-faced people' ......................... 194
vyāghrāyana, 'people with serpents' necks' ............ 194
Vyāṃkṣēṣavāṇopājijvā, lord of Takaṭā ............................................. 66

wait, water-borne, in folktales — heroine's children set afloat in a box in the sea .................................... 316
Webyān, name of a Buddhist Cave ................................................. 328
whale's belly, variant of Jomā in the ........................................ 246f.
whales, eaters of ......................................................... 194
Winbon, name of a Buddhist Cave .......................... 329
Winsā, an ancient city in Burma ................................. 366
white people .......................................................... 194
wishing stones in Burma, 165 —— things in folktales —— stone, stick and rope ........................................... 317
women; people with women's faces, 194; — the kingdom of the amazons ................................................. 194

women, wiles of, new folktale version of the .......... 53ff.
writing, folk-origin of, among the Kāreṇa ........................ 26ff.

Yāmadūna = Bāmdūna ...................................................... 345
Yāmadūti = Bāmdūti ....................................................... 345
Yāmaṇa, the river Jamā ............................................. 170, 172, 194
Yāmaṇa, the people living near the Yāmaṇa .......... 194
Yāvānī, a city .......................................................... 194
Yabē-Μέντ, name of a Buddhist Cave ....................... 328
Yabēbyān, name of a Buddhist Cave ......................... 328
Yauḍhēya, and Yauḍhēyaka, a people ..................... 194
Yauṅgmyā = Myauṇgmyā ............................................... 4
Yavvana, a people ...................................................... 194
years, Jovian, quoted in inscriptions ...................... 102f.
Yetē, a folk derivation of the name ......................... 195
Yōdayā = Ayuthiā ........................................................ 4
yōga mentioned in a recorded date, Ayushmat ............... 136
Yōga River = Pegu River ............................................. 42, 44
Yugandhara, a people ............................................... 194
Ywā, 'God' among the Kāreṇa ................................. 284 and note
Zabāhādē, explained, 361; — Jambupati, legend about him, 339 —— figures of, explained ............................... 349
Zamarrad Pari .......................................................... 324
Zodiac, signs of the, used in dating inscriptions .......... 136

ERRATA IN VOL. XXII.

p. 171a, line 10, for andō f. read and of.
" b, line 7, for [Rāvataka], read Raivataka.
" b, line 6 from the bottom, for division, read division.

p. 173b, line 33, for Āryavāta,- twice, read Āryavāta.

p. 186a, last line, for 'Narmāda,' read 'Narmāda.'